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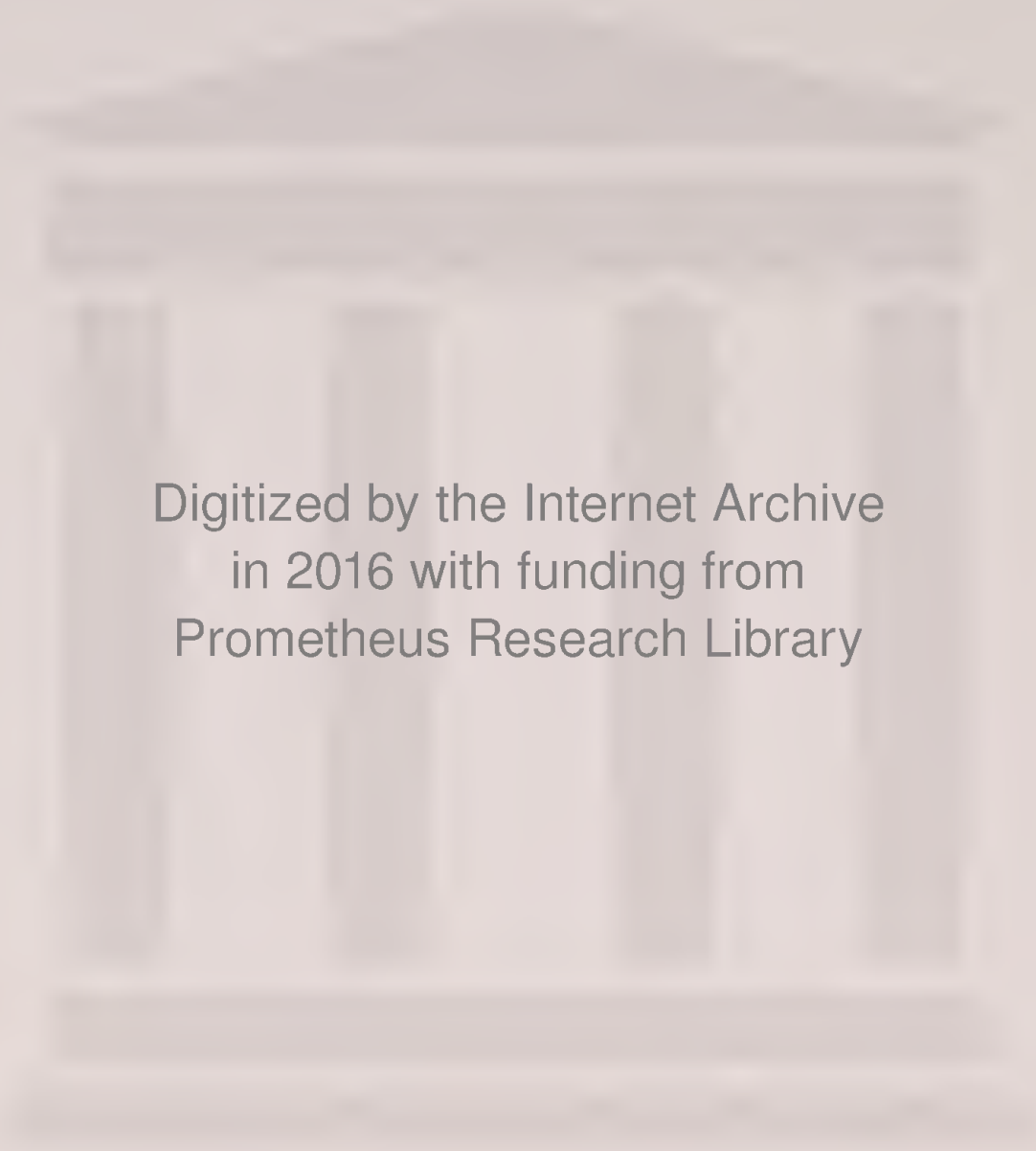

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 591

7 January 1994

Roll Back Bosses' Offensive!
Defend Immigrants Against Racist Attacks!

Workers Struggle Across Europe

Reuters

Milano, October 28: Workers out in force during 4-hour general strike in Italy against layoffs and unemployment.

At the end of October, militant Air France strikers surged onto the runways of Paris airports and sent the French government reeling. The combative strikers stopped planes and battled it out with riot police, soon becoming "total masters of the place" in the words of the authoritative Paris paper *Le Monde*. Inspired by their courage and determination, other workers sought to join the strike. "This is not a strike but a revolt," remarked the French transport minister. The conservative cabinet of Prime Minister Balladur capitulated, scrapping its "restructuring" plan to slash thousands of jobs. For the first time in years, European workers backed down the bosses' offensive. The victory of the Air France strike boosted the confidence of workers internationally—including having an impact on airline workers in the U.S.—and unleashed a storm of class struggle that is reverberating across much of the continent.

London's *Financial Times* (1 November 1993) summed up the impact: "Workers across Europe appear to have taken strength from the spectacular victory of Air France employees.... In Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and France, employers are facing increasing militancy as they demand job cuts and flexibility." Very soon this fighting spirit was expressed in a series of sharp labor battles. On November 24, striking coal miners in Metz, France fought a pitched battle with the police. The next day, hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers took to the streets to protest the Socialist government's wage-slashing "social pact." And on November 26, a one-day strike in Belgium against a government austerity plan shut the country

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Army Slaughters Peasants—25 Years After '68 Massacre

Revolt Against NAFTA in Southern Mexico

MEXICO CITY, January 4—On New Year's Day, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—through which U.S. imperialism seeks a wholesale takeover of Mexico—officially went into effect. In protest against the NAFTA rape of Mexico, in the early hours of January 1 an insurgent force numbering upward of 2,000 peasants took over a series of towns in the southern state of Chiapas, including the historic city of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Spokesmen for the rebels denounced the treaty as a "death sentence for Mexico's Indian ethnic groups, which the government of [Mexican president] Carlos Salinas de Gortari views as dispensable." While there are conflicting reports from the region, the revolt continues as *WV* goes to press, with fighting 10 miles outside the state capital of Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) targeted symbols of racist repression against southern Mexico's Indian population, long terrorized in a virtual apartheid system enforced by the gun thugs and *caciques* (rural bosses) who serve the self-styled "Spanish" elite of cattle ranchers and coffee planters. Insurgents burned headquarters and archives of the "Justice" department, freed hundreds of prisoners from local jails, and commandeered stores of food and medicine, distributing them to villagers. The rebellion has been met with savage army repression, bringing a death toll estimated yesterday at more than one hundred

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AP

Mexican guerrillas launched rebellion in southern state of Chiapas on January 1 in protest over U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico.

FBI Provocateurs in World Trade Center Bombing

Elatab/Middle East

Sheehan/Newsday

Emad Salem, FBI's fink extraordinaire and provocateur in bombing of World Trade Center last February.

It was hilled as the "Arab terrorism" trial of all time. After the bombing of the World Trade Center in Manhattan last February 26, the government quickly arrested four men from what was portrayed as a nefarious nest of Arab Muslim immigrants operating out of the second-story mosque of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman in Jersey City. Then in late June, just as Clinton was terror-bombing civilians in Baghdad, Attorney General Reno announced the feds had foiled a second plot to bomb the Holland Tunnel, the FBI's New York offices and the UN, as well as to assassinate the ultra-Zionist politician Dov Hikind and Israel-hacker Alfonse D'Amato. Again, those arrested were from the blind sheik's entourage.

It soon turned out that what led to the roundup was not a fragment of a license plate but inside information from a government agent, Emad Salem, a "former" Egyptian military intelligence officer. While the Trade Center bombing trial, which began in September, dragged on with nothing but tenuous circumstantial evidence, the prosecution's case was blown apart at the end of October as snatches of transcripts of informer Salem's taped conversations with his FBI handlers showed prior government knowledge of the bomb plots, at the very least. Now the latest revelations from the Emad Salem tapes show that *the government's confidential informant didn't just inform—he made the WTC bomb himself.*

By December, the unfolding drama in the Foley Square courtroom resembled a vaudeville act as the prosecution's star witness took the stand and pointed the finger of guilt at...two *jurors*, instead of the defendants sitting in the room! The testimony of gas station attendant Willie Hernandez Moosh was seen as a crucial piece of the government's case, since no witnesses claim to have seen any of the defendants actually at the World Trade Center. But when the prosecutor asked Mr. Hernandez to identify the man driving the blue Lincoln Town Car which had tanked up at his station nine hours before the explosion, Hernandez got up, looked around...and turned to the jury box. "The record should reflect that the witness is pointing to Juror No. 6," intoned Judge Duffy.

A few minutes later, when asked to identify the driver of the yellow Ryder rental van investigators say contained the explosive, Hernandez chose a second member of the jury. "Indicating Juror No. 5," Judge Duffy said. The courtroom exploded in laughter and the prosecutor turned bright red. After some hurried recoaching, the next day on a redirect examination the feds' star witness finally managed to point his finger in the indicated direction.

However, the big news in this case is not coming from the courtroom, but from the spectacular revelations being released in dribs and drabs from the hundreds of hours of tapes made by the government's informer. Although Emad Salem has been paid over $1 million by the feds, he took good stock of the characters he was working for and took out some insurance. In one of the first pieces released, Salem says to his FBI controller, John Anticev: "You were informed. Everything is ready. The day and the time. Boom." In another excerpt, Salem remarks: "I told you the World Trade Center, but nobody listened." And again he blasted his FBI bosses for not acting on his information: "Do you deny your supervisor is the main reason of bombing the World Trade Center?" The agent didn't deny.

This all demonstrated heavy government complicity in the plot, but the recently released transcripts show something more: direct involvement in manufacturing the bomb. Defense attorneys William Kunstler and Ron Kuby wrote a letter to U.S. District Judge Michael Mukasy saying "Emad Salem, the chief informant in this case, was responsible for the World Trade Center bombing" (*Newsday*, 15 December 1993). Kunstler and Kuby cited a tape of a conversation with FBI agent Anticev, in which Salem says, "we was start already building the bomb, which is went off in the World Trade Center. It was built, uh, uh, uh, supervising, supervision from the Bureau and the DA and we was all informed about it. And we know the bomb start to be built. By who? By your confidential informant."

Among other things, this tape demolishes the government's original story, that Salem was out of the loop long before the bombing, and only reactivated after the fact. Moreover, according to Kunstler and Kuby, informer Salem checked into St. Clare's Hospital just three hours after the blast, with a diagnosis of "vertigo, stemming from a middle ear disturbance," which was a recurrence of an old ear injury aggravated by a very loud noise (like a bomb explosion). While this made headlines in Europe, the American press largely played down these revelations.

What's going on here is a classic operation of agents provocateurs. And as the U.S. becomes something that might be called a "democratic police state," such "sting" operations have increasingly been the M.O. (*modus operandi*) of the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Revolutionaries Must Lead Fight Against KKK

Following the U.S Civil War, fought over the issue of slavery, Karl Marx wrote that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This basic truth was driven home as the early organizations of American labor were destroyed by the bourgeoisie fanning antagonisms between white and black workers, while Ku Klux Klan nightriders spread racist terror In the 1920s, the nativist fascists of the reborn KKK went after blacks and "reds," immigrants, labor unions, Catholics and Jews Speaking in 1924 to a gathering in St. Louis of coal miner members of the Workers Party, WP leader James Cannon, who later became the founder of American Trotskyism, emphasized that communists must lead the fight against the lynchers if they are to become the revolutionary vanguard of the class struggle.

Our party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal. This is our starting point in the trade unions, as in every field of activity in the class struggle. It is this fundamental conception that distinguishes us from all other parties and groups in the labor movement. It is the band of steel that binds us together into one party....

We want to be with the masses, but we must also be ahead of the masses, and not be afraid to take an unpopular stand, when it is necessary in order to combat their prejudices. Take for example the Ku Klux Klan. Here is an organization that is anti-labor in its very character—yet large numbers of coal miners are misled into supporting it. To fight the Ku Klux Klan, to expose its reactionary nature and win the workers away from it, is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

—"Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions" (July 1924),
from *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism*
(Prometheus Research Library, 1993)

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Imperialist Hysteria Over Nuclear Reactor

U.S. Hands Off North Korea!

Over the last couple months, the U.S. rulers' campaign of shrill war hysteria against North Knrea has been building to a climax. Last July, Clinton went to South Korea and standing at the edge of the DMZ, the highly militarized border hetween the two countries, threatened the annihilation of the North in case of an "attack." Then on November 7, the U.S. president declared that "North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb. We have to be very firm ahout it. We have our soldiers there." Echoing the propaganda buildup preceding the U.S.-led imperialist war on Saddam Hussein's Iraq two years ago, the capitalist media denounce the Pyongyang regime as an "outlaw state." A *Newsweek* (29 November 1993) headline declares North Korea "Public Enemy Number One." (Before that it was Castro's Cuba.) Alternating hair-raising threats with humiliating proposals for a putative "peaceful resolution" to this manufactured crisis, the U.S. ruling class is trying to squeeze isolated North Korea into caving in.

Reuters

U.S. imperialist commander in chief Clinton at DMZ between North and South Korea for saber-rattling photo op.

The DMZ is a stark reminder of U.S. imperialism's last attempt to destroy the North Korean regime, which as the soviet tanks drove out the Japanese colonialist occupiers in 1945 eliminated capitalist-landlord rule north of the 38th parallel. It is the armistice linc drawn in 1953 at the end of the Korean War, partitioning the country and setting up a dictatorial U.S. puppet regime in the South. North Korean and Chinese forces fought U.S. imperialism to a standoff as Washington devastated the country, bombing the northern capital of Pyongyang to smithereens and killing more than 2 million people in its neocolonial war disguised as a United Nations "police action." Now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed through counterrevolution, with vital Soviet oil deliveries gone and the Chinese Stalinist regime taking its own road toward capitalism, the truly bureaucratically deformed North Korean workers state—headed by 81-year-old Kim Il Sung, his son Kim Jong Il and his brother Kim Yong Ju—is up against it. Class-conscious workers must defend North Korea against the U.S. counterrevolutionary offensive!

The pretext for the imperialist nuclear hrinkmanship is the claim that the tiny country is on the verge of developing an A-bomb arsenal. Never mind that a spokesman for the Pyongyang regime told the UN General Assembly in October that "we have no nuclear weapons; we have neither the intention nor the need to develop these weapons, nor the financial resources to support their production." Never mind that the International Atomic Energy Agency, a UN agency dominated by American officials, says that North Korea could only have produced a few grams of plutonium *four years ago*, and that was turned over to the IAEA. Never mind that now-former U.S. "defense" secretary Aspin "clarified" that the North Koreans "are not building the potential for more bombs" (*Washington Post*, 13 December 1993). Never mind that North Korea has now agreed to IAEA snooping at all seven identified "nuclear" sites. Washington has cast the Kim regime as a bogeyman in order to underscore the U.S. intent to act as unchallenged cops of the world.

A week after Clinton's November 7 threat, the U.S. and South Korea launched their provocative "Team Spirit" military exercises near Seoul. These maneuvers, based on a scenario which would include massive aerial bombing of the North, were called off in 1992 as a result of an agreement by the governments of North and South Korea for mutual inspection of nuclear sites on the peninsula. Then came the announcement that the U.S. was preparing "flexible deterrence options," including additional combat units and deployment of an aircraft carrier battle group offshore. The White House ostentatiously leaked that Clinton would be briefed by Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman John Shalikashvili, a certified Cold Warrior whose father was an officer in Hitler's Waffen SS, on the Pentagon's plan (USFK 50-27) to launch a war on North Korea. Just before his resignation last month, Aspin announced a "counter-proliferation initiative," ordering the U.S. military to develop "battle plans against rogue nations with newly acquired nuclear capability."

As part of the escalation, U.S. intelligence agencies now claim that there is a "better than even" chance that North Korea already has two A-bombs. (Aspin had said the North "might" have "a single nuclear device.") While this dubious claim was made hy hawks pushing for a preemptive strike, the *New York Times* (28 December 1993), spokesman for the imperialist doves, pointed out: "If it is indeed hiding two bombs, any military attack would be supremely risky." As the State Department talks with Pyongyang representatives, Clinton threatens to impose sanctions against North Korea if it does not capitulate to U.S. demands soon. Even U.S. officials admit that this would be an act of war, especially if enforced by a naval blockade, that could provoke retaliation by the North. Although such threats may be a negotiating ploy, many in Washington would welcome any excuse to undertake a "final solution" to the North Korean deformed workers state.

The saber rattling is hardly the result of an imperialist consensus. There are reported divisions within the administration over how hard a line to take against North Korea. And both the South Korean and Japanese governments are unenthusiastic about the drumheats coming from Washington. No wonder. Just as the bloody war against Iraq was partly intended to underscore U.S. military strength against its German and Japanese imperialist rivals, so *Washington's war threats against North Korea are a warning particularly to Tokyo.* As inter-imperialist trade war sharpens, Japan is moving ever more openly to repudiate its postwar "nuclear allergy." It has already expressed reservations about renewing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty next year, and unlike impoverished North Korea, Tokyo has the massive financial and scientific resources, plus a big stockpile of weapons-grade plutonium from its power reactors, to quickly become a major nuclear power.

Over the past year Washington has been turning up the heat over the supposed danger of North Korea getting The Bomb. The State Department/media propaganda campaign paints a picture of an aggressive Kim Il Sung flouting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This "nuclear threat" scenario is a pack of lies, and pretty selective besides. The London *Economist* (17 July 1993) noted that Washington isn't complaining about "India, Pakistan and Israel, which secretly have nuclear weapons, or else could have them in a twinkling of a screwdriver, and have never belonged to the NPT" unlike North Korea which "signed up of its own free will." (Actually, Pyongyang was coerced into signing in 1985.) As Trotskyists, we unconditionally defend the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and blackmail. North Korea has every right to have nuclear weapons, particularly as the U.S. previously admitted to having some *1,000 nuclear warheads* in the South, and actively discussed plans to A-bomb Pyongyang during the Korean War.

As for the "treaty violations," in 1992 North Korea gave the IAEA more than they had to under the treaty, opening up to inspection some sites the agency hadn't even known about (see "New World Order Targets North Korea," *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993). But the IAEA insisted on "special inspections," i.e., the right to stick their noses anywhere they choose. On Nnvemher 1, the IAEA flatly *turned down* a North Korean olfer to allow the agency to change film and batteries in its spy cameras. When on Decemher 5 North Knrea offered full access to five of the seven sites requested, Washington said this was "not enough." Three weeks later, Pyongyang agreed to open up all seven; the Clinton administration demanded "special inspections." Yet North Korea's mythical refusal to "cooperate" is now to he the basis for proposed UN sanctions!

The U.S. says it pulled its nuclear warheads out of South Korea, but who knows? Nobody is going to inspect *their* bases. Besides, what gives Washington the right to say who gets a nuclear bomb? They're the only ones who ever actually used atomic bombs against anyone! Democrat Truman atom-bombed two Japanese cities in 1945, and the U.S. threatened to use nuclear weapons during the Korean War. The nonproliferation treaty is just an attempt by the U.S. imperialists to maintain their nuclear hegemony so they can terrorize everybody else.

The Pentagon knows that North Korea is no pushover, with the bulk of its million-strong army deployed along the DMZ, just 30 miles north of Seoul. A front-page *New York Times* article on December 2 meant to rattle the imperialist saber ("Pentagon Studies Plans to Bolster U.S.-Korea Forces") was critically undercut by the admission that if the U.S. provokes a war *they might lose on the ground*, at least initially. The White House, says the *Times*, thinks they would win in the end, "although some Administration officials acknowledge that Seoul would probably be destroyed in the process"! *Newsweek* reported that two highly classified Pentagon studies predicted the North could take Seoul in days and "overwhelm the South's defenses in less than two weeks." Today these arguments are used to bolster the case for negotiations. Tomorrow they could he used to promote a U.S. nuclear first strike against the North.

The U.S. provocations alarm its allies in Seoul and Tokyo. Japanese finance capital largely bankrolls the South Korean *chaebols* (big monopolies), but Washington still calls the shots militarily. The Seoul regime wants a capitalist takeover of the North *on its own timetable*. It is worried that any military escalation could easily lead to the destruction of its high-tech industrial hase, or that a total collapse of the North could force it into a sinkhole "leveraged buyout" like capitalist West Germany's annexation of East Germany in 1990. And they don't have anything like the resources of the German Fourth Reich.

The South Korean bourgeoisie also fears the possihility of an explosion of social struggle, particularly by the large and volatile student movement, in response to increased U.S. provocations. Many of these student radicals are either sympathetic to the North or long for a nationalist reunification of the country. Yet the Kim Il Sung version of the Stalinist myth of "socialism in half a country"—under the watchword of *juche*, or "self-reliance"—is a bitter joke in the face of imperialist encirclement and isolation. Extension of the revolution is the only way out, and the Kim bureaucracy is a deadly enemy of that. In the U.S., Stalinist remnants like Gus Hall's Communist Party USA or Stalinoids like Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' increasingly quirky Socialist Workers Party act as press agents for the Kim Il Sung regime (including praising

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Korea Pictorial

North Korean president Kim Il Sung (right) with his son Kim Jong Il.

Europe...

(continued from page 1)

down tight. Flying pickets spread out to ensure work stopped in the factories. Smoke from burning tires drifted across the approach roads to the Brussels airport, and nothing moved at Europe's second-largest seaport, Antwerp.

The Associated Press reported on November 29, "It looks like a replay of the fiery years of the '70s in Italy: students in the streets and workers on strike." In Italy, Spain and France university and secondary school students were protesting plans to drastically slash expenditures on education. Meanwhile, labor militancy is continuing. On December 10, as government leaders held a European Union summit in the Belgian capital, Reuters reported that "central Brussels was transformed into a sea of red by socialist trade unions" marching in protest. The next day, auto workers from factories in and around Barcelona besieged the Catalan government palace, denouncing plans by Volkswagen to shut down its "free-trade zone" SEAT plant and throw thousands of workers onto

PART ONE OF TWO

the streets. Now Spanish unions have called a one-day nationwide general strike for January 27 against the government's plans to junk restrictions on layoffs and firings that have existed since the Franco era.

While workers across the continent are fighting back, hard, they are engaged in sharp *defensive* battles. West Europe is in the throes of its deepest economic crisis in more than half a century. *Official* unemployment is already over 11.5 percent and climbing. That's more than 19 million jobless in the 12 countries of the European Union (EU, formerly European Community), with another 3 million-plus in the former East Germany. Unemployment is over 10 percent in Germany, formerly the "locomotive" of the European capitalist economy, over 12 percent in France, and *over 20 percent* in Spain, Greece, Ireland and Finland. Along with soaring unemployment there is a full-scale onslaught against the "welfare state," from Scandinavia to the tip of Italy. The Italian workers' explosive protests in October 1992, which prefigured the struggles now sweeping West Europe, were against the tripartite agreement by the bosses, government and union tops to eliminate the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages), a cost-of-living escalator which has existed since 1946.

In Germany, metal industry employers have simply ripped up existing contract clauses for 3.3 million workers beginning January 1994. German bosses' spokesman Klaus Murmann has called for a "prolonged onslaught" on wages and "the whole array of fringe benefits, holiday entitlement, and social security payments" (*Financial Times*, 10 December 1993). In one year 500,000 metal workers' jobs have gone. Steel production has also plummeted. Last fall, 100,000 construction workers rallied in Bonn against cuts in layoff pay, and up to 90,000 miners joined strikes in the Ruhr and in the Saarland against coal mine closures. But the protectionist demands of the social-democratic union tops to "defend German industry" undercut the need for *international* resistance to the capitalist offensive.

Informations Ouvrières

Militant Air France strikers blocked runways in Paris last October and backed down government, bosses and cops. Combative strike raised the spectre of May 1968 French general strike.

Reuters

Belgium, 25 November 1993: Pickets shut down Brussels international airport with flaming barricades on access roads during one-day general strike.

Tragically, many of the miners protesting "foreign coal" imports are Turks and Kurds who are concentrated in key sectors of west German industry. The working class must reject its own leaders' efforts to turn it against its class brothers and sisters abroad through protectionist poison. It must as well mobilize to crush the fascists and defend immigrants against the racist attacks organized by the fascists and incited by the joint Kohl/SPD assault on the right of asylum. In several countries, most particularly Germany and France, immigrant workers have come to represent a strategic and militant part of the workforce. Together with second-generation youth who have increasingly entered social struggle in West Europe, they can play an important role as a bridge in building a revolutionary vanguard both in the imperialist centers and the semi-colonies.

The capitalist offensive in the West is a direct result of the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR—a colossal defeat for the world proletariat, with corresponding impact on the consciousness and confidence of the most advanced sectors. Now that the Cold War has ended in the destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated workers state of the USSR, the European bourgeoisies are scrambling to cash in, at the direct expense of the proletariat. Capitalist rulers no longer feel it is vital to fend off the "threat of Communism" by means of reforms and palliatives designed to buy off working-class resistance. A race is now on to boost profit margins by lowering production costs in the interests of "greater competitiveness." For the capitalists, every attack on the working class brings the prospect of lowering the cost of labor power. Whether this is achieved by direct cuts in wages, pensions and welfare payments, by slashing employer contributions to social funds, by increases in taxes on consumption, by speed-up through elimination of trade-union influence on working conditions or by mass layoffs, the end result is the same.

The postwar accommodations and mechanisms of institutionalized class collaboration are increasingly being replaced by open assaults on the working class. Envious ruling-class eyes are turned on the "Anglo-Saxon" economies, where ten years of Reagan/Thatcherism have already ripped through the living conditions and trade-union organizations of the working class. Privatization of government-owned concerns in order to break strong unions and bolster debt-ridden government treasuries (pioneered by Thatcher's Britain in the 1980s) is planned across the continent. The ring of racist immigration controls which surrounds the Western European countries has been viciously tightened, with France and Germany in the lead. And for the first time since the 1930s, the fascists are becoming a significant force in countries like France, Germany and Italy. This army of shock troops for racist reaction is growing in the wings, fostered by economic despair and the ideological boost of the trumpeted "death of Communism," which is actually the collapse of Stalinism.

Reagan and Thatcher launched frontal attacks on the unions, the former destroying the PATCO air controllers in 1981 while the "Iron Lady" provoked the year-long British coal miners strike of 1984-85, after which the Tory government decimated the numbers of miners by massive closures of the mines. But in many countries of West Europe, where the workforces are heavily unionized (compared to barely 15 percent unionization in the U.S.), the bourgeoisies are hoping to use their reformist "labor lieutenants" to shove their "reforms" down the throats of the working class. In Italy, where the crisis is sharpest and the parties which have ruled the country since World War II have collapsed, the ex-Communist social democrats of the PDS are being called upon to form a "popular front," using the fear of fascism to bind the masses to this treacherous class collaboration.

But contrary to the hopes and expectations of the European bourgeoisies, the working class has reacted fiercely to the capitalist offensive, often repudiating their own leaders. When Air France union leaders wanted the strikers to go back before the government caved in, the workers refused. And when a year ago, the Italian ex-Communist union leaders tried to sell the elimination of the *scala mobile* to their ranks, thousands of workers pelted them with coins, bolts and vegetables and tried to storm the speakers podiums. This explosive labor revolt in West Europe can help undercut one of Stalinism's central lies, the supposed impossibility of revolution in the imperialist West, which it used to sell its anti-revolutionary program of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence." Today, following the collapse of Stalinism, militant class struggle in West Europe can have a powerful effect in reawakening the class and socialist consciousness of the proletariat of the former Soviet bloc.

While the bourgeois press fumed over the French government's climbdown over Air France, Prime Minister Balladur is reportedly "obsessed" with the spectre of a new May 1968, when ten million

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workers struck in what was perhaps the biggest general strike ever. And well he should be. In many countries there has been an upsurge of attempts to take on and thwart the fascists, such as the 50,000-strong anti-fascist mobilization in London in mid-October. Given the bourgeoisie's assault on the welfare state, reformist schemes have little credibility. When today the bosses and the reformists talk of "reform," they are promising less work for less pay, and for more and more people, no work at all. The need for socialist revolution is placed in front of the European workers movement. For class-conscious workers the question is not just "will there be another 1968?" but how to achieve a May '68 that goes all the way, to the taking of power. The key is building Trotskyist parties forged on a transitional program leading to workers revolution.

Trade War and Capitalist Austerity

With the end of the Cold War, the post-World War II anti-Soviet alliance has come unglued, laying bare the permanent rivalry between the various imperialist powers, particularly between the three giants of modern imperialism, the United States, Japan and Germany. Each of these countries is aiming to fashion a trade bloc: the U.S. through NAFTA, Japan through a new version of the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere," and Germany through the European Union, including the projection of incorporating "East-Central Europe" (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia) as its immediate hinterland. The bitter economic competition points toward global trade war, while ultimately a new redivision of the world can only come about through a third inter-imperialist world war...only this time by nuclear armed powers (see "U.S. Gears Up for Trade War," *WV* No. 589, 3 December 1993).

The U.S. retains significant economic, military and geographical advantages over its rivals, largely stemming from its double success in defeating Germany and Japan, while simultaneously eliminating Britain as a serious competitor, in the course of World War II. The U.S. economy is the world's largest, and still the most productive. Its "backyard," to north and south, contains no sizable independent imperialist competitor: in that sense America's "home market" extends over an entire hemisphere. Militarily the United States currently holds a decisive lead, including an armed presence on both of its major competitors' territories. This military superiority was used to bloody effect with the subjugation of semi-colonial Iraq in 1991, guaranteeing the American stranglehold on vital oil supplies. U.S. financial and industrial capital is tightly interwoven with that of Britain, giving it a major position in the European capital markets which still center in London.

The U.S. is also an aggressive competitor of Japan in the race to dominate China, which (although still remaining a deformed workers state) is being increasingly drawn directly into the world capitalist market. Not least, from a capitalist standpoint, the U.S. imperialists benefit from the lack of political class consciousness in the American working class, brought about through a combination of economic prosperity in the 1950s and '60s, pounding ideological campaigns of anti-Communism, and endless exploitation of the racial division in the proletariat stemming from the unfinished business of the Civil War. After a humiliating defeat by the Vietnamese peasants and workers, over the last two decades the American bourgeoisie has succeeded in driving down working-class living standards and mauling the trade-union movement.

Reuters

AP

Above: French students take to the streets in Paris last month protesting conservative government's plans to divert money to private schools. Below: Protest in Solingen, Germany last June after fascist firebombing of Turkish family. Banner reads: "Yesterday Jews, Today Turks."

Germany presents a very different picture. It coexists with three other sizable, if second-rank, imperialist powers (Britain, France and Italy), which will continue to chafe at German domination of Europe, whatever their current or future tactical alliances. Although by far the largest and most productive economy in Europe, on a world scale it stands at a severe competitive disadvantage by virtue of the great concessions made by the West German bourgeoisie to the working class, during the decades of the Cold War. Workers in the former West Germany have the highest wages and shortest working week in the world (except for the small Scandinavian countries), with an average six weeks paid vacation on top of public holidays. These conditions were granted to the West German proletariat in order to secure stability, and to reduce the potential attraction of the full employment and large-scale social provisions of the Stalinist-ruled DDR (East Germany) next door.

Germany's leader, Helmut Kohl, promised that the capitalist unification of Germany would see a "blooming economy" sprout up in the former DDR. It has in fact reduced the East to a wasteland of demolished and disused factories, where the lives of millions have been turned upside down and nearly destroyed. Colossal unemployment is barely concealed behind a myriad of make-work, fake-work and short-time schemes. The financial cost of this policy of capitalist destruction has been immense—and the German ruling class is determined that either the German workers or its imperialist competitors will foot the bill for tremendous government borrowing. Punitively high interest rates (spread across Europe via the now-defunct European Monetary System) have exacerbated the recession in other countries, while drawing foreign capital to Frankfurt. But meanwhile the strong D-mark has eaten away at Germany's export industries. In this context, tensions between Germany and its imperialist partners/competitors in Europe have inevitably grown. But rather than getting caught up in inter-imperialist rivalries through protectionist demands, workers must fight for a socialist United States of Europe.

Following the *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, Germany in one sense faces the most acute social and economic crisis, but it does so coming from a position of immense wealth and trading advantage. In the cases of Spain, Italy and Belgium, the bourgeoisie bought social peace through rampant government borrowing. Belgian government debt far exceeds the total annual production of the country. The Italian economy has run for years on escalating state borrowing, much of which went to feed the rampant corruption permeating economic and political life. This system, symbolized by the Mafia but including the web of bribes (*tangentopoli*, or bribe city) to politicians from the most modern northern Italian concerns and the distribution of jobs by party affiliation (*lottizzazione*) in state-owned industry, was tolerated as an underpinning for the permanent rule of the anti-Communist Christian Democrats and their Socialist allies. This system is now seen as an unaffordable overhead cost to capital.

The Italian bourgeoisie wants to crack down on the working class, regularize the functioning of the state apparatus, tame the Mafia, tax the petty bourgeoisie and drain dry the oceans of red ink that state-owned companies float upon. For this they require a "strong state": a regime capable of pushing through massive layoffs and cuts in wages and social provisions in the face of a strong working class. While the crumbling of the governing parties under the blows of anti-corruption investigations led to a surge in the vote for the fascists and rightist Northern League in recent municipal elections, the Milano stock market, the American embassy and the Pope opted for the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), which touts itself as "the force of stability, security and government" in a chaotic Italy. While these ex-Communist social democrats have vowed to impose anti-working-class austerity, a new "popular front" centered on the PDS could run into resistance from militant workers determined to defend their livelihoods and smash the fascists.

As the European economic crisis has gone from bad to worse, the capitalists have tried to deck out their layoffs and pay cuts in "social" garb. The favorite con game of the moment is the "shorter workweek." The German auto manufacturer, Volkswagen, whose largest shareholder is the SPD-led government of Lower Saxony, strong-armed union leaders into a "deal" to reduce the workweek in its plants to 28.8 hours (from 35), with the 20 percent reduction in hours to be matched by a corresponding reduction in labor costs. The purpose of this "work-sharing" exercise is to *make the workers pay for the bosses' crisis*. At the European level, EU chief Jacques Delors, a French "Socialist," issued a "white paper" calling for extensive infrastructure investment, more "flexible labor markets" (easier layoffs) and widespread pay cuts to supposedly preserve employment. The fear is, in the words of a top Brussels official, "the risk of a social explosion" (*Financial Times*, 13 December 1993).

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Martin/AP

Barcelona, 9 November 1993: SEAT auto workers march in protest against plant closure.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues. 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynching—Abolish the Death Penalty!

The Partisan Defense Committee is fighting to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Philadelphia Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning radio journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed over a decade ago on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman and sentenced to die for his political views.

On October 1, about 150 trade unionists, socialists, students and death penalty abolitionists came out to a PDC rally in New York on Jamal's behalf. Speakers there included Wadiya Jamal, Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife; former political prisoner Dr. Alan Berkman, and Dan Williams, Jamal's co-counsel with Leonard Weinglass. A message of support was read from Ray Martinez Jr., a Philadelphia union official for SEIU Local 668. Ed Kartsen spoke on behalf of the Spartacist League. The PDC's fight for class-struggle social defense is in accordance with the political views of the SL.

In a taped message of greetings to the rally, Jamal said: "I speak from one of the largest and fastest-growing black communities in central Pennsylvania—death row.... There's never a 'good' time to be on death row, but the present must be one of the worst. In the midst of a Democratic administration, born in the blood of executions and bent on out-Republicanizing the Republicans, this is truly an *era* of death."

Mumia continued: "For some, especially those accustomed to looking only at the surface of things, this is a time of true confusion. Especially with the fall of the Soviet Union, the betrayal of what was once called the 'socialist bloc,' the creeping swarm of global capital in Eastern Europe and in Asia—who would *not* be confused? But fear not, for this is a system in deep crisis.... Witness NAFTA; race riots more intense than in the '60s; an economy marked more by decline and debt; industries fleeing from the hinterlands; urban battlegrounds of rage. Babylon *is* falling."

WV Photo

Dan Williams, co-counsel with Leonard Weinglass for Mumia Abu-Jamal, speaks to Partisan Defense Committee rally to save Jamal.

We print below an edited version of the presentation to the rally by Paul Cooperstein, spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee.

* * *

For those of you who first saw Mumia tonight on the video, or first heard him on the tape, you're going to walk out of here changed. You should walk out of here changed because there are very few Mumia Abu-Jamals. Someone who passionately and articulately gives voice to the desperate pain and struggle of millions—from the 2,700 others on death row to the homeless huddled over subway gratings for a hint of warmth.

Mumia gives a touch of humanity back to the men and women in this country's prison hells, given up as non-persons by this racist society—he tells us about Norman, known at Huntingdon as "old-head," who recently died at age 54 of stomach cancer, who "more than anything in life longed for freedom, the company of a woman, and the sweet summer sun of Virginia (perhaps sweetened a tad more by the scat of jazz great Betty Carter)." Mumia writes of the 59-year-old Philadelphia grandmother whose home of 23 years is razed by city officials as part of the "war on drugs." He reminds the older folk and tells a generation of youth about political prisoners like Geronimo Pratt and Sundiata Acoli. He scathingly critiques this oppressive society. To hear Mumia's voice is to know why they want to silence him forever.

Look at Mumia—because Mumia is the death penalty in America. Would he be on death row if he were not black? Not a Black Panther? Not a MOVE supporter? Not a powerful voice for the oppressed? The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about.

The Partisan Defense Committee has initiated protests demanding Jamal not be executed, bringing together opponents of the death penalty around the world. These have been *united-front* protests, by which we mean united action across a spectrum of political beliefs, while assuring everyone's right to have their own say. This is a very important point. Exclusionism and censorship of those participating can only sap and erode the base for mass action.

We are opposed to the death penalty on principle. We do not accord this government the right to say who lives and who dies. The fight against these racist "legal" lynchings calls for an understanding of why the death penalty exists, persists and is actually flourishing at the close of the 20th century. It boils down to a simple truth stated by Frederick Engels over 100 years ago: "The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class."

Throughout its 200 years of existence the American ruling class has utilized executions for the sheer purpose of instilling terror—the lynch rope made official. Electrocution, poison gas, hangings, lethal injections—these are nothing but racist "legal" lynchings.

I picked up the *New York Times* today, and it's very appropriate that opposite the obituary page they had a Supreme Court preview. That says a lot about this country! The law of this land is that if you're black or Hispanic and you're convicted of a capital crime by the "injustice system," it doesn't matter if you're innocent—you're going to die. In January the Supreme Court held that the state of Texas could go ahead and execute Mexican American Leonel Herrera despite evidence of Herrera's innocence. In May Herrera was strapped onto a table and injected with lethal drugs. Minutes later he was dead. Now the state of Texas is trying to ram through the execution of Gary Graham, ignoring the roster of witnesses who have given conclusive evidence of his innocence.

Speedup on Death Row

The factories in this country may be rusting but there's a speedup on death row. Already this year, 32 people have been executed, surpassing 1992's 30-year high. The capitalist rulers of this country are literally a death cult. Over 100,000 Iraqis slaughtered in the Persian Gulf; Somali men, women and children cut down in cold blood as the U.S. seeks to recolonize this East African country in the revived racist spirit of the "white man's burden" in Africa. And here at home, 86 men, women and children of

WV Photo

Wadiya Jamal: "Twelve years is long enough for an innocent man to be sitting on death row, separated from his family, separated from his children that he cannot physically touch."

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

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Fred Horstmann

November 1, 1993

Partisan Defense Committee
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Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

To the Partisan Defense Committee:

I would like to wholeheartedly thank the Partisan Defense Committee for helping raise funds for the legal defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal at your forum October 1. A total of $1,590.25 was collected and made available to Leonard Weinglass. Mumia's lead counsel. A special account for tax-deductible contributions has been set up at the Bill of Rights Foundation by Weinglass. This is cash available now to help pay for the ongoing investigation, for example. And the event was not even billed as a fund-raiser!

As I said at the forum, Mumia must have the best possible legal defense. This costs a lot of money for which there simply is no substitute. Legal defense means examining the volumes and volumes of the trial record. It means investigating events that occurred over a decade ago and locating witnesses. It means filing legal papers in the context of Clinton's proposed crime bill that will further severely restrict the right of habeas corpus appeal. This is painstaking, difficult and extremely necessary work.

Since being the first to raise the banner to save Mumia's life back in 1987, the PDC's work has been most commendable.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Horstmann
Administrator

the integrated Branch Davidians religious sect were burned alive in Waco, Texas for the "crimes" of exercising their rights of religious freedom and bearing arms—rights supposedly protected under the first two amendments of the Constitution. Remember the May 13, 1985 bombing of MOVE which killed eleven black men, women and children and burned a whole city block. We've often said the MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years. The recent mass murder in Waco must be the fingerprint of Clinton's. And of course there's the ritual cop slaughter of black and Hispanic youth on city streets nearly every day.

A death cult. There's a judge in Texas who signs execution warrants with a "happy face." San Quentin prison actually has a museum (probably one of the few you can find open in that state). The most popular part is the death penalty wing, situated right next to the gift shop, complete with a miniature gas chamber and a "personal collection" of miniature nooses tagged with the victims' ID numbers.

This aroused bloodlust, this death row speedup, is part of a buildup of repressive forces—more cops, more prisons, repressive laws, attacks on immigrants. Now the government is using the prosecution of the blind Muslim sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and 14 others in connection with the World Trade Center bombing as a battering ram to criminalize dissident views and fuel racist hysteria against immigrants. They're reviving the thought crime "seditious conspiracy" laws and whipping up a "terrorism" scare—an ominous repressive package that presents a grave danger to leftists, unionists, minorities, immigrants, to anyone who runs afoul of the "New World disorder."

The demand for the abolition of the death penalty is part of the tradition of struggle for black equality in America. It is no accident that the United States and South Africa are among the few industrialized countries with the death penalty—it is a legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights. And while South Africa hasn't executed anybody in the past three years, American executioners have taken 90 lives in that same time.

The death penalty is part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets to keep black people in their place. It all goes back to slavery when the slave codes made it clear that only white life was considered sacred. With emancipation the slave codes were replaced by the cross-burnings and lynchings of the KKK. And it was the spirit and sometimes the letter of the law of the slave codes that the Klan restored when it put the torch to Reconstruction after the Civil War and restored the lethal spirit of slavery with Jim Crow lynch law.

Dan [Williams] talked about the [1987] *McCleskey* case. You can almost hear the voice of Justice Taney, who in the 1857 case of fugitive slave Dred Scott pronounced, blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The disparities in instituting the death penalty that Dan cited were dismissed by Rehnquist & Co. as "irrelevant," "inevitable," "insignificant"—racism is for them a natural and unchangeable part of the judicial process.

But it's these same courts which are cranking out the corpses, that liberals have looked to for so many years, harking back to the era of the liberal Warren Court. The Warren Court included ex-KKK member Hugo Black, one-time head of the Securities and Exchange Commission William O. Douglas, and Warren, who as attorney general of California was the driving force for herding Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

The liberal Supreme Court rulings of the Warren years came in the context of mass struggles, beginning with the civil rights marches against Jim Crow and culminating with the protests against the Vietnam War, which shattered the Cold War climate of the 1950s. Most of the landmark rulings of the '60s recognizing the rights of defendants in criminal cases involved disenfranchised blacks caught in the web of police state terror in the South.

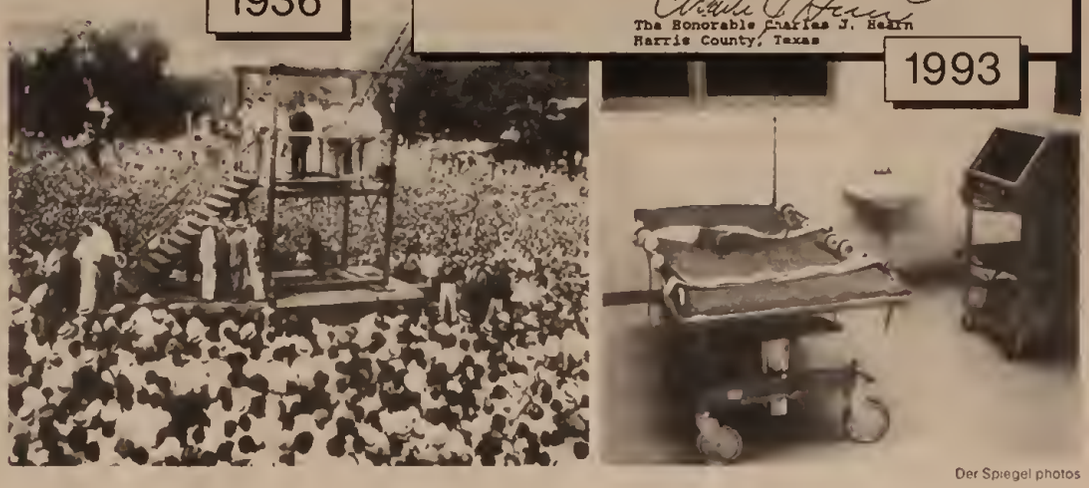
But of course these decisions never stayed the hand of the government's political police—witness the bloody FBI COINTELPRO vendetta against black militants which left 38 Black Panther Party members dead and many others, like Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, to rot in prison hells.

That Warren era was a brief and unusual moment in American history, when the capitalist state was attempting to contain, co-opt and eventually destroy the mass civil rights movement and the radicalization centered on opposition to the Vietnam War. They succeeded. After the 1973 withdrawal from Vietnam, the marches stopped, the antiwar movement fell apart. Most black militants of the '60s who weren't cut down by COINTELPRO were co-opted by the Democratic Party.

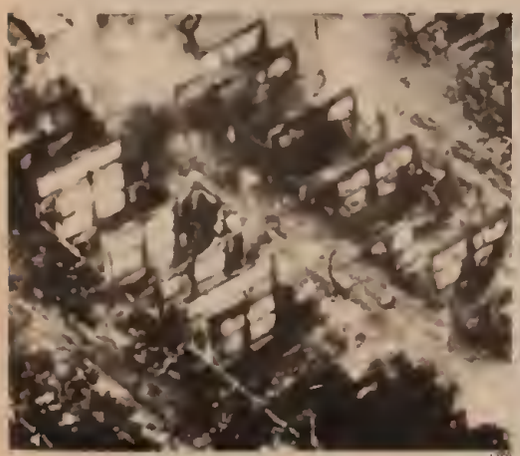
So, with a couple of personnel changes, the Court immediately began to take back the formal gains of the preceding 20 years. By 1976 the death penalty was back. The racist Bakke decision of 1979 against affirmative action signaled the end of any pretense of upholding black rights. The 1980 Harris decision affirmed the Hyde amendment which denied Medicaid funds for abortion, making it unavailable for the majority of women who need it. And we've now seen a dozen years of unchecked reaction ushered in when in 1979 the KKK and Nazis, assisted by an FBI informer and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent, gunned down five leftists, civil rights workers and union activists in full view of TV cameras in Greensboro, North Carolina.

So with the courts filled with Reagan and Bush appointees, the liberals took their hopes to Congress. Elect Democrats to appoint better judges, they cried. Like who? Clinton? He swore his allegiance to the racist death penalty when he took a break from the campaign trail to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector. He's got an attorney general, Waco mass murderer Janet Reno, who would make Ed Meese proud. How about Clinton's close political ally, Texas Governor Ann Richards? She likes to pose with guns in both hands like a wild west gunslinger with notches on his belt for everyone he kills. She's got so many notches on hers she's got to start wearing suspenders! And then there's Doug Wilder, the black governor of Virginia, beloved of the reformist left. Despite a public outcry Wilder refused to stop the execution of coal miner Roger Coleman last year, saying it would be "no substantial injustice" to send him to the chair despite evidence that he was innocent. In January, Wilder ordered the execution of a disabled man, Charles Stamper, who had to be pushed to the death chamber in a wheelchair.

A number of death penalty opponents and liberals have sought the enactment of a so-called Racial Justice Act. This doesn't oppose the death penalty outright, but would "make it unlawful to execute someone whose death sentence is the product of race discrimination." But the politicians of death are more than willing to swear they're not being racist as they kill blacks! This Act would accept the validity of the death penalty and create the illusion that this racist justice system can implement it in a non-racist manner. And in another obscene spectacle, the Democrats propose a bill which would expand by dozens federal crimes which carry the death sentence, but they tack the provisions of this Racial Justice Act onto it.



Der Spiegel photos


UPI

AP

1985 police/FBI bombing of MOVE commune kills 11: signature of the Reagan years (left). April 1993 FBI/BATF raid on Branch Davidian group outside Waco, Texas slaughtered 86 members of integrated religious sect: fingerprint of the Clinton administration (right).

Class Struggle— The Road to Victory

For the American ruling class, terror has always been the bottom line in meeting any challenge, real or perceived, to its racist class rule. 1887: the Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour-day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915: IWW member Joe Hill, a voice of the voiceless of his day, whose songs of struggle were popularly sung by striking workers—executed by a Utah firing squad. 1927: anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—executed as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant

continued on page 8

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

State of Seizure

Here is a brief quiz of sorts; between the amount of property stolen by burglars in the U.S., and the amount taken (called "confiscated" in legal jargon) by the U.S. federal government from the American people, which would you think is the largest amount?

With news reports blaring hourly of the wave of crimes washing over the nation, wouldn't one think there would be an outcry against whichever one was the greater?

Consider this: In 1992, an estimated *$3.8 billion* was stolen by burglars in the U.S.; private property and monies amounting to *$4.1 billion* was "confiscated" from U.S. citizens by the federal government as part of their drug forfeiture program.

People from all walks of life have had the misfortune of having their goods seized by their government, only to never see their stuff again.

Consider these real-life cases:

U.S. Army Col. Melvin Hanberg (Ret.) owned and rented houses in California. One of his tenants was a drug dealer, so the government seized his rental properties.

Charter pilot Billy Munnerlyn had his Learjet seized by the government when it was learned one of his passengers was a convicted cocaine dealer (unbeknownst to him) with $3 million cash in his luggage.

Nashville landscaper Willie Jones, on a trip to Houston to purchase new seed stock, violated the state's unwritten rules by paying for his roundtrip ticket in cash. This act, coupled with his blackness, placed him in perfect fit for the so-called "drug carrier profile."

Once tagged, he was stopped, searched, and $9,600—money he was going to use to re-stock his business—was seized, confiscated, taken—stolen. No drugs, of any kind, were found.

These 3 cases could be multiplied by the tens of thousands, where the property and profits of the people are plundered by "their" government, in the name of a "War on Drugs."

As the government has failed to even make a dent in America's humongous drug intake, it has, in frustration, embarked on an insidious, dirty war on the people's few remaining civil liberties, feeding and fueling itself on the people's wealth, via a "tax" that takes all, once they are labeled "suspect."

For so long, average, everyday, law-abiding Americans have either silently sat by or quietly ignored the bogus "War on Drugs" that was a War on Blacks in actuality, while police rode roughshod over people's rights, and while courts, too, looked the other way.

Now people of means are tasting the bitterness of injustice, where the state strips them of their rights to property, of association, of the means to conduct lawful commerce, of the fundamental right to be free from unlawful search or seizure of their persons and property, all with the blessings of a right-wing, Tory judiciary, who grant the state any license, in the name of the "War on Drugs."

Each of the three people named here are among the "law-abiding Americans," whose lives and businesses are forever transformed, because of a "policy" of forfeiture that is but a hair's breadth away from robbery.

Now the government is hungry, and like a junkie, needs your money to feed its fix.

Your government at work.

5 November 1993

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 7)

hysteria following on the heels of the Russian Revolution.

At the height of the Depression, as mass integrated labor struggle was growing, the racist rulers held the noose over the heads of the Scottsboro Boys. In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs.

The selling of the death penalty and increased repression as an answer to crime is a dangerous lie. The U.S. has become the world's biggest jailer with more than one million men and women in prison—over half of those in federal pens were sent there as part of the government's drug witchhunt against the ghetto and the workplace. The incarceration rate does not and cannot reduce the rate of crime, whose root cause is the desperate poverty and hopelessness engendered by this capitalist system.

The bosses' looting of basic industry has left millions jobless, drastically driven down the living standards of those left with jobs, and decimated the inner cities. In New York we've lately heard a lot of ranting from both political parties about the "decline in the quality of life." By that they don't mean the grinding poverty in the inner city where the infant mortality rate rivals that of the impoverished Third World. They don't mean the broken-down schools without books, where classes are held in a bathroom or where, as in East St. Louis, industrial waste and sewage backs up so schoolchildren have to literally wade through shit. No. They are talking about removing from their view the visible signs of the poverty and decay which they are responsible for. Like the recent razing of the shantytown near the Manhattan Bridge, or calls to sweep the "squeegee men" off the streets. If these same squeegee men were in Moscow, the capitalist press would be hailing them as "entrepreneurs"!

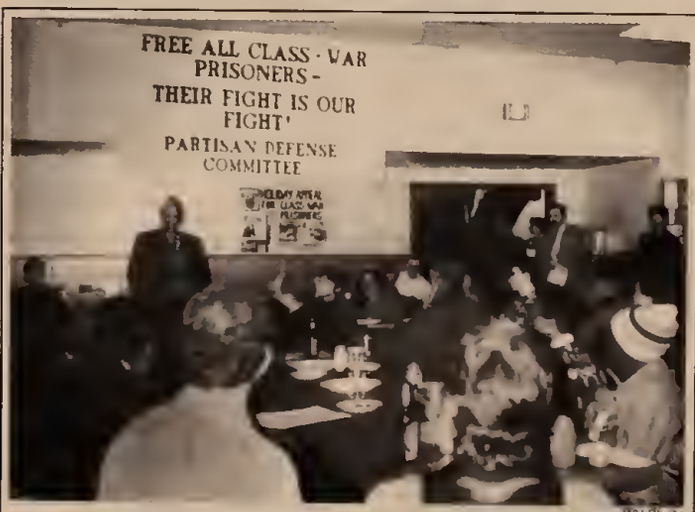
The systematic oppression—the joblessness, the racism, the hopelessness—which is at the root of the crime and punishment cycle cannot be solved this side of a social revolution. And because they have no solution to the problems that particularly beset those people they now call the "underclass," this state can only repress—and that they do with a vengeance. The campaign for death and repression depends on convincing people that there is no other way out, that their options are closed within the capitalist system which produced the problems.

The death penalty is an abomination. But it was not responsible for the massacre of the MOVE martyrs in Philadelphia. George Jackson and Fred Hampton were not murdered by the death penalty. Two hundred years of chattel slavery and 100 years of Jim Crow did not occur because of it. The thousands who died to form the trade unions in this country in the early decades of this century—and who continue to die—did not for the most part languish on death row. The tens of thousands of Japanese interned here during the Second World War and the millions of socialists, Gypsies, homosexuals and Jews incarcerated in Hitler's death camps were not imprisoned and killed on capital offenses.

The way out—the way to victory—is the way of the class struggle: the powerful integrated labor movement in action for its own interests and the interests of all working people and oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee takes our heritage from the International Labor Defense of James Cannon in its early years. We stand by the old principle that an injury to one is an injury to all, and in that tradition carry on the ILD's program of stipends to class-war prisoners—Mumia, Geronimo, the imprisoned MOVE members, steel worker Bob Buck—as a message of solidarity. Our strategy is mass labor-centered protests, like those around the world that saved the lives of the Scottsboro defendants. We place no faith whatever in the justice of the courts but look instead, as James P. Cannon said, to the supreme court of the masses.

Unions representing millions of workers around the world have taken a stand in defense of Jamal. We need to turn these motions, resolutions, letters to the governor into action based on some real labor power. Hopefully in this room there are some transit workers, city workers, maybe some teachers and hospital workers. These are powerful unions. Mobilize your co-workers, pass union resolutions with muscle—which means money. We need a fight to throw out the pro-capitalist labor "leaders" and forge a new leadership willing to unchain labor politically and wield its real weapons: its power of withholding labor, choking off capital's profits. It's time to make the unions fighting organizations of the working class once again.

As the past 30 years should show, under capitalism no gains, no democratic rights are secure. Should we prevail in efforts to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which we will, we may still be here ten, fifteen years from now fighting to save another from the executioner's hands. Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. Then and only then will the Supreme Court of capitalist injustice join the other relics of the barbaric past, the medieval rack and the modern death chamber. In a socialist America, maybe with Geronimo Pratt in the Ministry of Justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the Ministry of Information, then and only then can we start to speak of justice. Free Geronimo! Free Mumia! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



WV Photo

PDC Holiday Appeal Success

With benefits in Atlanta, Chicago (photo above), San Francisco and New York, the Partisan Defense Committee just concluded its eighth annual Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners. Altogether, the PDC raised over $11,000 for its program of monthly stipends and holiday gifts for the prisoners and their families.

The benefits featured greetings from death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and heard updates on the campaign to save Jamal's life. The 175 people who turned out in New York were honored to hear from James Frazier, a New York City transit worker facing frame-up weapons charges after he was shot in the head by a NYC cop on October 24, causing the loss of vision in his left eye. About 125 people came to the San Francisco benefit, and SEIU Local 535 sent a donation.

In Chicago, nearly 100 people heard from Jackie Breckenridge, International vice president of the ATU; Johnnie Jackson, president of CLUW; and Katie Jordan, president of ACTWU, all of whom have endorsed the PDC-initiated mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois.

The PDC thanks everyone who made this year's Holiday Appeal a success.

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

The revolt in remote rural Chiapas sent shock waves throughout the hemisphere. In the U.S. it made front-page news in New York and headlines in San Francisco. Reuters commented that the Mexican government, "which has spent several years and many millions of dollars grooming its public image" for NAFTA, "faces a public relations nightmare." In Mexico City, the booming stock market fell sharply on news of the uprising, but rebounded on reports of the army massacre. Meanwhile, in Bolivia, peasant groups declared their solidarity, warning that "the humiliated, starving, indigenous peoples and the poor...could rise not only in Bolivia but also in the rest of Latin America."

The blood running down Chiapas' roads and drenching its fields blots out the cynical rosy propaganda of a "new, democratic Mexico" pumped out by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has ruled Mexico since the 1920s and faces elections scheduled for August of this year. As the American embassy dispatched "observers" to Chiapas, air bombardments and barrages from U.S.-supplied helicopter gunships wiped out scores of insurgents—armed mainly with old rifles, pistols and machetes and a small number of automatic weapons—as they withdrew from San Cristóbal and other occupied towns.

El Financiero (3 January) reported, "In the area near San Cristóbal soldiers could be seen firing machine guns from helicopters, indiscriminately shooting at vehicles in the area." So far, army communiqués have not mentioned the capture of *any* insurgents, a sinister indication that there may be a "take no prisoners" policy. The government, echoed by "opposition" parties, issues phony calls for "dialogue" in an effort to clean up its image after the 25th anniversary of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre of hundreds of student protesters in Mexico City.

NAFTA Spells Starvation

The revolt in Chiapas, one of Mexico's most impoverished states, reflects the growing desperation of the poor throughout this country as NAFTA goes into effect. "There is no housing, work or education, there is no justice; we are hungry.... They torture and murder our leaders," said insurgent spokesmen, identified in *La Jornada* (2 January) as "Indians who spoke Spanish with difficulty."

In Mexico's south those who dare protest are often "tried" and jailed without ever learning the charges against them (proceedings are in the Spanish language only, with no translation to the Maya languages spoken by most of the region's Indians). Human rights groups report that more than 500 people in Chiapas have been "disappeared." The state recently achieved international notoriety with a series of death squad-style murders of homosexuals. Thousands of Guatemalan agricultural laborers and refugees seeking to escape genocidal "counterinsurgency" have been deported back to the Central American terror regime, which borders Chiapas. The south has also been a killing ground for teachers' union "dissidents": a majority of the approximately 150 teacher activists murdered in the 1980s were killed in the states of Chiapas and Oaxaca.

Under NAFTA, according to calculations by a national alliance of peasant groups, at least *3 million* Mexican peasants will be driven off the land by the flood of U.S. agricultural products such as corn, wheat, sorghum and soya which the trade pact will unleash (*La Jornada*, 30 December 1993). Meanwhile, Mexican wage earners' buying power has fallen by *over 60 percent* under drastic austerity measures imposed since the "debt bomb" exploded a decade ago. NAFTA has further emboldened employers, backed by the government, to slash real wages, gut union contracts and suppress strikes. In recent weeks *maquiladora* owners fearful of the potential for labor struggle along the Mexico-U.S. border launched a wave of firings of workers suspected of union organizing.

While the government's PR men project an image of "social peace," the reality of Mexico is far different. The northern industrial city of Monterrey was recently shaken by a strike of 22,000 teachers who faced beatings and kidnappings. In the states of México, Chihuahua, Michoacán and elsewhere, townspeople have taken over municipal buildings, and in some cases run the cops out of town, in protest against police repression and vote fraud. In this context, the army massacre in Chiapas is intended to terrorize all who seek to struggle against poverty and repression.

This is underlined by witchhunting declarations from the government and right wing which, with characteristic racism, blame the "manipulation of the Indians" in Chiapas on everyone from an anonymous "mastermind of high cultural and political level" to "liberation theology" priests, Central American guerrillas and a couple of tiny, shadowy "urban guerrilla" groups whose spokesmen, imprisoned in the capital, have denied links to the EZLN while solidarizing with its aims. In April of 1990, a shooting attributed to one of these groups was the pretext for a large-scale dragnet of "subversives."

Rebel spokesman Comandante Marcos defines the EZLN as "not Maoists or Marxists" but an indigenous "ethnic movement," while stressing the group's calls to "depose" Salinas and install a government of "public figures" to "convoke equal elections." Yet the *New York Times* (4 January) quoted a guerrilla in the town of Altamirano saying that the rebels were fighting "for socialism like the Cubans have, but better." Meanwhile, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, presidential candidate of the opposition nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), has denounced the *rebels*' "violence," urging faith in the 1994 elections while he asks the blood-drenched army to respect human rights and "protect the integrity and heritage" of Indian communities (*El Día*, 2 January)!

The Chiapas revolt is a heroic but desperate reaction to a long chain of defeats and attacks on Mexico's working, poor and indigenous people. It harks back to the "armed struggle" launched in the wake of the 1968 massacre by small groups which were quickly crushed. It looks to the traditional symbol of peasant radicalism, Emiliano Zapata, martyred by the northern bourgeoisie as it came to power through thwarting the Mexican Revolution—a revolution which left Chiapas' system of servitude virtually untouched. The key lesson of both 1968 and the 1910-17 Mexican Revolution is that the liberation of Mexico's poor and oppressed will come only when the powerful and combative *proletariat* leads the impoverished peasantry behind the banner of *permanent revolution*.

The imperialist yoke and rural despotism can only be broken with a workers and peasants government that expropriates the bourgeoisie and fights to extend the revolution throughout Latin America and across the Rio Grande to the proletariat of the U.S. and Canada. It is *internationalist labor struggle*, not rural guerrilla war, that can defeat NAFTA and point the way to liberation of Mexico's oppressed masses. Denouncing the barbarous terror against the brave insurgents of Chiapas, the Grupo Espartaquista de México, as part of the International Communist League, fights to build the Leninist vanguard party so desperately needed by the toilers of this land. Stop the massacre! Army out of Chiapas! ■

Provocateurs...

(continued from page 2)

police. Under Jimmy Carter, the FBI took its revenge for Watergate and the COINTELPRO revelations with the ABSCAM ("Arab scam") scheme, charging politicians with bribery for accepting money from feds posing as rich Arabs. The government entrapped independent car maker John DeLorean, who had antagonized his ex-boss GM, in a cocaine-dealing scheme. They ran a set-up on Washington mayor Marion Barry to make an example for their racist "war on drugs" in black D.C. The latest case was the exposé of the CIA running drugs by the ton into the U.S. from Venezuela, supposedly as part of an operation against the Medellin cartel.

This is hardly new in the annals of police provocation. The World Trade Center plot recalls some of the wilder operations of the old tsarist Okhrana secret police. Victor Serge noted in his 1925 book, *What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression*, based on examining the Okhrana files after the Bolsheviks took power in the 1917 October Revolution, that "Provocation, when it becomes so widely extended, becomes a danger even to the regime it serves." A police spy, Evno Azev, who became the *head* of the Social-Revolutionaries' "battle organization" in 1909, was one of the organizers of the assassination of Grand Duke Sergei and the Minister of the Interior Plehve. This was even approved by a top police official, Rachkovsky. One of Plehve's successors as minister of the interior, the infamous Stolypin, was also killed by an anarchist agent provocateur working for the tsar's police.

Emad Salem, the FBI's own fink extraordinaire, who learned his trade as an Egyptian army officer and intelligence agent, infiltrated the Jersey City mosque and became a trusted aide of blind Sheik Rahman, the Egyptian fundamentalist cleric whose followers have been trying for years to overthrow the Cairo regime of U.S. ally Hosni Mubarak. But Rahman himself was working with the U.S. The common thread in the bombing cases is the CIA's "Afghan connection." The sheik's following was full of now-unemployed veterans of the U.S.' decade-long proxy *jihad* (holy war) against the Soviet-allied reform government of Afghanistan. The Salem tapes reveal that Rahman "was using a fax machine to command anti-Communist Muslim rebels, moving forces from Pakistan to Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 27 October 1993).

In an interview published in the *New Yorker* (10 January), the sheik complained bitterly, "what bothers me, and makes me feel bitter about the whole thing, is when a person who was called a freedom fighter then is now called, when the war is over, a terrorist."

As we wrote last August, "To the classic Watergate questions of what the feds knew and when they knew it, the answers are clearly, 'everything' and 'before it happened.' We don't pretend to know what was being cooked up in Jersey City storefronts, Queens garages and CIA offices from Langley, Virginia to the World Trade Center. Some of the accused may have been entrapped into thinking that they were preparing for another *jihad* in the Balkans" (*WV* No. 582, 13 August 1993).

The World Trade Center bombing trial and the conspiracy case against Sheik Rahman is being used to whip up an anti-Arab terrorism scare whose purposes range from whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to reviving discredited sedition laws and intimidating all those who fall out of step with the government. We have no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, but we nevertheless defend those who were caught in the web of government provocation against this witchhunt prosecution which aims to cover up the *government's* crimes. The "conspiracy" and "sedition" laws exist to be used against striking unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities, while the conspirators in power in Washington go free.

As to what really went on in the WTC bomb plot, we may not know until we are able, like the Bolsheviks, to open the police archives after the revolution. ■

North Korea...

(continued from page 3)

North Korea's virtues as a vacation spot!). But while these *reformist* outfits talk of reunifying Korea, they do not even mention smashing capitalist rule in the South.

A "peaceful" *capitalist* reunification is precisely what the *chaebols* dream of. This would be a hellish disaster for the North Korean masses—those not starved to death would be slave labor for the Seoul capitalists and Tokyo (or Wall Street) banks—as well as for South Korea's powerful, combative proletariat. The South Korean workers have been heroically combative, carrying out pitched battles in shipyards, auto plants and steel mills against the strikebreaking military. But this economic militancy has not yet been matched by the revolutionary consciousness needed to sweep away the capitalist exploiters. The key to victory is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for *revolutionary* reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North. And a Korean revolution can be the gateway for socialist revolution in Japan, industrial powerhouse of Asia.

With the colonial invasion of Somalia in the guise of "humanitarian" aid, the starvation sanctions and terror bombing of Iraq, the blockade of Haiti and now the saber rattling against North Korea, Clinton's America covers its militarist interventions with the UN fig leaf, just as fellow Democrat Truman did in Korea 40 years ago. The internationalist duty of the proletariat in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast is to defend our Korean class brothers and sisters against Washington's war moves, on the road to a socialist revolution that can put these nuclear-armed madmen out of business for good. ■

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The 1908 Race Riot in Springfield

The January 16 Ku Klux Klan provocation targeting the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday is only the latest in a long filthy history of bigotry and racist attacks in Springfield, Illinois. In 1908, Springfield was part of a wave of racist riots across the U.S. which broke out in Greenwood, South Carolina and Wilmington, North Carolina in 1898; in Stateshoro, Georgia and Springfield, Ohio in 1904; in Greensburg, Indiana, Brownsville, Texas and Atlanta in 1906.

Racist terror was the spearhead for reaction down the line. In the post-Civil War South, Jim Crow kept the freed slaves in poverty, disease and ignorance. In Northern industries and Western mines, workers tried to organize against the robber barons' brutal exploitation. By pitting white workers against black and fomenting chauvinist hatred of the millions of non-English-speaking immigrants, the bosses succeeded in crippling the workers movement.

This reactionary period was later, in 1915, to see the rebirth of the modern KKK with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman in Atlanta framed for the murder of a white girl. Terror against blacks was fomented through white-supremacist propaganda like *The Clansman*, a novel and play by Thomas Dixon ghoulishly celebrating KKK lynching. Dixon's racist trash pushed the lie of the "black rapist," symbolizing the ultimate fear of the result of black equality: "race mixing." The play later became the foundation for *The Birth of a Nation*, D.W. Griffith's racist propaganda film.

In Springfield, the city fathers responded to black citizens' protests against the play by allowing only whites to buy tickets. In 1908, a white woman's false charge of sexual assault against a black workman sparked a two-day racist riot that drove hundreds of blacks from town. "'Lincoln freed you, we'll show you where you belong,' was one of the cries with which the Springfield mob set about to drive the negroes from town," wrote William English Walling in *The Independent* (3 September 1908). "The mob was composed of several thousand of Springfield's white citizens, while other thousands, including many women and children, and even prosperous business men in automobiles, calmly looked on, and the rioters proceeded hour after hour and on two days in succession to make deadly assaults on every negro they could lay their hands on, to sack and plunder their houses and stores, and to burn and murder on favorable occasion." Walling was a socialist who had traveled to Russia during the 1905 Revolution and spent several years there. He arrived in Springfield during the second day of the riot.

Illinois State Historical Library

Devastation on East Madison Street in heart of black district of Springfield, Illinois after racist riot of 1908.

In her well-written and informative book, *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot* (University of Illinois Press, 1990), Roberta Senechal describes Springfield, the riot and its aftermath. On August 15, a mob of 300 to 400 whites gathered at the jail holding the black man falsely accused of sexual assault, George Richardson, and another black man charged in the slaying of a white man. As talk of lynchings sped through town, the Sangamon County sheriff arranged for an armed escort to spirit the prisoners away, afraid the jail might be attacked.

Finding the inmates gone, the mob rushed to the restaurant owned by a well-to-do white businessman who had loaned his car to aid the escape of the black inmates. Rioters smashed and burned the car and the restaurant was looted and set aflame. The mob, now nearly 5,000, moved onto Washington Street, a main thoroughfare in the Levee, a concentration of black businesses and residences. Along Eighth Street, a group of black men armed with shotguns to defend themselves let loose a few rounds, eventually retreating amid "a cannonading which rivaled the battle of Gettysburg," according to one newspaper.

In the residential section known as the Badlands, 56-year-old barbershop owner Scott Burton was attacked in his yard. Burton fired buckshot to keep the ax-wielding, brick-throwing throng at bay. The white mob then threw a rope around his neck and dragged him through the streets, riddling him with bullets, hanging him from a tree and attempting to set him on fire. Burton was the first black man lynched, with state militiamen and local police standing by as racists rampaged. The second lynching victim, 80-year-old William Donnegan, was one of the city's wealthier blacks who lived with his white wife a block and a half from the state capitol building.

Every black business in the Levee was targeted. Jewish businesses were also singled out for attack. White mobs set upon black homes, beating black men, women and children, setting houses ablaze and looting businesses, forcing scores to flee for their lives. When firemen arrived to tackle house fires, the racist mob cut their hoses. White people interspersed amid black residences were ordered by rioters to mark their homes with white cloths so that they would not be burned. More than 80 black people were injured and hundreds became refugees, escaping to Chicago and other towns, only to face more murderous assaults often accompanied by shouts of "Give 'em Springfield!"

In reaction to the wave of racist riots, and in particular in response to Walling's article about Springfield, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909.

While lynch mobs ran riot and the job-trusting leaders of the American Federation of Labor excluded blacks from the lily-white crafts, in sharp working-class struggles interracial unity came to the fore. Black workers in Springfield played a strategic role in Sangamon County's coal mining. Nearly one in ten miners was black and over 150 lived in town. After the coal bosses brought up black miners from Alabama to be used as unwitting strikebreakers and provoked bloody battles during a strike in nearby Virden in 1898, black members of the United Mine Workers from Springfield fought the use of black laborers as strikebreakers. After the 1908 race riot in Springfield, when a number of racist miners demanded that blacks be discharged from the union, John H. Walker, then president of the Illinois UMW, let it be known that "the local that took such action would first be fined, and, if still obstinate, would be expelled from the organization" (Philip Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973*[1974]).

The fact that today the Klan believes it can rally in Springfield, the capital of the "Land of Lincoln," is testimony to the racist hypocrisy that gives the lie to the promise of equality under capitalism, in the North as well as the ex-slave South. The stark fact is that from 1911, for the next three-quarters of a century no black person was elected to public office in Springfield, even

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black mobilization in Springfield: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan January 16'."

Partial List of Endorsers as of 4 January 1994

29th Ward Peoples Assembly, Chicago, IL
Aboriginal Death in Custody Watch Committee, Sydney, Australia
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James R. Barrett, Executive Committee member, Union of Professional Employees, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,* Champaign, IL
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Black United Fund of Illinois, Chicago, IL
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Jemae C. Prois, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019,* Oakland, CA
Rabbinical Office of the Jewish Community of Milano, Milano, Italy
Rail, Maritime & Transport Union, Finsbury Park branch, London, England
Thomas W. Ramsey, Communications Director, SEIU Local 399,* Los Angeles, CA
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Allen L. Weiss, President, Teamsters Local 279,* Decatur, IL
Christopher Wilson, Chair, Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.

Coal Contract Knifes Miners' Jobs and Safety

Defend Logan County Miners!

On December 7, United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Richard Trumka announced a settlement of the union's ten-month-long so-called selective strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Two weeks before, Trumka ordered picket lines taken down across the coal fields. And as eight Logan County, West Virginia miners were arraigned in a vicious federal frame-up, the UMW tops remained silent in a clear signal to the bosses. From the outset, Trumka wanted to wear down the union ranks to the point where they would accept a sellout contract.

This contract is designed to drive down working conditions and safety in union mines to the level of non-union operations. Crafted under the pressure of federal "mediation" by Clinton's Labor Department, it is a deadly threat to coal miners and the existence of their union. Even after ten months of "selective strike," in which no more than 17,500 miners were ever called out—while the UMWA tops allowed scabs into the mines and coal to be shipped—over one-third of the union still voted against this disastrous contract.

The contract specifically excludes from any amnesty miners facing federal charges. This is a direct attack on the eight Logan County miners framed up on charges of "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce" at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine near Yoyln, West Virginia (see "Defend Logan County Miners!" *WV* No. 589, 3 December 1993). The miners go on trial in Charleston on January 24. The labor movement must not allow these men, who defended their union on the picket line, to be railroaded by the coal bosses and their government. An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop the charges against the Logan County miners!

The coal bosses, Wall Street and Washington were all quick to applaud the agreement. Sam Shiflet, the hated president of Peabody Coal and chairman of the BCOA, crowed that "this contract contains the first basic work rule changes in decades," and gloated that it yields "fundamental changes in the relationship between labor and management."

Trumka parrots the BCOA and government line: "Today marks the start of a new era in labor-management relations in the coal fields." What's behind this b.s. is an agreement ordering local union officials

WV Photo

UMWA strikers picket Montcoal mine and prep plant in West Virginia last February.

to collaborate with the coal bosses to increase "productivity." In other words, boost coal company profits by slashing jobs and working conditions. Called the "Labor Management Positive Change Process," the "joint" committees can slash job classifications and even assign miners to jobs without regard to seniority. New, "alternative" work schedules will include 10-hour days and even 12-hour shifts on Saturdays and Sundays. Around-the-clock production will wipe out necessary "dead work" time during which mine safety work is done. Together these provisions represent a massive assault on miners' safety and livelihoods.

Miners in West Virginia told *Workers Vanguard* that the "productivity" committees are like cutting your own throat. Strikers were angry about cruel changes in health care: miners are given a $1,000 "bonus," and then forced to decide whether to spend their own money if they or their families want to see a doctor. In addition, the BCOA has set up a list of their own "preferred providers"—company doctnrs.

The agreement extends provisions of the 1988 BCOA contract on hiring laid-off union miners to companies that had been "double breasting"—creating subsidiaries in order to open non-union mines. But Trumka's contract continues to sanction these non-union outfits, allowing the bosses to hire *40 percent* non-UMWA miners. Local 1392 president Fred Wagner in Percy, Illinois said the contract will allow the companies to weed out militants: "If you're a guy who's been really active in the union, you won't get the job" (*Springfield State Journal-Register*, 14 December 1993).

When the walkout began, Trumka said, "I didn't want to strike to begin with." That's certainly how he ran it. The UMWA tops repeated the "selective strike" strategy which led to defeats at Pittston in 1989 and A.T. Massey in 1984-85, when four Kentucky miners were railroaded by the feds and are in jail to this day.

Trumka, and Clinton, knew that a militant national miners strike would send shock waves through U.S. labor and inspire solidarity, from Staley workers locked out in Illinois to striking steel workers in Alabama, who have seen their brothers struck down and killed on the picket line. What was needed was to pull out the entire UMWA, appealing directly to railroad workers, longshoremen and power plant workers to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) *any* coal. Winning some strikes is the road to recapturing the non-union mines in the East and to laying the basis for a militant organizing drive in the huge Western mines.

This sellout contract comes after 20 years of government-backed "reformers" running the UMWA, beginning with Arnold Miller, who was installed as president in the Labor Department-controlled elections in 1972 (with Trumka on his staff). The "reformers" have hacked away at the union's proud traditions, gutting what was once the most powerful industrial union in the U.S. through class-collaborationist schemes that bind the unions to the capitalists and their government.

Trumka wears his camouflage tie up to Capitol Hill, and pleads that "if we had strong, fair and reasonable labor law, this [strike] could have been avoided." A District 31 miner had Trumka's number when he told *WV* that "if you remain legal, you're going to lose." Trumka has shown which side *he's* on. To take on the coal bosses and the capitalist state which stands behind them, with its cops, courts and labor boards, you need a class-struggle leadership which links the fight to oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders with the struggle to forge a workers party championing all the oppressed. ■

though 11 percent of the city's population was black (Dr. Lawrence C. Golden, *Report on Racial Discrimination in Springfield, Illinois* [November 1986]). Among cities its size, Springfield is one of the most segregated towns in the United States.

The struggle for black freedom is integrally linked to the fight for social revolution to smash racist capitalism. The 1917 October Revolution in Russia, in which Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks led the working class to power, was a beacon of emancipation for the downtrodden around the globe. Drawing on their own experience in mobilizing the workers to defeat racist pogroms against the Jews, the Bolsheviks taught American Communists that they must not be "colorblind" but must champion the cause of black people. Among the most oppressed would be found many of the strongest fighters for socialist revolution, and only united working-class struggle against every case of social and racial injustice could lead the way to freedom for all. Today, powerful action by the integrated labor movement can crush the growing fascist threat, winning a victory for all working people and oppressed minorities.

Join the Partisan Defense Committee in bringing together a powerful body of labor and blacks that can stop the Klan cold on January 16. All out to stop the KKK! ■

Stop the KKK...

(continued from page 12)

state capitol. Don't let this happen in Springfield!

Around the world, right-wing terror is on the rise, from Nazi firebombings of Turkish families in Germany to the skinhead murder of an Ethiopian student in Portland, Oregon. Following the destruction of the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe, there has been a resurgence of terror against Jews and Gypsies. Hitler's stormtroopers could have been crushed in the egg before they rose to power.

We have the power to spike the KKK threat here and now—labor/black power has done it before. Chicago labor, along with blacks, Jews, students, gays and leftists, turned out more than 3,000-strong on June 27, 1982 against a gang of Hitler lovers who targeted gays. In Evanston in 1980, Holocaust survivors and others courageously drove the Nazis out of town when they tried to spread their terror in this Jewish community, as they had tried in Skokie in 1978. A mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in Philadelphia on November 5, 1988 blocked a KKK provocation at the Liberty Bell.

The KKK threatens to rally on the Capitol's east steps on Sunday, January 16 facing statues of Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr., and monuments to coal miners and Illinois workers—everything the Klan hates: social justice, minorities, unions. We must be there in a mass, disciplined and democratic mobilization of militant outrage that stops their deadly provocation. **All out to stop the Ku Klux Klan!**

Partisan Defense Committee
30 December 1993

Cathy Long, Victim of Racist Murder

Cathy Ann Long, a 31-year-old black woman and a mother, was murdered by white supremacists. Mrs. Long moved to South Bend, Indiana three years ago from San Jose, California. On December 21, her body was found in a deserted spot along a country road. Police initially claimed she was a "transient" and the press reported a "random slaying."

But according to the *South Bend Tribune* (28 December 1993), the four men arrested for this grisly slaying were part of a racist group known as the White Brotherhood. Court records state the four had left a party and decided to rob someone. They agreed it would be a black person. They encountered Cathy Long and killed her in cold blood. She was riddled with stab wounds and her throat had been cut.

Cathy Long is survived by her husband, Jacob, and two daughters, Katherine Nicole Long and Nausha Lee King. Mr. Long told *Workers Vanguard* his wife was "grievously slain. She was a loving wife and mother, not to be slaughtered and slandered as she was."

Nothing "random" about it: Cathy Long is among the thousands of black people who have fallen victim to the lynch rope and the burning cross.

The racists are getting away with murder. They successfully came out in their white sheets at the Indianapolis state house on October 16, and at the Ohio state house in Columbus a week later. The police protected the Klan and penned up anti-fascist protesters inside chain-link holding pens, surrounded by phalanxes of cops. The KKK was not stopped in Indianapolis. And weeks later Cathy Long was brutally slain by racist killers.

The murder of Cathy Long by white supremacists underscores a basic truth: the fascists cannot be "ignored"—we must stop them. KKK "Christmas crosses" in Columbus and Cincinnati, "White Aryan Resistance" führer Tom Metzger's skinhead punks marauding in Springfield schools, a recruiting rally on the MLK holiday—these are all deadly threats to black people, labor, almost all of us. These fascist scum must be driven back into their holes before one more life is lost at the hands of the racist killers.

IT TAKES MONEY TO STOP THE KKK!

Donations are urgently needed to build the January 16 labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications, and equipment all cost a lot of money. Get your union, church group, student club, and friends to help build the mobilization beginning with a financial contribution. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: PDC, Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

No Racist Provocation Against Martin Luther King Holiday!

Springfield, Illinois—January 16

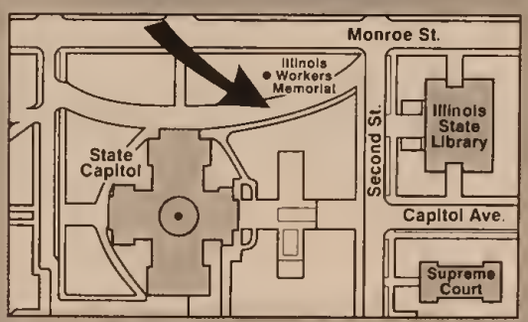
The following urgent call for a massive labor/black mobilization was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on December 30.

The lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan say they are going to bring their terror to the steps of the Illinois state capitol in Springfield on January 16. This time, their target is the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. With their lynch ropes, burning crosses, robes and swastikas, the KKK is a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unions, leftists—**practically all of us**. There must be a militant, disciplined and defiant display of labor/black power that insures the KKK doesn't ride in Springfield on January 16! The Partisan Defense Committee urges you to organize your community, your union, your school. **Be there! Stop the Klan!**

Make no mistake—the KKK are sadistic killers, in and out of their white sheets. Just before Christmas in South Bend, Indiana, Cathy Long, a black mother of two, was brutally murdered by four white supremacists. This racist murder follows almost weekly Klan and Nazi provocations across the Midwest, from Columbus to Indianapolis. The Klan was founded by Confederate officers bent on overturning the verdict of the Civil War and imposing Jim Crow segregation. Now they are coming to Springfield to try and turn back the clock—back to 1908 when black men, women and children were driven out of town in the bloody Springfield race riot. A KKK rally on and against the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday is a real provocation. Minorities, labor unions, and civil rights activists fought for years to commemorate the slain civil rights leader. King was gunned down in Memphis where he went to support a sanitation workers strike. From the east steps of the Capitol, white robed Klansmen intend to spew their poison at King's statue and recruit to racist violence and bigotry. We will be at the Illinois Workers Memorial to stop them.

Illinois is a "War Zone," from the besieged miners, Caterpillar and Staley workers to black people facing racist police terror on the South Side of Chicago. This devastation is what the race-haters of the Klan feed on. The fascists are poison to every kind of integrated social struggle—like union organizing and winning strikes. The unions were built against the violent opposition of the KKK, when these stormtroopers terrorized immigrant Catholics, as well as blacks, and the unions they joined. In the '30s U.S. Steel and other bosses hired Klansmen to set up company unions in the mines. Behind the KKK and their gut hatred of unions stands a ruling class which has driven down wages, gutted jobs, and shredded health care, education and welfare.

BE THERE!



Illinois Workers Memorial at the State Capitol

Sunday, January 16, 12 Noon

The KKK acts as vigilantes for the government-sponsored war on immigrants. Meanwhile, legal lynching, the death penalty, targets blacks and Hispanics in particular—from death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania to Manuel Salazar in Illinois.

Within easy reach of Springfield—in Chicago, Decatur, Peoria and St. Louis—are unions with hundreds of thousands of black, white and Hispanic members. This is the power—the unity of the integrated labor movement—that must be mobilized to stop the KKK on January 16. Thousands of unionists, standing with blacks, Jews, gays, can fill the Capitol grounds. In stopping the Klan we will honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor.

Across the Midwest last fall, large numbers of people—especially youth—turned out to try and stop the fascists. But everywhere the KKK rallied to recruit to racist terrorism, the police penned up anti-fascist demonstrators in cages to protect the Klan. What's necessary is to link the justified outrage of the youth, the black community, and all intended victims of the KKK to the organized power of labor to stop the fascists. Asking the cops and courts to "Ban the Klan" is like black motorist Rodney King asking the LAPD for protection! It is not a question of "free speech" for the KKK—remember the four black children who were murdered in the Birmingham church bombing and the union organizers and leftists shot down in broad daylight in Greensboro. Remember Cathy Long who was murdered by nightriders just weeks after the KKK staged a provocation at the Indiana

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Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 592 X-623 21 January 1994

M.L. King Day: Klan Provocations in 8 States

Anti-Racist Protesters Confront KKK

Springfield, Illinois

WV Photo

CHICAGO—Aided, abetted and protected by a massive show of armed police force, the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations in eight state capitals on the Martin Luther King holiday weekend. But despite the cop mobilizations, and major efforts by liberals to "ignore the Klan," wherever the cowardly nightriders came out into the daylight, they were confronted by outraged anti-fascists. In Austin, Texas, some 2,000 people took to the streets, drowning out the racist filth being spewed by 33 KKKers and delivering the message loud and clear: "Hey Sheethead, Go Home!" In Denver, Little Rock, Montgomery, Tallahassee, Columbus and Topeka, hundreds came out to oppose the murderous white supremacists.

The focal point of the battle against the Klan provocations became Springfield, Illinois, where uniquely a struggle was waged to mobilize the social power of organized labor and the black community. This was met by a frenzied response from the government and those who sought to sabotage any effective response to the fascist terrorists, ranging from federal agencies and the highest levels of the state administration to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and so-called "Anti"-Defamation League. The organizing efforts against the Klan provocation had a sharp polarizing effect throughout the labor movement.

On Sunday, January 16, some 500 people braved arctic temperatures and a blinding snowstorm to prevent a provocation against Martin Luther King Day. This significant event was forged by the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. The PDC issued the call, "All Out to Stop the KKK!" just before New Year's Day and then waged the political and legal battles necessary to realize it. Late on in the mobilizing effort, the PDC had to wage a battle in the federal courts against Illinois Secretary of State George Ryan's move to effectively rescind a permit the PDC had already been granted to demonstrate within view of the Klan provocation.

As support for this anti-Klan effort grew wider and deeper, particularly among black workers who fought to bring the unity of the multiracial labor movement to bear against the KKK scabherders and racist terrorists, all the resources of bourgeois state power—the cops, the courts, the bourgeois press (and of course the "lieutenants of capital" in the union movement)—were cranked up to knife this urgent labor/black action. But we had struck a responsive vein of anger and discontent among wide sectors of the population, from the factories to the ghettos and college campuses. More than 100,000 leaflets building this anti-racist action were distributed. The wellspring of support wouldn't be stopped, and the mobilization went ahead.

What prevailed in Springfield on January 16 was a labor-centered mobilization in defense of black people and all intended victims of Ku Klux Klan terror. Initiated and organized by the PDC, it was enthusiastically taken up by determined working-class fighters who showed that labor is a formidable force when organized to consciously fight for its own class interests. "Those of us who are here, we are the hard core of the union. We are the hard core of this movement," said John Hill, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Chicago's

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Giuliani Gives Green Light

NYC Cop Vendetta Against Black Muslims

New York City's new Reagan Republican mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, and his police chief, William Bratton, wasted no time after taking office to unleash their thugs in blue on black people. On the very day Bratton took over, the NYPD invaded the most prominent mosque in Harlem. Two days later, cops murdered the son of a prominent black Muslim cleric in Brooklyn. A spokesman for the Islamic Leadership Council of NYC charged, "The mayor has given a signal to the Police Department that it is open season on blacks and Hispanics."

On Sunday afternoon, January 9, while hundreds were worshipping at the Nation of Islam's Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, eight white cops with guns drawn attempted to burst into the services. The phone "tip" the cops claimed they received was revealed to be patently bogus, alleging that "a male black, light skin...5 foot 8" was "sticking up the Muhammad's Mosque...and he's also selling crack." Even the *New York Times* noted that the call was in "police jargon."

Nation of Islam members defended themselves against the cop assault, and a melee ensued in which a cop's gun and radio were lost while eight cops claimed injuries (mostly from slipping on the ice). A three-hour standoff ensued as the congregation retreated into the third-floor mosque, and an army of cops sealed off Central Harlem between 125th and 126th streets from Malcolm X Boulevard to Madison Avenue. The Muslim congregants were held hostage in their building as the NYPD brass debated what they would try next.

After three hours of negotiations, the worshippers finally emerged, with hundreds forced to file past the cops for identification, but no arrests were made. Now Giuliani and Bratton demand that the mosque turn over the "perpetrator" who allegedly disarmed the cops, taking their guns and radio. The Nation of Islam has to date refused.

The NYPD's first lie—that they didn't know they were entering a mosque—has vaporized. Mosque No. 7 (where Malcolm X preached) is

continued on page 3

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Oakland Cops: Racist Murder Inc.

OAKLAND, California—"It was *Rambo*," said widowed schoolteacher Rashidah Grinage, describing how police assaulted her East Oakland home last December 15. The cops gunned down her son, 21-year-old Luke Grinage, and her husband, Luke's 62-year-old father, Raphael. Luke had been the target of police harassment over a period of months. Raphael Grinage was confined to a wheelchair.

But this wanton cop murder isn't what made the news here. Routinely running roughshod through the ghettos and barrios of Oakland, the police were livid because it was the first time in two years they lost one of their own in their storm-trooper assault on the Grinage home.

It began when an Animal Control squad came to quarantine the Grinages' dog, which had bitten a trespasser on their property. Animal Control maintained that the dog did not have a current rabies vaccination. The family had documents proving that it did. When Luke refused to surrender his dog, police backup was called in.

Neighbors heard Luke shout repeatedly, "You're not getting my dog," as the Oakland cops billy-clubbed him to the floor of the house, dragged him down a wheelchair ramp, maced him and attempted to cuff him. Wrestling his way out of his shirt, Luke managed to escape back into the house. Inside, he apparently grabbed a shotgun to defend himself.

In the ensuing showdown, one of the policemen was shot and fatally wounded. Police then sprayed the front of the house with gunfire, pumping ten shots into Luke's body. They also murdered his wheelchair-bound father with a bullet through the heart. Finally, in a gratuitous act of vengeance, the cops went outside and shot the dog, which was chained in the yard.

While the wounded policeman was quickly whisked away by ambulance to a hospital emergency room, it was two hours before the bodies of Luke and Raphael were removed.

Police arrested Luke's brother Michael just for being there. Then they sealed off the house, confiscating family belongings for "evidence" and refusing to let the surviving Grinages back in until 2 a.m. the next day. Upon returning home, Mrs. Grinage's eyes immediately seized upon one piece of evidence the cops didn't see fit to take: the receipt for a rabies vaccination, dated October 1991, which was sitting on top of the television in the living room where the shootout took place.

Surrounded by bullet holes in her living room walls, Mrs. Grinage told WV about her son and husband. The brutal tragedy, she said, evokes images of "the situation in Waco, Texas." Her husband Raphael was an accomplished jazz bassist. He had played with some of the greats: Billie Holiday, Carmen McRae, Odetta and Earl "Fatha" Hines, to name just a few. Having lost both of his legs to diabetes, he was forced into premature semi-retirement. He and Rashidah, an interracial couple, lived in a quiet, racially diverse East Oakland neighborhood where together they raised a family.

Luke Grinage had just turned 21. He had gotten engaged only the day before to marry his girlfriend, Dianna Knockum. He was a student at Merritt College and was busily looking for work. According to his mother, intimidation by the cops had forced Luke into a state of "self-imposed house arrest." He and his friends seldom ventured beyond the driveway in front of his house.

On several occasions since the summer of 1992, police detained Luke Grinage for between 48 and 72 hours, usually without any charges being filed. He was never convicted of any crime. The situation prompted Mrs. Grinage to consult a lawyer and to write a letter to the Oakland Police Office of Internal Affairs on November 11. "This smacks more of South Africa than the United States, it is an outrage," she wrote.

Then, on January 6, the Oakland police scored their first kill of the new year. Backed up by Pleasanton cops, U.S. Secret Service and U.S. Postal Service agents, they put together an invasion force of about 20 cops—half of them decked out in riot gear with shields, bulletproof vests, and semi-automatic weapons—to mount a raid on the Alameda County home of 32-year-old black public school custodian Nathan Cosby.

Cosby's estranged wife, Melinda, was arrested December 26 in Pleasanton, a small town near Hayward, and charged with credit card fraud. (Melinda has since been released and is not facing prosecution.) The cops raided Cosby's home to look for "evidence" to try to implicate him in a "crime ring." When Cosby, who was presumably asleep at the time, did not answer the early morning knock at the door, police used a battering ram to break it down. Cosby grabbed his pistol and opened a bedroom window to escape, apparently (and with good cause) fearing for his safety. One of the police fired a fatal shot into Cosby's head. Later, police also shot Cosby's dog.

Courtesy of Rashidah Grinage

Raphael Grinage

The family of Nathan Cosby held a candlelight vigil in his memory the next week. It was attended by over 200 neighbors, friends and fellow workers from his union, AFSCME Local 257.

Such blatant crimes are what the "New World Order" holds in store for blacks. Clinton's plans for 100,000 more cops and tighter gun control mean racist war on blacks and other oppressed minorities. In this period of capitalist decay, U.S. rulers treat black people increasingly as "surplus population." Along with genocidal welfare "reforms," it's speedup on death row while the cops gun down black youth in the streets, and even families in their homes.

This is readily apparent in the black city of Oakland, where police keep the population in a state of fear through a campaign of racist terror. Last Halloween, cops brutally beat Latino youth. That both the mayor and police chief of Oakland are black doesn't stop the cop onslaught. Last summer, BART police shot unarmed black youth Baraka Hull in the back as he was running away.

The Grinage family has a civil suit pending against the City of Oakland. They deserve every cent they can get after their terrible loss. The power of organized labor must be mobilized in defense of oppressed minorities. Nathan Cosby's AFSCME brothers and sisters could take a real step forward by initiating a call for a labor protest strike against cop terror in Oakland. With the heavily integrated unions of transit and city workers, teachers and machinists, this could send a powerful message that these racist atrocities must stop!

If the trade unions flexed their muscles in defense of the black population, it would have real impact which a thousand speeches by black Democrats or phony "review boards" can never have. The hired guns of this capitalist ruling class can never be reformed. A multiracial workers party is desperately needed to lead the struggle to sweep away this brutal killing machine. The American workers revolution will avenge Luke and Raphael Grinage, Nathan Cosby, and all other victims of police death squad terror. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

An Action Program Against the Capitalist Offensive

West Europe is today mired in the worst economic depression of the postwar era, as the capitalists seek to dismantle the social-democratic "welfare state." To divert working-class struggle against increasing immiseration, the ruling classes, abetted by the fascists, are escalating racist attacks on the immigrant communities. Writing on France during the Great Depression and following the victory of Nazism in Germany in 1933, Trotsky explained that the working people could defeat the offensive of capitalist reaction only through a program and strategy for taking state power.

To try to emerge from the chaos in which it has plunged the country, the French bourgeoisie must first resolve the monetary problem. One section wants to do this by *inflation*, i.e., the issuing of paper money, the depreciation of wages, the raising of the cost of living, the expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie; the other by *deflation*, i.e., retrenchment on the backs of the workers (lowering of salaries and wages), extension of unemployment, ruin of the small peasant producers and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns.

Either alternative means increased misery for the exploited. To choose between these two capitalist methods would be to choose between two instruments with which the exploiters are preparing to cut the throats of the workers.

Brutal deflation is the first step in the plan of the French capitalists. The workers are being deprived of unemployment relief; social insurance is being menaced; wages are being reduced....

Only the laboring masses, taking their future into their own hands, in one powerful revolutionary thrust, can energetically and with iron will create the necessary great power to save society from the capitalist oligarchy that corrupts it and leads it to ruin.

The task is to replace the *capitalist state*, which functions for the profit of the big exploiters, by the workers' and peasants' *proletarian state*. The task is to establish in this country the rule of the working people. To all we declare that it is not a matter of secondary "modification," but rather that the domination of the small minority of the bourgeois class must be replaced by the leadership and power of the immense majority of the laboring people....

The bourgeoisie will never willingly consent to measures that can pull society out of chaos. It wants to perpetuate all its privileges, and in order to protect them it is starting to use fascist gangs.

Our slogan is not the disarming of the fascist gangs of finance capital by finance capital's own police. We refuse to spread the criminal illusion that a capitalist government can actually proceed to the disarming of the capitalist hands. The exploited must defend themselves against the capitalists.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Program of Action for France" (June 1934)

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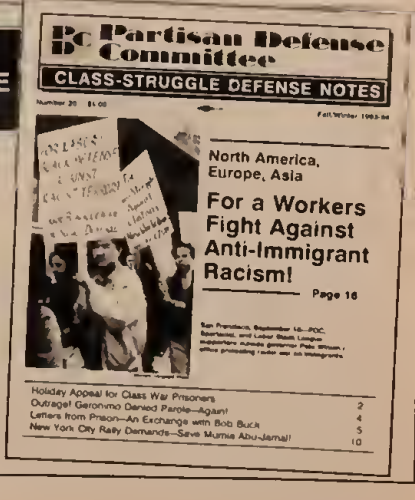

Catharine MacKinnon, Apprentice Ayatollah

Feminist Anti-Porn Queen

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Barrett/L.A. Times

Catharine MacKinnon (right) leads feminist crusade to ban pornography. Iran's anti-woman theocratic government has decreed death to promoters of pornography.

What do feminist lawyer Catharine MacKinnon and Iran's supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Khameini, have in common? Both have declared war on demon porn. MacKinnon's new book, *Only Words*, is one long lunatic scream equating pornographic images and flicks with crimes against women. She wants the government to ban porn. Now the Islamic theocrats in Teheran have enacted the ultimate extension of her program. Legislation passed by the Iranian parliament on December 20 decreed that producers and distributors of pornographic videotapes are "Corrupters on Earth" and can receive the *death penalty*; first offenders get up to five years in jail and $100,000 in fines.

In Islamic fundamentalist Iran, SWAT teams of religious thugs roam around arresting and beating women for violations of the Islamic dress code mandating the barbaric veil. These morals police have no compunctions about treading on civil liberties like freedom of speech: there isn't any. Catharine MacKinnon clearly shares the ayatollahs' contempt: she claims the suffering of women will be alleviated by sex cops confiscating videotapes and locking up porn stars.

Mullah MacKinnon's program is dangerous and reactionary. Her "Minneapolis ordinance" was ruled unconstitutional in the U.S., but its essence was enacted in Canadian law. MacKinnon helped write a decisive brief to the Supreme Court of Canada for the feminist Legal Education and Action Fund against the 1992 appeal of a video store operator: the court duly found that "prohibiting pornography promotes equality." Ironically, the new law's first victim was an erotic U.S. lesbian magazine, *Bad Attitude* (see "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt," *Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994).

More recently, Canada's draconian Child Pornography and Corrupting Morals Amendment, which makes it a crime to own, make, exhibit or sell anything that depicts a sexual act by anyone under 18 (or who *appears to be* under 18), led to the seizure of 40 works of art from the Mercer Union, one of Toronto's most respected artist-run galleries. Ominously, police testified before parliament that they wanted the broad powers provided by the bill so that they could more easily raid the homes of people suspected of having "illegal" sex (*NAMBLA Bulletin*, September 1993).

In the U.S., the stench of McCarthyite anti-sex witchhunting is pervasive. On Capitol Hill 104 Congressmen recently called for more stringent enforcement of federal laws against "child porn"—including pictures of fully clothed children! Picking up where the Reaganite Moral Majority left off, for those unconvinced by bible scripture (leaving out the racy parts, of course), MacKinnon and her ilk provide the updated, Clintonite cover for state censorship: banning porn supposedly "protects" women, putting guys in jail for having erotic photos of kids is "fighting child abuse." And Clinton's top cop Janet Reno, in the name of "saving the babies," ordered the incineration of 86 people in the multiracial Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas.

But one feminist's porn is somebody's erotic art—and the state has no right to censor either. Nina Hartley, socialist, champion of sexual freedom and popular X-rated movie star, had MacKinnon's number when she blasted the "sex-negative" scoundrel feminists in "Reflections of a Feminist Porn Star" (*Gauntlet* No. 5, 1993): "The sex-negs' rhetoric of man-as-lustful-animal vs. woman-as-pure-victim is Victorian sexual propaganda dressed up in modern language. It plays right into the hands of reactionary religious fundamentalists.... We cannot—we must not—be drawn into limiting by law what consenting adults do in private." Down with censorship! Government out of the bedroom! ■

Giuliani...

(continued from page 1)

famous throughout Harlem, and has a large identifying sign hanging on the outside of the building. Even in the partial transcript of the 911 call released to the press, the police dispatcher is told *no less than five times* that the alleged "stick up" is at a mosque: "Minister Farrakhan Mosque," "the Muhammad's Mosque," the "Muhammad Mosque Incorporated," the caller repeats.

The cops needed the lie because the police invasion was in violation of the NYPD's own policy of caution about entering "sensitive areas," which specify a number of houses of religious worship and the (now defunct) Black Panther Party headquarters. The policy was instituted after a similar incident in April 1972, when police received a bogus call that a cop was in trouble at Temple No. 7-A, then on 116th and Lenox. That time one cop was shot dead, and the NYPD has been burning for revenge ever since. This was to be the payback.

Then on January 11, police in the Brooklyn neighborhood of East New York shot and killed unarmed Shuaih Latif, the 17-year-old son of the president of the Islamic Leadership Council of New York. Cops stormed his apartment building on the basis of yet another phony phone tip, reporting "a dispute involving a gun." The three cops (one of whom apparently shot himself in the leg), claimed there was a fight with the youth, but two witnesses said Latif was shot while his hands were raised in surrender. Imam Al-Amin Latif, his father, declared, "My son was murdered.... The story that the Police Department is telling is a lie and I don't accept it." The family had a second autopsy performed.

In the uproar over these racist atrocities, Nation of Islam (NOI) officials flew into New York to make peace with Police Commissioner Bratton, reminding him of Farrakhan's and the Nation's pledge to be "the best friend of the police in the black community." As was noted in *New York Newsday* (13 January), "The [NOI's] Fruit of Islam provides security at demonstrations, cleans streets of drug dealers, even works hand in hand with police to maintain order."

The new police chief, brought in from Boston, snubbed one planned meeting with his "good friend" Don Muhammad, the Boston Black Muslim leader, because he showed up with NYC black pols Al Sharpton and C. Vernon Mason. Meanwhile, Giuliani hardlined it and demanded the arrest of a Nation of Islam member. Vowing his support for the police, Giuliani claimed that the police were "the only victims" in the melee at the mosque. As if the cops would ever invade St. Patrick's Cathedral or Temple Emanu-El during religious services!

Republican Giuliani squeaked into office last fall over incumbent black Democrat David Dinkins by appealing to the white racist vote. In his "law and order" campaign, Giuliani made a point of denouncing Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Giuliani wanted to deny Farrakhan the right to free speech by refusing him a city permit to rent Yankee Stadium for an appearance last fall. We defend the Nation of Islam's right to rent Yankee Stadium, as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Catholic Pope have done, and to defend their house of worship against the cops.

Farrakhan, a notorious anti-Semite who called Hitler a "great man," is a dangerous demagogue. When Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan declared Malcolm was "worthy of death." Farrakhan's black separatism dovetails with white racism; in fact, the KKKers who staged a provocation on Martin Luther King Day in Springfield, Illinois praised him as "a real leader for the Black man" (*Chicago Defender*, 17 January).

However, what we wrote back when then-mayor racist pig Ed Koch and Louis Farrakhan were competing to whip up race war in New York is doubly true of Giuliani: "They are both dangerous racists, but there is a difference. Farrakhan only has his mouth: Koch has 30,000 gun-toting cops who think they have a license to kill—and they use it daily."

The cops' vendetta against the Black Muslims goes back more than 30 years. Now Giuliani, the cops' candidate, is paying off his murderous, racist friends in blue. It was Giuliani who egged on a drunken, racist mob of 10,000 *armed* cops that stormed City Hall in September 1992. Giuliani also marched for anti-gay bigotry in the St. Patrick's Day parade with Bratton's predecessor, Raymond Kelly.

Of course, Mr. "Law-and-Order" mayor has no intention of carrying out summary executions of cops who deal drugs, tamper with evidence, arrange murders, and falsely arrest and brutalize their victims as part of their standard operating procedure. All of this is well known to blacks, Hispanics and the homeless "squeegee men" of this city that Giuliani wants to lock up. The government's own whitewashing investigation of cop brutality, the Mollen Commission, publicly exposed plenty of examples of police corruption and racist brutality.

Four years ago, in David Dinkins' first month as mayor, NYC cops killed *eight* blacks and Latinos, mainly youth. This murderous rampage was to let the black mayor know who really runs the streets. This time around, the cops are celebrating the election of their man Giuliani by attacking and killing black Muslims. This is not only a "message" to the 600,000 Muslims in New York, most of whom are black or recent immigrants—but to all minorities in this city.

It was "soft cop" Democrat Dinkins, however, who hired thousands more cops, got the givebacks from the unions, and bulldozed the homeless encampments, paving the way for "hard cop" Giuliani and the Wall Street bosses to ride roughshod over minorities and labor. Now Giuliani announces his intention to lay off tens of thousands of union workers. The big multiethnic unions of New York must break their chains to the capitalist Democratic Party. Galvanizing the masses of the ghettos and barrios, and led by a revolutionary party, the working class has the power to wrest this country out of the hands of its bloodthirsty racist rulers. ■

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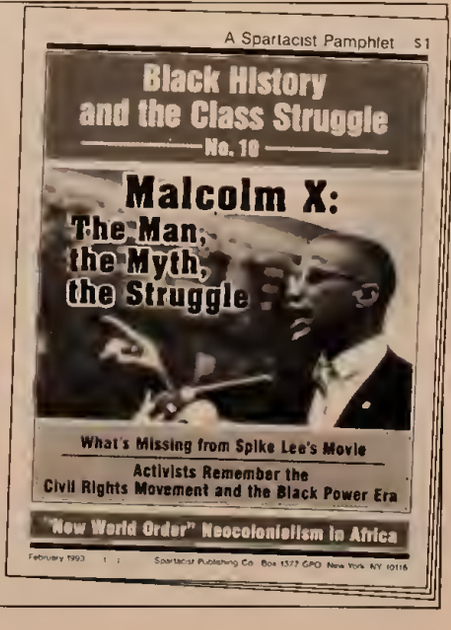

Roll Back Bosses' Offensive!
Defend Immigrants Against Racist Attacks!

Workers Struggle Across Europe

Part One of this article appeared in WV *No. 591, 7 January.*

Across Europe, combative workers have fought in thousands-strong battles against massive layoffs and drastic cutbacks in social services and living conditions. To deal with the highest unemployment levels since the 1930s, the bosses and their reformist henchmen have answered with schemes for "shorter workweeks" for less pay. Meanwhile, the

PART TWO OF TWO

fascists feed off economic crisis and desperation with ever more ominous terror attacks against immigrants. Taking their cue from top politicians who are whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria, such as conservative French interior minister Pasqua, the fascists scapegoat "foreigners" as supposedly responsible for unemployment. The crescendo of xenophobic nationalism is also fueled by (and contributed to) counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union.

As in Hitler's Third Reich, Gypsies (Roma) are being targeted for pogroms, from Romania to Poland. Across West Europe, thousands of immigrants were assaulted last year, attacked by knife-wielding skinheads, thrown from trains, their homes firebombed. The number of racist murders has skyrocketed in recent years—primarily in Germany but also in Britain, Belgium and elsewhere—with at least 75 reported in 1993 alone (London *Independent*, 13 January). The police not only turn a blind eye but are often the perpetrators, as with Joy Gardner, a Jamaican woman strangled in August by London cops who had seized her for deportation. Malian immigrant Makome M'Bowole, shot inside a police station in Paris last April, was one of five victims of racist police murders in France in a matter of months.

Immigrant workers constitute one of the most militant sectors of the West European workers movement. A significant defeat for the fascists on the streets, administered by an integrated workers mobilization, would have a big impact on the course of the class struggle in Europe. Moreover, Kurdish and Turkish workers joining in militant social struggle in Germany would find an echo among the volatile proletariat of Turkey. And a working-class offensive in France with combative North African workers playing a leading role could decisively alter the axis of political struggle in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists dominate the opposition to a military bonapartist regime.

Spartaco

Militant Alfa Romeo auto workers take to the streets of Milano last December.

West Europe is sharply polarizing. Responding to the rise in fascist terror, tens of thousands, particularly youth, have taken to the streets from Rome to London and Berlin. Sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have intervened in the burgeoning anti-fascist protests with a program aimed centrally at mobilizing the power of the working class, including its sizable immigrant component. In France, the Ligue Trotskyste appealed to transport and other workers to block deportation trains leaving Paris and raised the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

In Britain, following the near-murder of a Bangladeshi youth by skinheads, tens of thousands turned out last October for mass anti-fascist marches, held in counterposition to diversionary efforts by the Labour Party. The Spartacist League/Britain distributed a special supplement to these militant youth emphasizing the need for independent worker/minority mobilizations and warning that appeals to the capitalist state to act against the fascists are a suicidal dead end. In the aftermath of these protests, many of the radicalized youth who turned out are being channeled back into Labour's fold by left reformists like Militant, who urge them to devote their efforts to winning local council seats for Labour candidates.

In Germany, when the threat of fascist attacks loomed on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking of power last January 30, as bourgeois politicians and reformists held impotent candlelight vigils, the Spartakist Workers Party sought to mobilize the powerful German labor movement. In organizing a defense of an immigrant hostel that night, the Spartakists quoted from Trotsky's appeal to the German workers movement in the early '30s, "For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism" (December 1931).

Trotsky emphasized the need to "elaborate a practical system of measures" against the Nazi gangs, emphasizing: "Every factory must become an anti-fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions." But the social-democratic and Stalinist misleaders of the workers movement feared the spectre of workers revolution more than they did the rampaging fascists, and Hitler was allowed to take power without a shot being fired. The response to the Nazi takeover by the panicked Stalinists was the policy of the "people's front"—class-collaborationist alliances which subordinated the proletariat to a supposed "democratic" bourgeoisie. From the Spanish Civil War of the late '30s to Allende's Chile in the early '70s, the popular front in fact served not to fight fascism but to strangle workers struggles. Warning against this danger, Trotsky wrote in 1938: "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

Today, faced with militant workers struggles, sections of the Italian bourgeoisie look to the ex-Communists of the PDS as their saviors in a new popular front motivated by the growth of the MSI heirs of Mussolini. In France, the discredited Socialists of President Mitterrand are seeking to avert a wave of workers struggles coming off the Air France strike by pushing a new popular front. In particular, this has taken the form of a mobilization "in defense of secular education," culminating in a mammoth march in Paris on January 16 protesting plans by the conservative government of Prime Minister Balladur to subsidize private schools. Yet the capitalist austerity program being implemented by Balladur (as well as its attacks on immigrants) are only a continuation of the policies of the previous social-democratic cabinet. Indeed, the job-slashing head of Air France is a Socialist, and Socialist ministers of education have granted aid to private schools.

Uniquely in the French left, the Ligue Trotskyste consistently opposed a vote to the Mitterrand popular front even before it was elected in 1981, warning that this reformist figurehead for the bourgeoisie would bring Cold War militarism and anti-working-class austerity.

Reuters

Spartakist

Rostock, Germany, August 1992: Nazi firebombing of refugee hostel sparked outpouring of anti-fascist outrage. Spartakists fought for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop Nazis.

Transitional Program for Proletarian Revolution

The fact that even capitalist spokesmen are talking of a shorter workweek and popular fronts of various kinds is an indication of the seriousness of the crisis facing West Europe. But however sugar-coated, such schemes are at best diversions. After World War I, the German social democrats wrote full employment into the constitution of the Weimar Republic, yet just over a decade later the republic collapsed under the Nazi onslaught as a quarter of the workforce was jobless. In contrast to bourgeois/reformist frauds, Marxists fight for a *sliding scale of working hours*, to divide

Young Socialist

As France teetered on edge of revolution during May 1968 general strike, mass workers assembly at Paris Renault auto plant voted down sellout deal between Communist Party bureaucrats and de Gaulle government.

the available work among all workers (including the unemployed), *with no loss in pay*. To ward off the ravages of inflation, we demand a *sliding scale of wages*.

But these cannot be isolated reform measures. On the contrary: although what's involved here is simply a defense of the elementary right to a job, *jobs for all* cannot be secured under capitalism. Production for profit requires each capitalist (and the capitalist class of every country) to drive down labor costs in order to successfully compete. Full employment requires a *planned economy based on collectivized property*. To establish such an economic system, the working class must carry out a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, expropriating the bourgeoisie through the creation of a workers government, that is, the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

This basic point is driven home in the programmatic statement adopted by the founding conference of Trotsky's Fourth International in 1938, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, usually known as the Transitional Program:

> "The strategic task of the next period—a prerevolutionary period of agitation, propaganda and organization—consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard (the confusion and disappointment of the older generation, the inexperience of the younger generation). It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of *transitional demands*, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Such a program must hammer home the "one final conclusion": that the bourgeoisie cannot satisfy the most basic needs of the working people, and therefore its exploitative rule must be overthrown.

Numerous groups claiming to be Trotskyist, in contrast, have attempted to truncate the Transitional Program in an opportunist manner. They take a single demand, water it down, and try to pass it off as a panacea, while talking of an amorphous "transitional method." They want to sell the working class a bridge without the other end, turning a weapon of revolutionary agitation and organization into a grab bag of gimmicks for left-talking business unionists or a utopian plan for radical reform *within capitalism*. The United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel has made a profession of this kind of gutting of the Trotskyist program, centrally denying the need for an independent proletarian revolutionary vanguard. Currently, in France, the supporters of Mandel's USec, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), are advancing an ultra-reformist "alternative economic program," complete with recommendations for tax policy and import controls. A key plank in this platform is the call for a 35-hour week.

One can see here what might be called a syphilitic chain leading from the topmost bourgeois circles through their labor lieutenants down to their "far-left" camp followers. Thus in early November, the French Senate passed a bill offering compensation to employers who undertake to reduce the workweek by 15 percent. This proposal was dreamt up by one Pierre Larrouturou of the prominent Arthur Anderson management consulting firm, who has been propounding a plan of tax breaks and wage cuts to make the "revolution" of work-sharing "cost-neutral" to companies. This plan has long been pushed by the social-democratic-led CFDT union federation, which calls for "reduction of working hours" to 32 hours with a "wages counterpart"—i.e., a pay cut (*Libération*, 26 October 1993). The Communist-led CGT opposes a wage cut, but in the name of "realism" calls for a 38-hour workweek. CGT leader Viannet declared flatly "there will be no 32-hour week," denouncing the Senate bill because it "awakened tremendous hopes" among jobless youth (*Le Monde*, 9 November 1993).

The next link down the chain is the Mandelite LCR, with its call for a "35-hour working week with no cut in wages, on the way to a 30-hour week" (*International Viewpoint*, May 1993). The LCR's 35-hour week demand is echoed by its former youth group, the JCR, now allied with the Labourite British Militant. Revolutionaries of course would support struggles by mass trade unions for such a demand, for example the strike by the German IG Metall union several years ago. But for a small propaganda group claiming to be Trotskyist to make this a focus of their agitation is another matter. LCR supporters played a prominent role in the recent Air France strike, but they do so from the narrow standpoint of militant trade-unionism and over the years have become deeply embedded in the reformist union bureaucracy.

Far from having anything to do with the Transitional Program's call for jobs for all, the LCR's plan explicitly concedes that this will lead only to a "significant cut in unemployment." And their whole program is presented as policy for a new "left government"—i.e., a popular front—within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. In his March 1935 statement "From the CGT's Plan to the Conquest of Power," Leon Trotsky criticized the social democrats for speaking only of nationalization of credit and key industries. But today, Krivine's LCR takes a line well to the right of the reformist bureaucrats Trotsky was denouncing. The LCR calls for nothing beyond "nationalization of the credit system," and indeed vows: "Our approach is not to limit private property on principle"!

Trotsky also asked pointedly *who* will nationalize the banks, introduce a shorter workweek: "In one word, who will apply the program of the CGT?" He insisted: "It must be said in no uncertain terms: only a revolutionary government of the workers and peasants, prepared for implacable struggle against all the exploiters, can apply the plan, complete it, develop it and go beyond it along the socialist road." But where the social democrats talked vaguely of implementing their program "independently of the political regime," the LCR explicitly calls on the capitalist state. Its appeal for a movement for a shorter workweek focuses on getting parliament to pass "an enabling act setting the legal week at 35 hours" (*Rouge*, 14 October 1993).

The Mandelites' "transitional method" is directly counterposed to Trotsky's Transitional Program. Far from seeking to win the working class to a revolutionary understanding that mass unemployment can be eliminated only through the proletarian conquest of power, the LCR/JCR accept the capitalist "logic" of the trade-union bureaucracy. The 38-35-32-hour numbers game is a "sliding scale" of hourgeois reformism. The LCR/JCR's bastardization of Trotsky's program could be called, "From the Larrouturou Plan to the Popular Front."

The *reformist* content of the fake-Trotskyists' various "plans" is underscored by their *economism*. The Transitional Program was written not as a menu of reformist and subreformist demands, but to put forward a strategy for revolutionary struggle against all aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Thus it necessarily raised the need to fight against the oppression of women and youth, against imperialist militarism and colonialism. Trotsky explicitly *links* economic struggles to the fight against fascism, noting: "Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure." Demands such as the sliding scale of wages and hours must be linked to the fight to defend immigrants through labor/minority mobilizations, defense of abortion rights, and opposition to imperialist wars and colonialist adventures such as against Iraq and Somalia.

Reforge the Fourth International

The bourgeoisie was shaken up last fall when the French government invoked the spectre of a social explosion, the "shadow of May '68," in giving in to the Air France strikers. An article in *Le Monde* (6 November 1993) asked, "What is there in common between May 1968," when youth took aim at "consumer society," when "dissident ideologies had the wind in their sails," when unemployment was 2.7 percent, and "this somnolent France of 1993, where ideologies no longer have a hold, where recession keeps up unemployment and strikes are at a record low?" The working class is certainly on the defensive, but, hardly asleep, the Air France strike and its reverberations in workers struggles across Europe showed that the fighting mood of the masses can quickly change. Defensive struggles can rapidly go over to a challenge to the capitalists. Today the bourgeoisie proclaims the "death of communism," but in the 1950s they also declared the "end of ideology," and that didn't stop the outbreak of significant social struggles a few years later. What is key is the question of *leadership*.

The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In the West, this event has had the greatest impact on the reformist (and centrist) left which, having swallowed the bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism," now finds itself at sea. The Stalinist bureaucracy, in justifying its nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," denied the possibility of

continued on page 6

AFP

Immigrant workers play prominent role in West European labor struggles, as in 1978 occupation of nationalized auto plant in Flins, France.

Belgian general strike of 1960-61: *La Gauche*, newspaper of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, called for "structural reforms" of capitalism, a reformist diversion.

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

on the Zócalo, the huge square in front of the presidential palace. Up to 100,000 protesters denounced the Mexican president, chanting "Salinas assassin!" and "Viva Zapata!" recalling the hero of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 who was slain by the northern ranchers who seized power and draped themselves in "revolutionary" rhetoric as they exploited the peasants and workers. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) participated in this and other protests, calling on the workers to defend the insurgents and demand that the army get out of Chiapas.

The dominant political force in the Mexico City protest was the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), the nationalist opposition led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. While calling for dialogue with the EZLN rebels, Cárdenas has gone out of his way to absolve the army of responsibility for the killing. In the face of the mass protest and above all the wide sympathy that the Zapatista rebellion has received in the U.S., Salinas fired his minister of the interior, a notoriously brutal former governor of Chiapas, and called for reconciliation.

Still, the Mexican army continues to carry out sweeps among the Mayan Indian peoples of Chiapas. Despite the massive deployment of troops, the Zapatista rebels managed to retreat in order, briefly seizing a number of towns on the way. But to stop the imperialist rape of Mexico and the brutal oppression of its worker and peasant masses, it is necessary to mobilize the millions-strong Mexican proletariat and U.S. labor in sharp class struggle against their common capitalist enemies.

The following statement by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, dated 6 January, was published in the Mexico City daily *El Día* on 8 January.

* * *

Twenty-five years after the Tlatelolco Massacre, a barbarous massacre is being carried out in Chiapas against the insurgent Indians and civilians. The bloody repression is being intensified at this moment with massive bombing, recalling scenes from the Yankee invasion of Panama and the "counterinsurgency" war in El Salvador. The Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) demands: Stop the bombing! Stop the massacre! Army out of Chiapas!

The revolt in Chiapas attracted worldwide attention, giving the lie to the carefully groomed image that the whole of the Mexican people welcomed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was rammed through while trying to silence and keep hidden all discussion among the population in the face of this imperialist looting. The stock market fell with the news of the uprising, but rebounded upon reports that the army had shot down groups of insurgents who were retreating from the areas they had occupied. The revolt reflects the rising desperation of the millions of dispossessed Mexicans facing the prospect of more misery and oppression that comes with the NAFTA agreement. While a tiny capitalist elite will be enriched, the treaty will deepen the misery of millions of peasants in danger of losing their small plots of land, of the workers thrown out of their jobs, of the millions who are condemned to destitution, forced to see their children suffer with hunger and drop out of school. To bring down NAFTA, it is urgent to mount an internationalist workers struggle, that will unite the workers of Mexico, the United States and Canada.

Despite all of the declarations that the 1968-style repression is "a thing of the past," in Chiapas the iron fist of the capitalist state is shown once again, whose function is to maintain the exploitation and oppression in the interests of the ruling class. This repression, which has filled streets and fields with the corpses of members of the EZLN (several found shot in the back of the neck, with their hands tied, according to the international press), has been supplemented by threats and racist statements about the "manipulation of the Indians" (as if they were non-thinking beings) by "strange hands," seeking to whip up a witchhunt atmosphere.

The law in Chiapas has for decades been the law of the revolver and the whip, imposed by the *latifundistas*, the big cattle ranchers and loggers who have forced the Indians into a system of racist oppression that isn't very different from apartheid. The brutal repression of their communities, the murder of teacher activists by hired gunmen, the forced exodus of families accused by the *caciques* (rural bosses) of being evangelists, the persecution of immigrants and the recent series of death squad-style murders of homosexuals: this has been the everyday reality of life in this state.

To terrorize all who dare oppose their plans, the capitalist state sends its helicopters and planes to confront the old rifles and machetes of the insurgents, while seeking to prettify its international image with hollow words about seeking "dialogue." When the Chiapas Indians who decide to let their voice be heard in the face of the stonewalling and contempt of the various authorities are repressed with blood and fire, the parties of the bourgeois "opposition," including the PRD, warn against "excesses," but rush to condemn the victims of military repression, reprimanding them for not understanding the meaning of "democracy" and for "resorting to violence."

As a Marxist revolutionary organization, the GEM emphasizes to those who seek to fight against capitalism and imperialism, that it is the *power of the working class*, and not rural guerrilla warfare, which if organized behind the program of international socialist revolution can defeat NAFTA and mobilize the dispossessed peasants and all the oppressed against the misery and barbarity of the capitalist system. In the face of the repression in Chiapas, it is an urgent duty for the working class to defend the courageous Indian insurgents and all the victims of the bourgeois repression. The GEM, as a part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), denounces this massacre and fights to build the Leninist vanguard party so desperately needed by the toilers of this land. ■

Europe...

(continued from page 5)

workers revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of the West—and did its best to prevent such revolutions. Ultimately the isolation of the Soviet degenerated workers state led to its collapse, under the economic and military pressure of imperialism. Trotsky had repeatedly warned of precisely this possibility, if the bureaucracy was not swept away through proletarian political revolution restoring the original internationalist program of Lenin's October.

The political rearming of the workers movement requires that an authentic communist vanguard be reforged, that the most advanced workers internationally be brought to an understanding of why the Soviet bloc workers states collapsed...and why revolution did not spread to the West. So what about the original May 1968? Sparked by a wave of militant student protests, ten million French workers struck and occupied the plants in a near-revolutionary atmosphere. Immigrant workers from Spain, Algeria, Portugal and elsewhere joined in. Enterprises from the auto factories to the Folies Bergères ground to a halt. The Bank of France could not print its currency. For a period the government was paralyzed, the president, de Gaulle, went to West Germany in search of reliable army units. Across the world, hundreds of thousands saw in the French May events affirmation of the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, dramatically disproving then-fashionable New Left theories that the working class was hopelessly bought off by postwar "affluence."

But from a revolutionary standpoint the May '68 upsurge was defeated. Centrally responsible was the Stalinist Communist Party (PCF), the main party of the French working class. Far from seeking to form soviets (workers councils) and workers militias as the basis for pushing forward to the seizure of power, the PCF called for parliamentary elections and worked overtime to terminate the strike movement by negotiating a series of economic concessions. The Stalinist reformists showed themselves once again as loyal defenders of French capitalism in crisis, and a roadblock to proletarian revolution. Lacking clear direction, the strike wave receded. The reactionaries were able to regain their footing, organizing a massive middle-class pro-de Gaulle demonstration in Paris. The moment of revolutionary opportunity had passed.

While mouthing some of Trotsky's slogans, Mandel & Co. during this moment of crisis for French capitalism in fact refused to fight for the goal of revolution. Writing in the London magazine *New Left Review* (November-December 1968), Mandel argued:

> "As the PCF is not a revolutionary party, and as none of the vanguard groups as yet has at its disposal a sufficient audience in the working class, May 1968 could not terminate in a seizure of power. But a general strike accompanied by factory occupations can and should terminate in the conquest of anti-capitalist structural reforms, in the realization of transitional demands—i.e. in the creation of a dual power, an empirical power of the masses opposed to the legal power of Capital. To realize such a dual power, a mass revolutionary party is not indispensable...."

For Trotsky "the strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow." Mandel, in contrast, argued not for a program leading to the conquest of power by the proletariat but for a series of "structural reforms." And dual power (a contest of strength between a shaken bourgeois state and an insurgent working class) cannot be the programmatic *goal*—a ball perched on the point of a cone will fall one way or the other, but it will fall. Dual power will either become the "legal power of Labor" (i.e., the armed rule of the proletariat and the suppression of the old exploiting class), or it will usher in counterrevolution.

By truncating the revolutionary program to becoming the "left wing of the possible," Mandel negates the role of the revolutionary party. Earlier, at the height of the mushrooming Belgian general strike which paralyzed the country for three weeks during December 1960-January 1961, Mandel had as the main headline of his paper *La Gauche* the call for "structural reforms." This included some selective nationalizations, public works, planning of the *capitalist* economy, and tax reform, all to be brought before the Belgian parliament by the Socialist Party. Mandel's plan of 1961 clearly foreshadows Krivine's scheme of '93.

Rather than fight for an independent revolutionary vanguard, Mandel tailed after the left-talking union bureaucrat Renard. On 1 January 1961, *La Gauche* headlined in red, "Organize the March on Brussels." But when Renard turned down this call, Mandel did an abrupt about-face, and six days later *La Gauche* declared: "Any march which aimed to concentrate on one day and go up against [the] concentration of repressive forces would naturally be folly." The next week, he added:

> "We are reproached with having put forward the slogan of a march on Brussels.... Since we note that this demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we yield, but we recall that at the moment our announcement of last week appeared, no indications of this were yet known."

Openly admitting that his demands were determined by the bureaucrats, this was a direct declaration of political bankruptcy by Mandel.

The job of revolutionaries is to pose the *objective tasks and needs of the working class*, not to reflect the limitations of the current or spontaneous consciousness of the working class. Only on this basis will the indispensable instrument of the revolutionary party be forged. This is not to say that small revolutionary groups can jump over their own heads, even in revolutionary situations, or make up through will power and healthy lungs for nonexistent roots in the working class. An insurrection cannot be mounted simply because it is posed. But the *programmatic tasks* facing the working class do not change because the instrumentality is lacking or weak. The recent wave of class struggle in West Europe points to the potential for new situations like Belgium 1961 and France 1968. The key is to prepare for this by intervention in the class struggle to forge the revolutionary party.

The workers movement in recent years has clearly been reeling under the hammer blows of a capitalist offensive, leaving in its wake broken strikes, decimated unions and widespread disarray. It was in another period of capitalist crisis and proletarian retreat, in December 1921, that Lenin's Communist International issued an appeal for the workers united front, noting: "The world economic crisis is growing more acute. Unemployment is increasing. In practically every country international capital has gone over to a systematic offensive against the workers, as shown primarily in the fairly open efforts of the capitalists to reduce wages and to lower the workers' entire standard of life." The theses "On Tactics," approved by the Comintern's Third Congress earlier that year, stated:

> "The Communist Parties should be concerned not with the viability and competitive capacity of capitalist industry or the stability of the capitalist economy, but with proletarian poverty, which cannot and must not be endured any longer. If the demands put forward by the Communists correspond to the immediate needs of the broad proletarian masses, and if the masses are convinced that they cannot go on living unless their demands are met, then the struggle around these issues becomes the starting-point of the struggle for power. In place of the minimum programme of the centrists and reformists, the Communist International offers a struggle for the concrete demands of the proletariat which, in their totality, challenge the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat and mark out the different stages of the struggle for its dictatorship."

This was the forerunner of the Fourth International's Transitional Program.

Today there is no mass Leninist international. The central task facing revolutionaries is, through propaganda and intervention in the class struggle, to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Victim of NYPD Shooting

Transit Workers Turn Out to Defend James Frazier

WV Photo

James Frazier speaking to supporters after January 5 court hearing.

On January 5, more than 30 supporters of New York City transit worker James Frazier turned out at the Brooklyn courthouse to fight his continued victimization by the D.A. and the Transit Authority after barely surviving a racist assault by the NYPD. Last fall, Frazier was shot through the head from behind by the police, who then told hospital personnel he was dead!

Two-thirds of the crowd at the court was made up of Local 100 Transit Workers Union brothers and sisters wearing their union jackets and TWU buttons. Among them were members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU. Students from City College and Columbia University came out to show solidarity with Frazier. Frazier's wife and sister were also joined by trade unionists from the CWA, AFSCME DC 37 and the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC has issued a letter to the Kings County District Attorney, demanding the charges against Frazier be dropped.

At Local 100 Track Division and United Motormen's Division meetings last December, the Committee for a Fighting TWU had raised motions which were passed demanding that the D.A. drop all charges against Frazier, that the TA reinstate him with full back pay and permanent restrictive duty at the same wages, and that the union post official notice to fill the courtroom in a display of support for Frazier, with a press conference to publicize union action on his behalf. The Committee also put out a leaflet in Local 100, demanding "Drop the Charges Against Trackworker James Frazier: Reinstate Brother Frazier Now!" They wrote:

> "Our union brother and black trackworker James Frazier was the victim of a deadly attack by NYC's racist cops. Early in the morning of October 24th, the cops shot him in the head (the bullet took out his left eye) and then brutalized him. While he lay in the hospital the cops reported Frazier 'dead on arrival,' assaulted him and spat in his face. To cover their crimes the cops cooked up a list of bogus charges. Most of these charges have been dropped, but Brother Frazier still faces the false charge of 'possessing a stolen weapon.' As if surviving these murderous assaults wasn't enough, Brother Frazier was fired by the TA even though he has a perfect attendance and 100 percent job performance evaluation. Contrary to rumors and an article which appeared in the *Amsterdam News*, Frazier has not been rehired—so the man who nearly lost his life has now lost his livelihood!"

Pointing out the role of the Dinkins administration in hiring cops by the thousands and the repressive policies that are intensifying under Giuliani, the Committee for a Fighting TWU leaflet drove home the racist nature of the deadly assault. The leaflet continued:

> "They want to put Brother Frazier away for years because he *survived* the deadly racist attack that happens every day under the brutal police occupation of the ghettos and barrios....
>
> "The attack on Brother Frazier represents a threat to the entire labor movement—his victimization by both the cops and the T.A. is meant as a message to all of us. Our integrated, powerful union must be mobilized to defend James Frazier."

At the court January 5, supporters briefly stood in silence with Frazier when he was summoned by the judge, sending a powerful message to the capitalist courts. The judge in particular noted the presence of transit workers backing their union brother. Afterward, at a breakfast in a nearby restaurant of people who had come to the hearing, a PDC representative reported on organizing efforts of the labor/black mobilization to stop the Ku Klux Klan provocation in Springfield, Illinois against the Martin Luther King holiday.

The D.A. got the judge to grant a delay until January 19 to further "investigate"; that is, to mount a case against this innocent victim of the trigger-happy cops. Frazier's supporters must continue to make sure their union brother is not a nameless, faceless victim of racist injustice. With the understanding that the labor movement cannot rely on the capitalist courts, the twin capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and the labor bureaucracy which is beholden to them, the union ranks must fight to mobilize the TWU's resources to defeat the attacks on Frazier. ■

S.F. Mayor, Cops Target "Food Not Bombs" Activist

SAN FRANCISCO—In this liberal mecca, feeding the poor and homeless will get you put behind bars. The "Food Not Bombs" group has suffered 575 arrests, beginning in the late 1980s under liberal Democratic mayor Art Agnos, for the "crime" of distributing food to the poor. Now, under conservative Democratic mayor (and former police chief) Frank Jordan, there is evidence the city has targeted Food Not Bombs for a vicious "dirty tricks" campaign.

On January 4 activist Keith McHenry was arrested and booked on three felony counts after being assaulted in City Hall by a Jordan administration official who had been tailing him for months! "It was a set-up, pure and simple," McHenry said, after Nick Roomel, an actor who is Jordan's "Film Commissioner," attacked him from behind as he came out of a phone booth (*SF Weekly*, 12 January).

McHenry told *WV* he had gone to City Hall to check on some records for Food Not Bombs' lawsuit against the city for harassment. He stopped to make a phone call, and as he emerged from the booth Roomel hit him hard on the back of the head, then took off running. As his assailant was going through the metal detectors by the door, McHenry yelled he had been assaulted and demanded the cops stop the man. They did not.

After he recovered, McHenry went upstairs and visited three Board of Supervisors offices seeking information for his suit. Coming back down the rotunda stairs, he was met by four cops and arrested. Frank Jordan's bodyguard, John T. Nevin, was one of the arresting officers. McHenry was charged with robbery of his assailant's beeper and two charges of assault and battery. He spent the night in jail until Food Not Bombs activists could raise his bail. The Partisan Defense Committee contributed to his bail.

WV Photos

Demonstration on December 14 outside S.F. City Hall demanding "Stop Operation Matrix!" called by Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee.

Thuggery, frame-ups and dirty tricks are Jordan's M.O. The city was up to its neck in the massive ADL spy operation carried out by "ex"-SFPD/FBI/CIA operative Tom Gerard against thousands of Arab Americans, leftists, blacks and anti-apartheid fighters on behalf of the Zionist Israeli state. Food Not Bombs is on Gerard's "'PINKO' Organizations List" in the files seized by the SF District Attorney's office and released in April 1993.

On December 14, the Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration in front of SF City Hall to demand an end to Jordan's "Operation Matrix" war against the homeless and poor. A number of youth were brought by the Spartacus Youth Club. The demonstration of 80 people also demanded "Hands Off Food Not Bombs!"

A number of these advocates for the homeless came to the demonstration, and spoke of how they have become particular targets of Jordan's vicious campaign of police sweeps and harassment against the homeless. Only a week earlier the cops made arrests for, among other things, holding a bag of bagels! As one SL sign put it: "'Let Them Eat Cake'—Marie Antoinette. 'Let Them Starve'—Frank Jordan."

We demand: Stop "Operation Matrix"! Stop the harassment of Food Not Bombs—Drop the charges against Keith McHenry!

Stop the Klan!
For a Workers America!

The following WV *supplement was distributed to participants in the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK provocation against the Martin Luther King Holiday in Springfield, Illinois on January 16*

Some people say the Klan should be ignored. But will it ignore you? Look no further than the murder of Cathy Long of South Bend, Indiana, a black mother of two who was killed by white-supremacists in the aftermath of recent Klan mobilizations in the Midwest. Find the answer written in the blood of five blacks, labor organizers and leftists murdered in cold blood and in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 by KKK/Nazi gunmen.

All of us who are here today know that it is a dangerous illusion to think that if you look the other way the lynchers will disappear. We say: **The power of labor and minorities must be mobilized to sweep away these racist killers, now!**

When the Ku Klux Klan spews its poison at Martin Luther King Day, this is a deadly insult. They are challenging the right of every black man, woman and child to a place in American society, threatening the very right of black people to live. Their racist hatred is not directed solely against blacks, but against Hispanics, Asians, Jews, Catholics, atheists, gays, leftists, union militants, women. The bullets which struck down Dr. David Gunn—a courageous man dedicated to providing abortion services for women in the Deep South—were fired from the gun of a member of "Rescue America" which is headed by a "former" Klansman.

WV Photo

Labor/black power is key to stopping fascist nightriders. Spartacist-initiated mobilization in Chicago, June 1982, brought out 3,000 to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride march.

Ignore the fascist Klan? Hitler's Nazi gangs should have been crushed in the egg. But the powerful German workers movement failed to act, and in 1933 the German ruling class handed power to Hitler. The result was the Holocaust, the mass murder of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs and homosexuals. Today, in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, the fascists are growing, and growing bolder. In Germany, Nazi skinheads assault dark-skinned immigrants, firebomb Turkish families, deface Jewish cemeteries.

The rise of fascist provocations in Illinois is fueled by the economic devastation of the Midwest. What was once the industrial heartland of this country, the bastion of multiracial union power, was turned into the "rust bowl" of America. Whole unions have been destroyed, strikes smashed, wages slashed, welfare benefits chopped. Young workers are condemned to two-tier wages—no "American dream" for them. The inner cities have become vast urban wastelands of poverty, disease and death, youth with two-bit jobs or no jobs at all, with no education, and a future without hope. This devastation—the product of a profit-crazed system based on the exploitation of the many by the few—nourishes the Klan in its quest for a "racially pure" society where trade unions do not exist.

The Klan must be stopped! Liberal appeals to the government to "ban the Klan" are a dangerous dead end—you can see what side the state is on from the way they've tried to stop this militant anti-Klan mobilization! The multiracial working class united in its own defense, allied with and defending all the oppressed and exploited in this society, has the power to keep the streets safe from fascist terror. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., initiated this demonstration to bring together and give voice to the just outrage felt by thousands. The call to stop the KKK killers has united a broad range of unions, organizations and individuals in common action in our own self-defense.

The Ku Klux Klan was born out of the bloody reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War. These were the hooded-and-robed agents of the former Confederacy, who carried out a campaign of terror, intimidation, mutilation and murder aimed at strangling the political rights that were granted to the freed slaves during Reconstruction. The KKK spearheaded the restoration of white supremacy, in the form of the system of Jim Crow segregation that held sway for nearly a century. Today the KKK is the lowlife expression of a ruling class which believes that those who are not among the tiny minority that owns the real wealth have no rights which America's rich white man's government is bound to respect.

After 12 years of racist reaction and union-busting under Republicans Reagan and Bush, Democrat Clinton rode into the White House on the votes of blacks and labor, while going out of his way to kick them in the teeth. The Klan is the violent, extremist fringe of bipartisan racist reaction under the decaying rule of American capitalism. For Wall Street and Washington, the ghetto population has become "surplus." Clinton proclaims the "end of welfare as we know it." Democratic and Republican mayors alike have no program except killer cutbacks of basic social services and a vast increase of cops to shoot down minority youth in the name of "fighting crime." This program adds up to genocide—and the Klan openly proclaims it.

The Klan carries out its lynchings under cover of night. The rulers of this country do it openly and legally. Clinton made a public display of returning to Arkansas during the campaign to personally oversee the execution of a retarded black man. Everywhere—from Los Angeles to Berlin—the rulers blame immigrants for the bankruptcy of the capitalist social order. The fascists are the cutting edge of racist hatred and violence against "foreigners"—Hispanics, Asians, Haitians. The Klan racists ride against anyone who doesn't fit their model of a white Aryan "100 percent American." And from Reagan's terror bombing of the black MOVE commune in 1985 (carried out by Philadelphia's black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode) to Clinton's massacre of an integrated non-conformist religious sect near Waco, Texas last April, the rulers bring home the same message in state-sponsored blood and fire.

Mass unemployment, hunger, the lack of health care and the erosion of universal public education are simply the slower methods of destroying the bodies and spirits of the working and poor people. What is to be done? Take a look around you at this demonstration. We are here—people of diverse backgrounds and convictions—united behind the central power of organized labor, brought together by the efforts of an avowedly class-struggle, socialist organization, to stop fascist terror. Here we get a sense of the power that can bring down this whole system of human misery, racism and exploitation which breeds scum like the KKK. That is the power of the organized, multiracial working class.

Yet, even the idea that organized labor has any power, that it can be mobilized in defense of its own interests, much less anybody else's, is an alien one in today's America, in particular to a generation of youth who have seen little, if any, social struggle. It is not that the ranks of labor have not fought and fought hard. But from PATCO to Greyhound to Hormel to Eastern Airlines to Caterpillar, every working-class battle has been isolated, dissipated, stabbed in the back by the AFL-CIO tops. Incapable of leading labor in struggle, they act as labor cops for the bosses, who have shackled the power of the unions to the Democratic Party.

Clinton "thanked" his AFL-CIO supporters by shoving NAFTA down their throats. The North American Free Trade Agreement is designed to increase the power of the U.S. imperialist rulers through the deepening impoverishment of the American working class and the rape of Mexico. The recent "Zapatista" peasant rebellion in the face of insurmountable odds is a measure of the

AP photos

Chicago, 1966: liberal civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. (left photo) came to a dead end in the North when confronted by racist mobs and the racial oppression embedded in the capitalist economic system.

WV Photo

Sutton/Picture Group

Strikes by Greyhound bus drivers (left) in 1990 and Caterpillar workers in '92 sold out by AFL-CIO tops beholden to capitalist Democratic Party. Fight for a workers party!

desperate straits of the Mexican masses. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats' answer to NAFTA was to push racist America-first protectionism and join in blaming immigrants, truly the most powerless sector of the population, for the bankruptcy of the capitalist order. A fighting labor movement must organize on both sides of the border against the bosses and their "free trade" swindle, raising the call for full citizenship rights for immigrants. It must oppose the vicious imperialism which starves the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and today brings closer the menace of trade war and world war.

We say: Labor's gotta play hardball to win! The mass industrial unions of this country were built through hard-fought and "illegal" class struggle in the 1930s: the sitdown strike, mass pickets, "hot cargoing" of scab products. But it wasn't simply trade-union militancy. The mass CIO organizing drives had to break down racism and the Jim Crow segregation of blacks in industry. Now the power of the strike, of the mass picket, of factory occupations has been replaced by diversionary and losing "consumer boycott" campaigns. Why? Because the labor bureaucrats play by the bosses' rules and the bosses' laws—and they have a law against every weapon labor needs to defend itself.

During the 1930s, blacks came to identify with the labor movement when the unions fought for them. The forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society has always been a fundamental prop to the rule of American capitalism. Racial divisions are wielded by the bosses and their "labor lieutenants" to retard working-class struggle. Today, the devastation of industry in the North threatens the very existence of the trade unions, as the bosses move their operations to the "open shop" South. To organize the South will require pitched battles with the union-hating Klan, who are up to their hoods in the scabherding private "security" outfits that violently attack strikers. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight?

This mobilization here today, which brings to bear the power of labor and blacks in struggle against the Klan, heralds the kind of fighting leadership the labor movement needs. The same power that can stop the fascist nightriders in the North can crack open the open shop South, can organize the unorganized and unemployed, can mobilize in defense of the masses in the ghettos and barrios.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, jobs, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership that is necessary to do this—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow to the bosses' laws, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the capitalist rulers, that understands that there will be no victories for labor and no freedom for blacks without integrated class struggle which champions black rights. That is the kind of party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

Communism is not "dead"—it is the program that expresses the class interests of the workers and oppressed, growing out of their aspirations and struggles for a society of genuine equality and social justice. However bureaucratically deformed, the collectivized economies of the former Soviet bloc provided to all their citizens jobs, education, health care, housing—basic rights that have now been wiped out. The forces of racist and nationalist reaction now sweeping these countries are only further testimony to the fact that fascist terror is the product of capitalism.

The destruction of these workers states is the legacy of the Stalinist bureaucratic rulers who sold out hard-won gains. Like the trade unions in this country, the Soviet Union was the product of class struggle, the most momentous in history—the 1917 October Revolution. But like the labor tops in this country, the program of the Stalinist bureaucracy which hijacked political power from the workers was one of class collaboration, not internationalist class struggle. Ultimately this defeatist program proved a mortal danger to the survival of the Soviet Union itself, just as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is a threat to the existence of the unions as fighting organizations of workers self-defense.

The words of Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," are driven home more brutally than ever in this country. Thirty years have passed since the lunch counter sit-ins swept the South in protest against the exclusion of blacks. It is a measure of today's "leaders" of labor and blacks that it took our small organization of "reds" to launch a coast-to-coast protest campaign against Jim Crow racism practiced by the nationwide Denny's restaurant chain. The national NAACP leadership was more interested in "integrating" Denny's board of directors.

The civil rights movement fought against the legal segregation and discrimination against blacks in the American South. But that movement was shattered in Chicago [in 1966], where it came up against the segregation and discrimination against blacks in the North, who for years had lived with "equality under the law." Tied to the Democratic Party, Martin Luther King Jr. could not fight the root cause of black oppression—the rule of American capitalism.

Today over half of young blacks are unemployed, decrepit inner-city schools are like concentration camps, despair is rampant. But everyone from U.S. Senator Moynihan to Farrakhan blames black youth and the black family for their victimization by this racist system. The racist rhetoric of the capitalist rulers who condemn ghetto youth as an immoral and criminal drain on society, who should pull themselves up by their own (nonexistent) "bootstraps," is echoed by the black bourgeois politicians. "We've lost more to dope than we have to the rope," preaches the Rev. Jesse Jackson, suggesting that black people have no interest in stopping the Klan.

Yet widespread drug addiction in the inner cities is the direct result of the despair of people thrown on the scrap heap by a society that doesn't care if they live or die. The "war on drugs" is really a war on the black community. Legalization of drugs would take the profit and correspondingly much of the violent crime out of dealing. But the rulers want to keep drugs illegal because it provides the rationale for building up their machinery of death and repression aimed at keeping the working class cowed.

Repression and regimentation is this system's answer to everything. An army of cops and troops occupied Los Angeles, and police ran wild in cities across the country in response to the mass outrage over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. The omnibus crime bill being rammed through Congress is a frontal assault on our liberties: imposing the racist death penalty for scores of crimes, boot camps for jobless youth, instant deportation for unwanted immigrants. Gun control means that only cops, criminals and the Klan will have guns, while black people and the working class are to be left defenseless. The AIDS plague was allowed to ravage the gay community and is now devastating the ghettos. Witchhunts against teensexuality, porn and rap music, harassment of smokers, persecution of gays, "English-only" discrimination against Hispanics, "right-to-life" bombings and killings against abortion rights—this is the ugly face of American society today.

How can we break out of this vicious circle? The Spartacist League is a small organization, but our program is based on the lessons of the struggles of the past. Our strategy for labor/black mobilizations against Klan terror has met with a broad response and has succeeded in stopping the fascist vermin from staging their provocations in numerous cities, from Chicago and Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988. But such victories can only be temporary so long as capitalism continues to exist and to generate the social decay and racism on which the Klan and Nazis feed. These shock troops of capitalist reaction must be put out of business once and for all by a victorious revolutionary workers government.

It took a second American revolution to smash the chains of chattel slavery, but the promise of black freedom was denied. The forces that have come out today to stop the Klan give a taste of the power that can open the road to a third American revolution which will make it possible for all of us here to have an equal and enhanced chance for a decent life. The Democrats and Republicans represent their class, the bourgeoisie. A workers party, built on an internationalist perspective, is needed to fight for the workers and oppressed, to galvanize the struggles against racism and exploitation and lead them toward the fight for working-class power. That means a socialist revolution, which will break the rule of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies, who will employ the wealth of this country created by their labor for the benefit of the majority of society.

Spartacist League, 16 January 1994

Victoria Heilman

Fascists target women's right to abortion. KKK terrorist brandishes coat hanger outside Dallas clinic.

WV Photo

Remnants of U.S. Steel plant in Cleveland. Capitalist decay turned industrialized Midwest into "rust bowl."

Anti-Racist Protesters...

(continued from page 1)

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, which endorsed the demonstration and chartered a bus for ATU members to be there.

Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis took a very forward position in the battle against the Klan and the forces of state repression. At a January 12 press conference in Chicago, Davis motivated the necessity for people to *act* and join the "All Out to Stop the KKK" mobilization:

> "The father of the civil rights movement in this country was Frederick Douglass. Douglass told us that 'He who is whipped the easiest is whipped the most often.'
>
> "If the Klan is marching in Springfield on Sunday, unchecked and unchallenged, they will be in Chicago next Monday. They will be all over America and before we know it we will be back at a point in our history that I'm sure none of us ever want to see again. Let's let the Klan and any Klan sympathizers know that, no, we will not stand back. We will go forward."

This demonstration represented a diverse social and political spectrum united in struggle against the Ku Klux Klan—blacks and unionists from Springfield and as far away as Chicago and St. Louis, contingents of students from Chicago State and the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Jews, Catholics, gays and leftists. Rudy Davenport, president of the Springfield NAACP, brought people out with him in the frigid cold Sunday morning and told the *Chicago Defender* (17 January): "We are here to show the Klan that there is one unified group against racism in the United States of America."

Black residents of Springfield already have direct experience of the fascists, with "former" Klansman Tom Metzger's skinhead "WAR" (White Aryan Resistance) organizing racist thugs in the high schools to attack black youth. On Sunday these Nazi creeps showed up to proclaim that, as opposed to the white supremacists of the Klan, they were "white separatists," in other words that they seek complete genocide of the black people rather than subjugating them to slavery.

For nearly two hours before the Klan showed up, anti-fascist forces gathered on the Northeast side of the Capitol and filled up the frigid air with chants like "KKK—No Way! You Ain't Gonna Ride Today!" The big student contingent from Champaign-Urbana marched in behind their banner. Demonstrators went in shifts to a nearby restaurant to warm up.

Faced with a multiracial crowd determined to stop the race haters, Secretary of State Ryan deployed his special police to sneak the Klan like rats through underground tunnels into the Capitol building and then behind a maze of barricades and hundreds of riot cops in front of the East steps. Ryan's top cop "Jack" Pecoraro said that his "best piece of luck Sunday was simply the weather," with a wind chill of 16 degrees below zero, because otherwise "it could have been a larger crowd." Indeed, much larger.

WV Photo

After drowning out Kluxers' racist recruitment rally, anti-Klan demonstrators march out.

The despicable and outrageous sight of the Confederate flag of slavery waving from the Statehouse in the "land of Lincoln" was the opening act of the Klan provocation, stage-managed by the police. The 50-odd Klansmen on the East steps of the Capitol gave Hitler salutes and played the "Ride of the Valkyries," by the Nazi *Führer*'s favorite composer Wagner. So if you take off the KKK's white sheets, underneath you find some weird would-be Nazis! Anti-Klan demonstrators moved toward the East side of the Capitol and showed their defiant opposition to the murderous KKK. Riot-equipped cops fired mace into the crowd and tried pushing anti-Klan protesters around. Several people were arrested.

WV Photo

Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis at January 12 press conference in Chicago.

Various left groups—the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its all-purpose front group NWROC, and Progressive Labor Party (PL)—came with small groups of supporters, refusing to act in coordination with each other, much less with us. The PDC had invited—early on, in writing, and again on site—various anti-Klan forces to join in a unified opposition to the Klan in which the diversity of political views and strategies of all participating groups would be represented.

But sectarianism and arrogant petty-bourgeois opposition to a disciplined working-class mobilization unfortunately was paramount for them. These "left" fakers have no political strategy to mobilize the working class because they don't think it can be done. In place of a revolutionary program they substitute the often losing tactics of individual confrontation, and liberal confidence in the police. Only the day before in Columbus, Ohio, these same groups allowed themselves to be encaged by the police, passing individually through metal detectors, as they had previously done last fall in Columbus and Indianapolis.

In Springfield, the sectarianism of the take-leftists dovetailed with the cops' desires to fragment the demonstration and facilitated provocations by fascist skinheads. As demonstrators drifted over to the barricades around the East side of the Capitol directly facing the Klan, the leaderless milling crowd was vulnerable to the repeated incursions by cops and violent provocations by skinheads, who kicked one women in the stomach while shouting anti-Semitic slurs.

Despite the fragmented aspect of the demonstration at this point, the PDC organizers took action to reduce the vulnerability of and danger to the anti-Klan forces on the East lawn by sending union marshals into the crowd. We joined in tossing out some of the *pro-Klan elements* and WAR skinheads that the RWL, PL and ISO were ruhhing shoulders (and sometimes knuckles) with while surrounded by the cops. From our podium, a powerful trio of transit workers led by ATU international vice president Jackie Breckenridge, an early endorser and defender of the demonstration, pumped up the volume and led chants of "Smash the Klan, this is the hour! Labor and blacks have got the power!" and "KKK—Nazis in bedsheets!" to drown out the fascists.

Barely 45 minutes into their pathetic performance, the drowned-out Klansmen crawled back into their holes with their cop escorts. The ISO and PL left before the KKK did, and the RWL hit the road as soon as the Klan was gone. The triumphant labor/black mobilization reassembled those hard-core forces that had stuck through the bitter cold and held their ground until the Klan had left town. The labor/black mobilization formed up and marched away from the Capitol chanting, "KKK—No way! We stopped your march today!" and "Springfield—Too hot for the KKK!" Before buses left town, over 200 anti-fascist fighters packed into the restaurant hall where they cheered speakers and engaged in wide-ranging political discussion.

A Labor-Centered Mobilization

With the issuing of the PDC's December 30 call, "No Racist Provocation Against Martin Luther King Holiday!" supporters of the PDC, the SL and Spartacus Youth Clubs fanned out. Within a few days endorsements began to pour in from across the country—and around the world.

The impressive support shown by organized labor early on showed the appetite for powerful mobilization to stop the Klan. Endorsers included the presidents of heavily black union locals representing tens of thousands of Chicago-area workers, as well as the regional offices of the United Auto Workers (UAW), the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the United Rubber Workers (URW). Significant early endorsements included Robert Clark, head of UE District 11, and Johnnie Jackson, head of the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Unionists in the heart of Illinois labor's "war zone"—centered in Decatur, where Staley, Caterpillar and Electrical workers have been under attack—understood the threat posed by the anti-union Klan. In Springfield, representatives of Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) endorsed and helped build the rally.

The work of Chicago transit workers in Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 was crucial. They brought out integrated rail and bus workers, men and women, who formed the heart of the union marshals, insuring the anti-Klan demonstration was militant, disciplined and democratic from beginning to end.

Frightened that significant ranks of organized labor might actually engage in some class struggle against the racist poison of the KKK, the conservative, job-trusting, mainly white AFL-CIO bureaucracy got busy—knifing the anti-Klan effort. Even earlier, Communist Party supporters began calling trade-union leaders in an attempt to get them to back off their endorsements.

In the week before the Klan provocation the heavy hand of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy came down—*hard*—on union locals and officers who had lent their support to the anti-KKK action. Taking their orders from the Illinois state officials who were violence-baiting and red-baiting the PDC rally, on January 12 Illinois AFL-CIO president Donald Johnson sent out a letter to union locals across the state ordering unionists, "in the interest of good public relations," to "please stay away from the Capitol on Sunday, January 16." Springfield labor federation head Mike Hade held a press conference to declare that "labor" would do nothing to stop this Klan provocation.

Threatened by the way that organized labor in Illinois was getting organized for action, these sellout misleaders followed in the footsteps of longtime AFL-CIO chief George Meany, who boasted of never having walked a picket line. His successor, Lane Kirkland, supports the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin in Russia while knifing labor struggles at home. These partners of

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the bosses and their government, who spread anti-communism and counter-revolution abroad while allowing the destruction of union conditions in the U.S., feed the growth of Klan terror.

Wide sections of the union memberships, including some local officials, deeply resented the attempts by the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to stop the anti-Klan mobilization. Resisting great pressure, some Springfield unionists defied the labor fakers like Johnson and Hade and took their places at the rally. The fight to mobilize the workers in struggle over concrete issues like stopping the Klan by mobilizing the mass labor organizations they belong to is the struggle for revolutionary leadership. The Springfield mobilization, like others in Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Philadelphia and Atlanta initiated and built by the PDC and Spartacist League, give a glimpse of the future workers party that will mobilize and lead the working class and all the oppressed in struggle against their enemies.

WV Photo

Police squads repeatedly swept through demonstration, attempting to provoke incidents.

Capitalist State Connives with the Klan

As support mushroomed for the mobilization, Secretary of State Ryan stepped up his campaign to abrogate the civil and Constitutional rights of opponents of Klan terror by severely restricting the terms of the permit secured by the PDC on December 30. As PDC spokesman Al Spanfelner said when a lawsuit was filed against Ryan on January 13, "These police state tactics effectively put the state of Illinois in a bloc with the fascists against the labor and black opponents of the KKK."

WV Photo

KKK/Nazi thugs on East steps of Capitol, protected by riot cops. State used black prisoners to set up barricades.

The courts in lock step with the police kept us from having our speakers platform where we wanted it to be—in direct sight of the Klan—the better to acquaint them with the social power of the integrated labor movement mobilized in its own defense and on behalf of all the fascists' intended victims. As the PDC explained in a press release issued January 15:

> "Secretary of State Ryan's aim from the beginning has been to create a leaderless and chaotic situation—the exact opposite of our intent.... A rally without centrally located sound and leadership is like a car without a steering wheel! The responsibility for any problems that may develop during this demonstration rests squarely with the Secretary of State's Office and his police forces."

Ryan was a public supporter of "Project Lemonade," an obscene initiative by the Zionist ADL *to raise money off fascist KKK recruitment rallies and instruct outraged anti-fascists to stay home!* Their stated aim was to raise more money, the longer the Klan provocation lasted! The ADL is literally putting price tags on the corpses of victims of fascist terror! This follows in the Zionist tradition of sacrificing poor Jews to the Nazis in the 1930s and '40s in exchange for allowing Jewish capital to flow in to create the future state of Israel. Racist murder and pogroms are the results of KKK/Nazi recruitment rallies that "Project Lemonade" wants to serve as the taxi meter for! The sinister ADL is far more interested in stopping blacks and "reds" than stopping anti-Semitic fascists who target the Jewish people they claim to speak for.

Also aligned with the KKK and the forces of state repression was the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU... or is that "AKLU" now?). On January 14 the Partisan Defense Committee hand-delivered to the Illinois ACLU chapter a letter which read in part, "Given the ACLU's actions in assuring that the Klan rally proceed unimpeded on the day in question, we would hope that the ACLU will be equally scrupulous in defending our right to protest the Klan presence." These legal eagles for the KKK couldn't even bring themselves to reply.

But eloquent letters of protest poured into Ryan's office from labor unions and civil rights activists all over this country and internationally. David Richardson, a black Democratic member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, wrote to Ryan's office: "Your decision to oppress the Anti-Klan demonstrators by denying them a podium & sound equipment is despicable. Additionally, I am very concerned about the deployment of your police agents, which are serving to advance Klan activity in this Country."

While the state's attempt to repress the anti-Klan forces scared off some, it stiffened the resolve of many to *be there* in Springfield on January 16. For many who recalled the old FBI lie that Martin Luther King Jr was a "commie dupe," which is echoed by the Klan in opposing a federal holiday in commemoration of him, our chant "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!" rang true.

The state was so intent on sealing Springfield under a white hood that two black women state legislators, Alice Palmer and Lou Jones, who had the courage to stand by their convictions and join the labor/black mobilization on January 16, were denied access to their offices in the State Capitol by riot-equipped police officers. Palmer and Jones denounced Ryan's action, saying "They wouldn't let elected officials in the building, but they escorted and protected the KKK." Even the press complained about the outrageous machinations of the state on behalf of the fascists, which included a five-man press pool with the rest of the reporters penned in like hogs. The editor of the Decatur *Herald & Review* said: "The KKK rally is not the Gulf War and George Ryan is not Norman Schwarzkopf or Colin Powell."

On the morning of January 16 there was a more sinister provocation by the state against the labor/black mobilization. Federal agents from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) were found prowling around our rally site. Dressed in jump suits and ski masks, they claimed to be on site for a "bomb check." Except they had no explosives-sniffing dogs and when closely followed by our union marshals who insured these agents weren't *planting* anything, the BATF agents abruptly ended their "investigation" and left! As a PDC spokesman told demonstrators:

> "Forces from the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, known to all as the BATF, have been sent here. These are very vicious and dangerous paramilitary forces. They have been sent here by the Clinton White House to protect the Ku Klux Klan. If you didn't know, now you know that the state and the U.S. government stands with the racist killers of the KKK."

The BATF was up to its eyeballs in the bloody KKK massacre of five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. And we will not forget the massacre of 86 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas by Janet Reno's "Justice" Department and the BATF. While much of the left sneered, we organized protest demonstrations in cities across America.

The meaning of the state's overt and aggressive collusion with the fascists in Springfield is clear and ominous: First Amendment "rights" to free speech and assembly for *anti-Klan* activists can effectively be wiped out in the name of "security" while the KKK gets a green light to insult and terrorize black America on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. As Al Spanfelner told WICS TV in Springfield, "If they're not stopped, next year there will be [Klan rallies in] 16 capitals and then 24 capitals and then you're not going to have Martin Luther King Day, you're going to be talking about KKK day." That is why the mobilization of labor/black power on the streets was so important. Like every other gain that working people and minorities have secured in this country, our democratic rights are precious to us and must be wrested and defended through hard class struggle.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The state's concerted efforts to prevent anti-Klan protests in Springfield and elsewhere are part and parcel of yuppie racist Clinton's America. After the 1988 elections, to woo back the "Reagan Democrats" the right wing of the Democratic Party—led by Arkansas governor Bill Clinton—moved hard to push blacks to the back of the party bus. In the 1992 presidential elections, Jesse Jackson—the most prominent black political spokesman in this country for over a decade—was turned into an invisible man in the Democratic Party. Clinton came to office by deliberately insulting blacks. Since this "new" Democrat entered the White House, black Democratic mayors in the country's two largest cities—New York and Los Angeles—have been replaced by right-wing white Republicans. Over NAFTA, Clinton kicked organized labor in the teeth. Today all the Democrats have to offer blacks is more prisons and boot camps for youth.

Grotesquely conjuring up the memory of Martin Luther King Jr. in a November 13 speech to a black congregation in Memphis, where King was assassinated by a white racist, Clinton pushed the theme that "black people...murder other black people with reckless abandon." This is blaming the victims for their victimization. The outcry over "black on black crime" has been taken up by black liberals like Coretta Scott King and Jesse Jackson, as well as Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Indeed, the theme of official M.L. King Day celebrations was "stop the violence" in the inner cities. In New York, Governor Cuomo called a special session of the state legislature on King Day to consider his new "crime" bill. And in Springfield, the KKK "blamed Blacks for the nation's drug and crime problems" (*Chicago*

continued on page 12

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Anti-Racist Protesters...

(continued from page 11)

Defender, 17 January).

Many black Democrats and union officials were shocked that the KKK launched an aggressive campaign to defile Martin Luther King Day, the commemoration of the civil rights movement. But the Democratic Party and AFL-CIO bureaucracy is in large measure responsible for the *political climate* in which these racist terrorists feel they have the wind in their sails. The legal gains of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s came at a time when the American capitalist economy began a long downward slide marked by deindustrialization, union-busting and "give-back" contracts. Today, the National Urban League estimates that 60 percent of black teenage males and 20 percent of all black men are unemployed. Most of those lucky enough to have jobs are forced to work at poverty-level wages.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has given up the gains won through decades of hard-fought labor battles. Instead of channeling the anger of workers and unemployed youth against the Fortune 500 corporations and Wall Street banks, the union tops are engaging in flag-waving attacks on Japan and recently on Mexico over the NAFTA agreement. Racist protectionism, wrapped in the American flag, feeds into the political climate which favors the Klan and Nazis, who hate Hispanics and Asians just as much as they hate blacks. The racist, chauvinist traitors who now run the American labor movement have to be ousted by the workers and replaced by a leadership committed to militant class struggle.

This fight is international in scope. The growing boldness of the KKK is matched by the rise of fascist terror in Europe. The outpouring of support from trade unionists from as far away as Italy and Japan shows the recognition that the fascist threat is for real. In a solidarity statement to the Springfield rally, the chairman of the German League of Anti-Fascists in Leipzig said "Right-wing terror is on the rise! Here in Germany it is mainly directed against foreigners, especially—but by no means only—against refugees from countries of the Third World, also against leftists, gays and Jews. And, as in your country, the police usually are blind in the right eye." To organize the workers and oppressed in their own class interests requires an international revolutionary party, with the program to defeat the fascists once and for all by destroying the capitalist system which breeds them. ■

WV Photo

Two of the student demonstrators who turned out from a dozen area colleges and universities.

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black mobilization in Springfield: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan January 16'."

List of Endorsers as of 18 January 1994

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Aboriginal Death in Custody Watch Committee, Sydney, Australia
Mumia Abu-Jamel, Huntingdon, PA
Russell Adams, Chair, Howard University Afro-American Studies Dept.,* Washington, DC
African American Forum at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
American Postal Workers Union, Lincoln Land Area Local, Springfield, IL
Association for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Japan
Marcellus Barnes, Vice President, Black Caucus, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
James R. Barrett, Labor Historian, Executive Committee member, Union of Professional Employees, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,* Champaign, IL
Ann Beta, Steward, IBEW Local 165,* Chicago, IL
Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR-North), San Francisco, CA
Tom Beardsley, President, American Postal Workers Union, Oakland Local,* Oakland, CA
Willie Lee Bell, Delegate to Central Labor Council, IAM Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Karen Biber, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
Jacob Bilender, member, Ickek Witenberg Study Group,* Caulfield, Australia
Denny Bishop, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Black United Fund of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Carolyn J. Blahofski, Acting President, UAW Local 1235,* Springfield, IL
Linda C. Bowman, Joint Executive Board member, SEIU Local 509,* Dorchester, MA
Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Eva Brück, Spokeswoman, Jewish Women's Group East Berlin,* Berlin, Germany
Campaign for Justice, San Jose, CA
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Local 400, Vancouver, BC
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) Lodi Region, Milano, Italy
Cynthia Chávez, Field Director, Campaign for Justice, San Jose, CA
Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Chicago, IL
Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Robert Clark, President, United Electrical Workers District 11,* Chicago, IL
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Committee for Defense of the Liberties and Rights of Man in France and the World, Paris, France
Communications Workers Union of Australia, Telecommunication & Services, Victorian Branch, Collingwood, Australia
Aurelio Crippa, Secretary, CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) Milano,* Milano, Italy
Joe Damal, Executive Director, Southwest Community Congress,* Chicago, IL
Bill Davis, President, American Postal Workers Union, Lincoln Land Area Local, Springfield, IL
Danny K. Davis, Cook County Commissioner,* Chicago, IL
Mary G. Denson, Candidate for State Representative, 8th District, Chicago, IL
Sath Donnelly, Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty,* Chicago, IL
Emory Douglas, former member, Black Panther Party,* San Francisco, CA
Charles DuBois, Steward, AFSCME Local 444, Berkeley, CA
Diane M. Dujon Chapter Board member, SEIU Local 509 (UMass/Boston),* Mattapan, MA
Alfred Erdölli, Roma Union e.V.,* Berlin, Germany
Chris Fisher, Treasurer, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Hector M. Flores, Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
James Frazier, member, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
Mrs. James Frazier, Brooklyn, NY
Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
GaMIT (gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and friends at M.I.T.), Cambridge, MA
Mike Garcia, President, SEIU Local 1877, President, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Santa Clara Chapter, San Jose, CA
Roger Getes, President, United Rubber Workers Local 713,* Decatur, IL
Global Committee Commemorating Kingdom Days of Respect, Chicago, IL
William Gordon, President, Triangle Plumbers Club,* Chicago, IL
Don Gunn, New South Wales Assistant Secretary, Media Entertainment & Arts Alliance,* Sydney, Australia
Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, Chicago, IL
Harvard/Radcliffe Asian American Association, Cambridge, MA
Rev. John L. Harvey, Catholic priest, St. Benedict the African Church,* Chicago, IL
Charles A. Hayes, former Congressman, Chicago, IL
Jerome Henderson, Organizer, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL
David Hilliard, Business Representative, United Public Employees Local 790,* Oakland, CA
Beruch Hirson, Co-Editor, *Searchlight South Africa*,* London, England
Alzeidia Hollie, President, Student Government Association at Chicago State University,* Chicago, IL
Johnnie M. Jackson, President, Chicago Chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Joe B. Jesen, President, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
Callie Jones Vice President, John Hay Homes Residents Council,* Springfield, IL
Lovana Jones, State Representative, 5th District, Illinois State Legislature,* Chicago, IL
Emil Jones, Jr., State Senator and Minority Leader, Illinois State Senate,* Chicago, IL
Katie Jordan, President, Chicago ACTWU,* Chicago, IL
Eugen Kesster, Ehrenvorsitzender, Lagergemeinschaft Dachau (honorary chairman of the community of the Dachau concentration camp),* Neubiberg/München, Germany
Keri Kielhorn, member, presidium of the Dachau concentration camp community,* PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Berlin, Germany
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James H. Neil, Co-chief Shop Steward, Harvard Dining Service Workers, HERE Local 26,* Cambridge, MA
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Organization of Latin American Students of Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Hotsuki Ozeki, Critic, Tokyo, Japan
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William A. Pelz, Director, Social Sciences Program, DePaul University,* Chicago, IL
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Keith A. Phelps, Business Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1064,* Livonia, MI
Allen Pieper, Business Agent, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL
Raylane Pilaggi, Chief Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
Teresa Polk-Henderson, Senior Health and Safety Field Representative, SEIU Central Regional Office,* Chicago, IL
Rainer Pommrich, Delegate to the 3rd Party Congress, PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Halle, Germany
James C. Prola, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
Rabbinical Office of the Jewish Community of Milano, Milano, Italy
Rail, Maritime & Transport Union, Finsbury Park branch, London, England
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Teamsters Local 808, New York, NY
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Isiah Thomas, President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
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Chiyuki Tominari, Communist League (Japan),* Saitama-ken, Japan
Hideo Tokuike, Research Group on the Labor Movement,* Tokyo, Japan
Townsville Aboriginal and Islandar Media Association, Queensland, Australia
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Ben Vlanick, President, Oakland Education Association/NEA,* Oakland, CA
Jane Wegner, co-initiator of protest rally against violence against disabled people (13 January 1994), Halle, Germany
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Wayne Morris Wharton, General Manager, Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Media Association, Queensland, Australia
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Lori A. Williams President, Organization of Latin American Students at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Christopher Wilson Chair, Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
Lorna L. Wilson, President, African American Forum at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee

"Time to Stop the Klan!"

We reprint here some excerpts from speeches by participants at the January 16 mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield. The remarks printed below, which have been edited for publication, were made at the rally site and at the victory party held later that afternoon. Other speakers were John Hill, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago; Jesse Evans, an alderman from Chicago; Crystal Lovett, a student at University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana; and Jim Barrett, a professor of history there.

WV Photo

At platform on North steps of Capitol, speakers from a broad spectrum of organizations addressed the crowd.

Jackie Breckenridge

International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union

Stop the Klan! We must do everything possible to put down this regurgitation. Some people want us to ignore it, but we can't. You know what happened in Germany to the Jews when they ignored it, and later it was six million Jews dead. You know what happened after the Civil

WV Photo

Jackie Breckenridge

War when we ignored it; thousands and thousands of black people were murdered.

I was born in Okolona, Mississippi in 1941 and my family stood against the Klan then. My great-great-grandfather was hung by the Klan. In 1964 the Klan put 14 sticks of dynamite in my mother-in-law's home and kidnapped my wife. I was a part of the movement in the early '60s. I was in many marches in most of the Southern states. I became a part of the labor movement in 1966 and I worked very hard in this movement ever since. I've seen a lot of things and I've been a part of a lot of things. I do commend the organizers of this rally today. You've done a good job. Or maybe I should say, *we've* done a good job. It shows that an individual by themselves can't do one thing, but as a group we can do *anything*. We can fend off anything and we can change anything.

There's a three-headed dragon that we must kill. That's racism, classism, and sexism. Today we have struck one small blow in injuring that dragon and if we keep the movement going, we will end it, we will stop it, and we will be the victors. The people of the world will become the rulers of the world and not be manipulated by the managers of the world, the people who say they own the land, the people who control the wealth of this world because we allow them to. But it's ours. And it's up to us to go and take what's ours. I'm not saying, ask for it—let's demand it, let's take it. That's what we have to do.

Bill Hampton

Brother of murdered Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton

Here in the State Capitol we can see all the health "reforms," all the homeless people, all the unemployed people and we can see in the so-called "land of Lincoln," Springfield, Illinois, where many blacks escaped the South from slavery to come to a so-called better land, that the State Capitol can be used for Klan activities. Let's denounce it. It is wrong!

Our governor can say, "these people have the right to freedom of speech." Yes, people have the freedom of speech, but what freedom of speech do people have when thousands of blacks have been lynched by the KKK? This is not freedom of speech. This is freedom of ignorance. Freedom of hatred, freedom of racism, and we will not tolerate it. We must fight it! We must band together as a people to let us have freedom of speech. If everybody had the right to freedom of speech then people like Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Dr. King would be with us today.

If we don't fight these people we'll see them marching in every state. It's a disgrace for them to come out on Dr. King's birthday, his holiday, and say that a black American can't have a holiday because the Ku Klux Klan is against them. We will continue to fight this because it is wrong and we as a people are not living in slavery. We are living in 1994 and we will stop this right away.

Jerome Henderson

Organizer, SEIU Local 73, Springfield, Illinois

It's nice to see everybody out here on a such a cold day! This is a sign that lets me know that freedom and justice for all still is alive here in Springfield, Illinois. We thank you all for coming in from Chicago and all over. This Klan

WV Photo

Jerome Henderson

thing is a sign of ignorance. But what we have today is a sign of true solidarity from all labor movements and from all around the country. On behalf of Local 73 I'd like to thank all of you for coming down here. Peace be unto all of you

Brian Manning

Spartacist League

Who gets the red carpet treatment around here? The KKK! Who does the government try to put into pens? The anti-Klan demonstrators! The same people who said "ignore the Klan" are the people who have run the union movement into the ground. The ones who say we can't fight because we're too weak, the ones who push losing "corporate campaigns" and selective strikes. They're the ones who are in bed with the bosses. They sell out every struggle that comes along, even ones where the workers are winning, like the flight attendants strike at American Airlines. But we aren't weak, we are strong! Look at us! If we, the workers and the oppressed are going to win, we must fight with a leadership that knows who its friends are and who its enemies are.

This government, the Democratic president and all, is not our friend. A lot of people thought that when Clinton got into office the Reagan years would finally end. But what's changed? As long as capitalism, production for profit, remains in power, the capitalists are going to drive down wages and beat down black people and minorities and carry out imperialist policies abroad. As long as capitalism, imperialism, is in power, they won't feed starving babies in Africa. They'll just feed them bullets and bombs. They'll tell you they're bringing "democracy" to Haiti but the embargo means starving the population, and the babies die first. In Mogadishu and Port-au-Prince—the U.S. exports the same "democracy" they brought to Baghdad and Vietnam and Hiroshima and Nagasaki! It's imperialist war and you can't have capitalism without imperialist war.

There is not going to be any black liberation except through socialist revolution. We stand here by the statues of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. Lincoln led the country in a titanic struggle to smash chattel slavery. At the conclusion of the war, 200,000 blacks bore arms and there was a possibility of eliminating the race system in this country. But the promise of black freedom was dashed—it was dashed with the defeat of Reconstruction. And Martin Luther King Jr.—he sought black "empowerment" through working within the system, basically through voting for the Democrats. But his dream was smashed on the streets of Cicero, Illinois in the mid-'60s when he tried to bring the civil rights struggle North. The race-color caste system against blacks is entrenched in the capitalist system and the condition of blacks has gone from bad to worse in the last 30 years.

Blacks and workers need their own political party. A party that brooks no compromise with the system that is out to extract as much profit as it can from us and then destroy us. You almost have to be a communist if you want to fight for a decent life for yourself or your family. When 86 people were incinerated in Waco by Attorney General Janet Reno, who raised a voice of protest? It was us, the Spartacists. And when women and children were murdered in Somalia, who denounced imperialism and demanded justice for the long-oppressed peoples of Africa? It was us, the Spartacists. And when Denny's restaurant was denying blacks equal treatment, who organized nationwide demonstrations? It was us. We are not liberals. We are working-class revolutionaries because we know the working class has the power and self-interest to destroy this capitalist system. So if you've got a sense of humanity and the will to fight for justice for all of the oppressed, then join us. We're fighting and we are going to win!

Danny K. Davis

Cook County Commissioner, Chicago, Illinois

Thank you very much. Let me just say first of all that I greet you in the spirit of Nat Turner, John Brown, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, Martin King, and all of those who have struggled for freedom and liberation, not just now but for centuries past. I also greet you in the spirit of all of you, my brothers and sisters, who have braved the cold elements to come and let not just those of us who are here, but to let those across the nation, know that we will not stand idly by and watch the reactionary forces of racism and fascism continue to spew their poisonous venom without going unchecked. I commend you for coming.

I think it's somewhat ironic that we are here on the day when we celebrate the birthday of Martin Luther King. I was thinking as I walked in that there are those forces that did in fact kill King and they're trying to kill and wipe out our spirit and they're trying to make a mockery of those things that we believe in and those things that we fight for. But I can tell you in the words of Claude McKay, who suggested that:

> "If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
> While round us bark the mad and
> hungry dogs,
> Making their mock at our accursed lot
> If we must die, Oh let us nobly die.
> So that our precious blood may not
> be shed
> In vain; then even the monsters we defy
> Shall be constrained to honor us though
> dead!
>
> Oh, kinsmen! we must meet the
> common foe!
> Though far outnumbered let us show
> us brave,
> And for their thousand blows deal one
> death-blow!
> What though before us lies the
> open grave?
> Like men we'll face the murderous
> cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying,
> but fighting back!"

Thank you so very much.

Katie Jordan

President ACTWU, Chicago, Illinois

Do you know what time it is? Time to stop the Klan! I have been in the labor movement for many, many years so I know what it is to fight against the racist regime. I'm a product of the deep South, so I know that the Klan did not just raise their ugly heads. I heard the stories when I was a little girl about the murder and lynching, and the fear and the hiding to keep from being lynched by the Klan. At that time I thought that the Klan was

WV Photo

Katie Jordan

only in the South. Then I came to the North and I found that the Klan is everywhere. But so is the labor movement and those people who are willing to fight and struggle.

We have the power to stop the Klan. We have the power to preserve all of the things that we have fought for. I thought the Klan were only against blacks. Then I found out different, that it's not a matter of the color of the skin but it's a matter of the right of people to be free to work for the things that they want, without the racist society to prevent us from being unified. The Klan is against the labor movement, they are against Catholics, they are against you if you're poor, they are against everyone except those who

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Unions Denounce State Curb on Anti-Klan Protest

We Will Not Ride at the Back of the Bus!

National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200

NALC

• 100 YEARS •

1310 N. Oxford Ave.
Pasadena, CA 91104
(818) 798-8122

CLYDE WALTERS, Vice President
NANCY MEYER, Secy. Treasurer
FRANK CONSTANZO, Asst. Secy.-Treasurer

LEROY COLLIER, President

PATRICIA WOODRUFF, Health Benefit Rep.
LEON GRIFFITHS, Sgt.-at-Arms
DAVID RUBLES, MBA Representative

13 January 1994.

George H. Ryan
Secretary of State
State of Illinois
213 State House
Springfield, IL. 62756

Dear Sir:

On December 30, the Partisan Defense Committee was issued a permit to hold a rally at the Illinois state capitol to stop the KKK provocation scheduled during the Martin Luther King holiday weekend. Now we have heard that the state intends to place restrictions on the anti-Klan protesters which will greatly limit their ability to carry out this urgent mobilization while giving the Klan a free hand. So the Klan rides while the anti-Klan demonstrators are shackled by the actions of the state.

As endorsers of this demonstration, we protest this flagrant attack on our First Amendment rights. These actions pose a potentially dangerous situation for the many citizens--mostly labor and blacks--who intend to be there. We note in particular the denial of a stage or a podium which is essential for giving a focus and direction to those in attendance.

We will not be treated as second class citizens while the Klan gets to ride in the front of the bus! We demand our full democratic rights! Rescind these restrictions!

Sincerely yours,

Leroy Collier, Pres.

Don Smith, Trustee

cc:Gov. Jim Edgar
cc:Roland W. Burris, Atty. Gen
cc:PDC

TRUSTEES
Donald A. Smith Shalom Selma Mary Burchard

LOCAL 1457

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO

P.O. Box 29006, Presidio of San Francisco
San Francisco, California 94129
Telephone 561-4871

January 12, 1994

Honorable George H. Ryan
Secretary of State
State of Illinois
213 State House
Springfield, Illinois 62756

Dear Secretary Ryan:

We do hereby object to and protest any attempt to restrict the rights of the Partisan Defense Committee to conduct a mobilization to stop the KKK from provoking a racist atrocity on the Capitol steps of Springfield. It has come to our attention that you propose to deny the Partisan Defense Committee, and the tens of thousands of supporters access and speaking rights at the Illinois Worker's Memorial while attempting to pen them into a restricted area away from the terrorist KKK. Meanwhile the fascists of the Ku Klux Klan are allowed to disgrace the Martin Luther King Memorial and spew their racist poison throughout the State of Illinois.

We workers who maintain the U.S. Army installation at the Presidio of San Francisco, consider any action against the democratic rights of the anti-Klan demonstrators to be an attack on the rights of every decent person in this country and call on you to open the Capitol freely to all who wish to condemn racism and fascism and defend the interest of workers and minorities. The KKK is the enemy of all decent people. Any defense of them is tantamount to treason.

Sincerely,

Allen L. Perdue
President, AFGE Local 1457

Arthur [illegible] Watson
Secretary/Treasurer, AFGE Local 1457

CF:
Governor Jim Edgar
Attorney General Roland W. Burris

TO DO FOR ALL THAT WHICH NONE CAN DO FOR HIMSELF

Protests poured in when the State of Illinois threatened to pen up anti-Klan protesters and push us back behind barricades to the Capitol North steps, out of sight of the Klan. In addition to the statements by Pasadena, California Letter Carriers Branch 2200 and San Francisco AFGE Local 1457 (shown here), faxes and phone calls came from Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson and Philadelphia SEIU Local 668 Chapter President Ray Martinez. From Oakland, California, AFSCME and teachers union officials fired off protests, as did postal workers locals in both Toronto and Vancouver, Canada, and many others.

"Time to Stop the Klan"...

(continued from page 13)

believe like they believe.

I speak as a woman. I will be here as strong as any man to help to fight the Klan. We all marched with Martin Luther King when he fought so diligently. He wasn't afraid to go out and speak and neither are we. He left a legacy for us. He left a dream and we are here to uphold his dignity as well as ours.

We have to change things. I'm president of my local, the first woman ever that has been a president of that particular local, because I saw a need for change in the way that women were being treated in this society and it had to do with the racist regime of what our society is. I'm awful glad that I have been asked to be a part of the things that you are doing because they are things that I have believed in all of my life. Coming up as a young kid in the South, I know about being directly affected by the racist discrimination that tries to make you feel less than human. The Ku Klux Klan is trying to bring that about all over the country, not just in the South.

I will continue to preach the word in the organizations that I belong to because I know the same thing you fight for, they do too. But I still ask the question, "why aren't they here?" We know that there are others that need to be here. We know that when we go back to talk to them, they'll say that they believe in the same thing. But if so, why not be *brave* about it, *defy* those who say you shouldn't be here, and come if you believe in this. That's why I am here.

Jeff Higgins

Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, California

The Ku Klux Klan, coming out of its Confederate uniforms yesterday, was a paramilitary organization from the beginning. *And so it is today.* No matter in a one-piece hood or a three-piece suit, the Klan, after the Civil War and now, deals in cowardly, racist, dynamite-induced death—not debate.

In 1877 with the defeat of Reconstruction and the pulling of Union troops out of the South, the young American capitalist class made a deal with remnants of the defeated slaveowners, and through it, its paramilitary arm—the Ku Klux Klan. The surging American capitalists, largely responding to a growing, organizing labor movement, were abandoning any perspective for a socially-founded black freedom. The Ku Klux Klan was employed as the primary paramilitary force, the armed battering ram, which *forcibly* drove the former slaves to the bottom of American industrial capitalist society. It is not status as an oppressed nation, but *this* condition, determined on the one hand by fundamental integration into America's capitalist economic fabric, while on the other forcibly segregated on its bottom as a race-color caste, which is at the foundation of the sordid, horrible, wretched, agonizing living conditions for Afro-Americans today!

The key to working-class unity, to working-class victory, is independence from all forces linked to the bourgeoisie. Working-class schoolchildren today grow up knowing that the Republican Party has represented big money interests for a long time, that the Reagan-Bush safety net was in fact a hangman's noose. But it must also be learned that the Democrats too are tied to big money going back to the days when the Democratic Party served as the political tool for the slaveowners. Malcolm X was right: a Democrat is nothing but a Dixiecrat.

The capitalist police, many of whom are Klansmen by night, the capitalist courts, and certainly the once-slaveowners' Democratic Party, cannot protect, cannot assist, cannot relieve, cannot make better, cannot mediate the growing deplorable living circumstances of American workers in black skin or white. Asking the cops and courts to ban the Klan or address black special oppression is indeed like Rodney King asking the L.A. police for protection. The American capitalists coddle the KKK fascist scum. To keep its power, to continue as the sole owners of the basic means of production, the capitalists will unleash these genocidal homophobes to quash militant, integrated, working-class struggle.

This racist KKK fascist provocation on the Martin Luther King holiday, decent American workers will not tolerate. Although King's pro-Democratic Party civil rights policy could not help but lead the struggle for Afro-American democratic rights into a dead end, the Labor Black Struggle League, as part of the Trotskyist Spartacist League's program to build an integrated revolutionary Trotskyist leadership for the American working class, defends the limited gains of King's civil rights era. Out of militant integrated working-class actions, like today's against the racist, bomb-throwing KKK, we will assist in building this integrated revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. A revolutionary American workers party will keep its feet on these racist killers' necks, their face in the mud, the racist KKK fascist menace, nipped in the bud. Join the Labor Black Struggle League!

WV Photo

Jeff Higgins

Seth Donnelly

Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty

Power to the people! As part of the struggle against the Klan, and the racist system which sustains the Klan to this day, we have to talk about the death penalty. We are in a crisis in Illinois. There are over 150 people under the sentence of death. Over 70 percent of these people are black and Latino. Sixty-three percent of the people on death row are black. This is plain out "legal lynching" as it is in every other state and what we've got to do is take the energy that we developed in the struggle against the Klan and have that be a battering ram against the criminal justice system which puts apartheid in a damn near favorable light. We've got to stop a U.S. apartheid and we've got to struggle against the criminal justice system here.

Jeff Keemer

Howard University Spartacus Youth Club

This system is in acute decay. Youth today see no future and for ghetto black youth the prospects are even more bleak. Faced with urban rebellion in the 1960s the capitalist class threw money at the problem with affirmative action, increased funding for public education, welfare, Headstart, and on and on. But now this system is bankrupt. All they have to offer us youth is boot camps, poor textbooks, pathetic schools, racist anti-crime hysteria and blaming the victim for their own conditions. They say, "You people need to pull yourselves up by your own bootstraps"! We say, "Bootstraps? We haven't got any boots!"

We seek to build a mass youth movement to add to the power of labor which can stop the Nazis cold in their tracks. The only way out of a future of either jails, crime, service in the imperialist army, poverty, despair and death, is a workers revolution that will finish the Civil War and achieve black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

"U of I-Champaign Students Say: All Out to Stop the KKK!"

Young Spartacus

Champaign-Urbana contingent marches in to join labor/black mobilization in Springfield.

As part of the mobilization to stop the KKK on January 16, members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs worked the campus of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, where they were warmly received. Many students strongly agreed with the need to stand up to the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan. By the end of the week, the campus was abuzz with talk about the mobilization and the SYC. On the eve of the demonstration, students were leaving messages on their answering machines like "Hi, sorry we can't come to the phone, we're out fighting fascists."

Throughout the week, daily organizing meetings were held, during which the demonstration was discussed. Students were able to view a videotape of the PDC's successful demonstration to stop the KKK in Philadelphia in 1988—a militant, disciplined, labor-centered action against the fascist scum. With generous financial contributions from La Casa Cultural Latina and the Inter-Fraternity Council, two buses were organized to travel to Springfield on the 16th and many more students piled into cars. The outrage and disgust which the students at U of I felt over the Klan's provocation pulled together a very diverse and integrated group to build the mobilization. Many students took stacks of leaflets to distribute and post up around the campus, sold tickets, and made signs and a banner.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) made a rather pitiful attempt to organize students as well, not to *stop* the KKK, but to "protest against the KKK." Members of the ISO attended one of the SYC's daily organizing meetings, where they were offered the opportunity to endorse the demonstration initiated by the PDC and to raise their own particular views from the rally's speakers platform as well as in their own propaganda and banners. But when two SYC members attempted to attend the ISO's only organizing meeting during the week to urge united action against the KKK fascists, they were physically excluded by these social-democratic sectarians, right in front of a reporter from the *Daily Illini*, who wrote a front-page story on the anti-Klan mobilization, mentioning this exclusion.

Despite bitter cold and snow, two busloads of students, along with Professor Jim Barrett, who had endorsed the demonstration, traveled to Springfield. The students named their buses in honor of Frederick Douglass and the black soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, heroes in the struggle against racist oppression and the Confederate slavocracy whose legacy the KKK claims. The students arrived in Springfield and marched to the demonstration site carrying their banner: "U of I-Champaign Students Say—All Out to Stop the KKK!" and signs denouncing racism and the KKK. One sign in particular summed up the mood of the contingent: "Illinois Nazis Suck" (signed "Jake and Elwood").

At the demonstration, the U-I students joined working people and minorities from all over the area who had come together to oppose the terrorist KKK. The January 16 demonstration made those who participated aware of the social power of the labor movement. And here you couldn't miss the racist nature of the state. Students saw first-hand how the cops protected the Klan and repeatedly marched through the demonstration attempting to intimidate and provoke the anti-fascist protesters. As one of the chants put it, "Cops and Klan—Brothers Under the Hood."

Mobilizing for the demonstration to stop the KKK, the SYC brought revolutionary politics to the University of Illinois. The SYC stands for united, militant action like that of January 16 to stop racist terror. We want to win students to a lifetime of commitment to the working-class struggle against the capitalist system which breeds racism and oppression. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Jackson...

(continued from page 16)

he was infected with the AIDS virus. In a December 22 TV address, Jackson tearfully described the "horrifying nightmare" his life has become, and asserted his complete innocence.

Capitalist Reaction Unleashes Government Snoops

What makes the Jackson scandal such a blockbuster is the explosive mix of homosexuality, race and childhood sexuality with the "child abuse" witchhunt. State-sponsored social reaction has spawned right-wing crusades such as the "right to life" assault on women's right to abortion, "chastity" programs for teens and other outright denials of the sexuality of children and youth, escalating bigotry against homosexuals, the drive to censor pornography and to lock people up for what they read and look at and a generalized assault on the right to privacy. The persecution of the "King of Pop," probably the most successful recording artist of all time, is an ominous widening of the dragnet—somebody's got to be the victim, and who better than a headline-grabbing megastar already known for his eccentricities? Stop the witchhunt against Michael Jackson!

While no one looked askance at the risqué 1930s "baby burlesques" where Shirley Temple wiggled her little behind, today they'd probably qualify as "kiddie porn." Today's "child sex abuse" hysteria got its immediate start in Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign against homosexuals in the late '70s, and the "kiddie porn" scare of the '80s; government vehicles for persecution of alleged violators were established with the passage of the 1974 Mondale Act, which requires by law that professionals report even the most absurd and improbable sex abuse accusations to the cops, and the 1982 Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation Act.

The ongoing government vendetta against supporters of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which advocates the right of men and boys to consensual sexual relations, represents the intersection of blatant anti-gay bigotry with reactionary "age of consent" laws. These "morality" campaigns are designed to glorify and prop up the repressive prison of the family, the main institution for the oppression of women and children under racist American capitalism.

The most extreme manifestation of the anti-sex witchhunt has been the government-sponsored madness over "ritual child abuse" in day-care centers, where wild, impossible charges have ensnared hundreds, if not thousands, of childcare workers, children and parents in a nightmare of uncontrolled hysteria. Invoking the fearful, intimidating atmosphere of the anti-Communist McCarthyite persecutions of the 1950s and the Salem witch trials of the 1690s, this crusade has nothing to do with protecting children and everything to do with reinforcing traditional "family values," guilt-tripping working moms who need to leave their kids in day care and whipping up hatred and bigotry against "deviants" who do not conform to the bourgeois establishment's dictates of proper behavior.

Last spring, "child abuse" was the battle cry of President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, who supervised the FBI barrage which resulted in the incineration of an entire religious commune (including dozens of children, black and white) near Waco, Texas.

Now a wing of the bourgeois press, government officials and health professionals is moving to curb the worst excesses of the "satanic abuse" mania. But in this deeply puritanical country, interracial sex, cross-generational sex and homosexuality are a threat to social relations as decreed by our racist, bigoted capitalist rulers and the religious ideology which props up their social order. Witchhunts like the one against Michael Jackson are manipulated for reactionary political ends and serve to reinforce the bourgeoisie's warped and indecent values through fear and intimidation.

Making Examples of the Rich and Famous

Newsweek (6 September 1993) noted that the tabloid TV show "A Current Affair" "changed the emphasis of its coverage in the wake of 1-900 polls that showed overwhelming support for Jackson among the show's viewers." From his start in Gary, Indiana as the child star of the Jackson 5 to the huge success of his first solo album in 1979, Jackson has achieved the greatest "crossover" success in rock 'n roll history. As an asexual teen idol (one of whose hits was a love song to a giant rat!), Jackson achieved a level of popularity with white audiences unheard of for most black performers; when MTV broke its infamous "color bar" in 1984, it was to play Michael Jackson's video "Billie Jean."

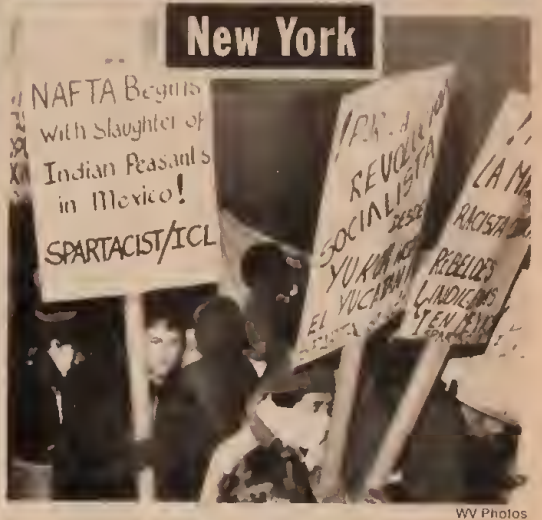
At 40 million copies, Jackson's *Thriller* is the biggest-selling album of all time. Public interest in Jackson's quirky habits and increasingly bizarre androgynous and trans-racial appearance runs high: when Oprah Winfrey interviewed him, 62 million people watched. Today it seems every disgruntled former Jackson employee is appearing on *Hard Copy*, while his sister La Toya, the only untalented Jackson, holds "tell all" press conferences.

With their high public profiles and glamorous lives, movie and music stars have for decades been subjected to periodic purges for flouting bourgeois morality or mainstream politics: anti-Communist Hollywood blacklisting destroyed many careers during the 1950s. And the sex cops have been after straying stars for decades: in the '40s, matinee idol Errol Flynn was prosecuted for dallying with under-age starlets, while Charlie Chaplin (whose socialist sympathies enraged FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover) was prosecuted on "morals" charges and exiled from the U.S. In the 1950s Jerry Lee Lewis, "The Killer," was blacklisted for legally marrying his 14-year-old cousin, while in the late '70s film director Roman Polanski had to flee the country to avoid statutory rape charges for having sex with a sexually experienced, 13-year-old girl. Today, the current vendetta against Jackson follows on the heels of the press massacre of Woody Allen after the revelations of his affair with the 20-year-old adopted daughter of ex-girlfriend Mia Farrow and Farrow's vengeful, frame-up charges of sexual abuse of their seven-year-old daughter.

Michael Jackson denies doing anything but sleeping fully clothed in the same bed with this boy; in any case, none of the allegations even hint that he forced anything on any of the youths. Jackson's personal life is nobody's business but his own. The threatened criminal charges rest on reactionary "age of consent" laws which are used for vindictive and punitive charges like these. These laws outright deny that children and youth can be interested in sex on their own behalf and are designed not to protect children but to impose abstinence, guilt and fear on youth who wish to have sex. Instead, the bottom line in sexual relations should be effective consent, regardless of the ages, sexes or other characteristics of the people involved. While determining such consent can be tricky, particularly when young people are involved with older ones, such relationships are not by definition evidence of abuse or coercion. In Michael Jackson's case, an extremely visible and vulnerable celebrity has been made a scapegoat in a government-sponsored climate of hysteria. Government out of the bedroom! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Protests Against Massacre in Mexico



Espartaco

WV Photos

Tens of thousands marched in Mexico City on January 12 to protest bloody repression against Chiapas peasant revolt. Two days earlier in U.S., Spartacist League joined solidarity protests outside Mexican consulates on both coasts.

The peasant rebellion of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, which burst into the open on January 1, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, shot holes in the imperialists' celebration of a "New World Order." The brutal oppression of the Mexican masses was laid bare, and the ensuing bloody massacre by the army showed that death squad repression is not a thing of the past. At the same time, the revolt was dramatic proof that radical social struggle against the capitalist exploiters and their state is far from dead.

Over the following days, there were protests against the Mexican government repression in U.S. cities from coast to coast, drawing hundreds of demonstrators. Supporters of the Spartacist League participated with signs emphasizing the responsibility of Yankee imperialism for the slaughter in southern Mexico. Indeed, the helicopters which ferried Mexican troops to the killing grounds in Chiapas were supplied by the Pentagon. Calling for joint class struggle on both sides of the border, SL signs called for "Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to Yucatán."

In Mexico City, on January 13 the largest anti-government demonstration in half a decade marched

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Stop the Witchhunt Against Michael Jackson!

Reuters

Caught in a maelstrom of government and media persecution, the hugely popular black megastar Michael Jackson is the victim of a savage witchhunt over allegations of sexual abuse of a 12-year-old boy. The witchhunt was unleashed last August when an aspiring screenwriter apparently tried to use his son's friendship with Jackson to extort $20 million and promises of a boost to his Hollywood career. It has since spiraled into an $8 million civil suit and two potential criminal trials. Swarms of cops have searched Jackson's homes for "evidence," forcing the singer to strip and submit to an unheard-of, humiliating photographing of his genitals. Prissy media busybodies pass judgments on Jackson's longstanding friendships with boys and his appearance and lifestyle.

The allegations made by the boy, Jordy Chandler, were initially raised by his father, a dentist who wants out of the tooth business and into the film industry, during threats of an acrimonious child custody case between the divorced parents. Jackson had been friends with the boy for some time, taking him, his mother and sister to Disneyland four times, lavishing them with expensive gifts and reportedly enjoying hanging out with the three, watching TV, eating pizza and sleeping over. One or the other of the boy's parents was present in the house during these slumber parties, as the press has dubbed them. When Jackson refused to be blackmailed, the father rushed his son to a therapist, who complied by filing an abuse complaint against Jackson.

The witchhunt quickly took on a life of its own. Press reports have focused on the site of the alleged seduction, Jackson's 2,700-acre Neverland Valley Ranch, named in honor of the perpetual child, Peter Pan, a kid's fantasyland, with a zoo, fun rides, movie theater and Indian village. Now two other boys have claimed Jackson molested them, too. Several other boys who are friends of Jackson (including child star Macaulay Culkin) have come to his defense, and Elizabeth Taylor has courageously stood by him.

Whether or not criminal charges are filed, Jackson's music career and his whole life have been shattered. The shy and reclusive singer is rumored to be suicidal and addicted to pain killers, forcing the early cancellation of the "Dangerous" world tour amid the harassment of press photographers, newshounds and sponsors threatening to sue for breach of contract. Corporate sponsors Pepsi and Sony dumped him, just like Nestlé dumped basketball star Magic Johnson when he announced that

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 593 4 February 1994

Business Week

Clinton's "war on drugs, crime" means racist war on minorities.

Sipa

Clinton's Racist "Law and Order"

Millions of homeless wander the streets in often arctic temperatures, massive unemployment plagues the entire country, TB and other diseases of poverty ravage the inner cities. But from the White House to city hall, "crime" is *the* issue exercising this country's racist rulers. Clinton made it a centerpiece of his State of the Union address, pushing for more police and more prisons and joining in the cry for mandatory life sentences for "three-time losers."

Topping the Congressional agenda this session is a draconian omnibus crime bill backed by right-wing racists and black liberals alike. The Senate version—passed by a whopping 95-4 majority in November—would vastly extend the death penalty, flood the streets with 100,000 more cops, create sprawling "boot camps" for minority youth and make it a federal crime under the sinister RICO "anti-racketeering" law to even belong to a street gang.

Defend the Right to Bear Arms! No to Gun Control!

Democrats and Republicans vie to outdo each other in the rhetoric of deadly repression against the country's predominantly black and Hispanic dispossessed. Liberal Democratic governor Cuomo thumps the table for "tough gun control, tough law enforcement, tough love." Gun control used to be the hobby horse of the liberals, while the Republican right pushed for stiffer sentences. Today, all wings of the bourgeoisie favor more cops, more jails and more stringent gun control, as the *Wall Street Journal* (18 November 1993) headlines, "Gun Control Is Essential to U.S. Crime Control."

Meanwhile, from Clinton to Cuomo, the Democrats feverishly clamber aboard the bandwagon for "three strikes and you're out." Locking people up for life after a third felony conviction will mean a lot of senior citizens behind bars. This piece of barbarity is particularly stupid because after most anyone's finished their second stretch in the slammer they're pretty much over the hill when it comes to violent street crime.

The U.S. already leads the industrial world in the rate of incarceration, with 1 in 40 men between the ages of 14 and 34 behind bars. Almost *one-quarter* of black men in their twenties are imprisoned or otherwise under the thumb of the courts. The nation's death rows are crammed to capacity with over 2,500 inmates, mostly black and Hispanic. In response to a public outcry, New Jersey Republican governor Christine Whitman "pardons" a dog slated to be put away. But across the state line in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Mumia Abu-Jamal—the victim of a racist frame-up and vendetta for his outspoken defense of black rights—remains on death row despite his decade-long battle for freedom and an outpouring of international support.

The racist outcry for "law and order" is echoed by the "leaders" of the black

continued on page 10

New Massacre in Somalia

U.S. Killers Out Now!

As we go to press, the American colonial invasion force in Somalia has carried out another murderous atrocity. On January 31, U.S. Marines fired a mounted .50 calibre machine gun and rocket grenade launchers into a crowd of hundreds of Somalis in Mogadishu. At least 16 people lay dead in the blood-splattered street, including women and elderly, and many more were seriously wounded, children among them. The crowd was waiting for food outside a distribution center.

This was mass murder! American claims that the troops fired in "self-defense" against snipers have been repudiated by *every* Somali witness. Even UN "peacekeeping forces" from Bangladesh stationed at the scene say they saw no snipers and denounce the Marines for firing "indiscriminately toward the crowd." As we declared from the outset, the real message of this imperialist "food relief" mission has been "Let 'em eat bullets!" ***U.S. and UN colonialist butchers out of Somalia now!***

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Springfield, Illinois

WV Photo

A Proletarian-Centered Strategy to Fight Fascism

Revolutionary Consciousness Is Key

— SEE PAGES 5-8 —

ESOP Scam to Bust Union Conditions

Phony "Worker Ownership" at United Airlines

United Airlines workers at San Francisco airport last November protesting union-busting layoffs.

WV Photo

On January 26, International Association of Machinists members at United Airlines voted narrowly to accept an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) cooked up by IAM and Air Line Pilots Association union tops. It "trades" major givebacks for a 53 percent "employee interest" in company stock. The following day the leadership body of ALPA approved the plan, which will take effect if accepted by stockholders in April. If carried out, this ESOP scam will deal a crippling blow to the organization and livelihood of the workers at United Airlines and accelerate a union-busting drive throughout the industry.

Only two months ago, UAL's CEO Stephen Wolf—who stands to get a "golden parachute" of up to *$50 million* in the deal—was threatening daily more catastrophic attacks on the unions, principally the IAM, which represents 28,000 mechanics, ramp service and flight-kitchen workers. Then in January, United IAM members were confronted with a take-it-or-leave-it vote on a proposal—by their own union bureaucrats—to *voluntarily* give the bosses almost everything they wanted, *over $5 billion* in givebacks!

United, the nation's largest airline, is profitable and healthy, unlike the ailing carriers where union bureaucrats have already pushed through givebacks-for-stock deals to "prevent bankruptcy"—as at Northwest and TWA. Now United bosses say they can't "compete" with low-wage "upstart" airlines like Southwest. The truth is the bosses are relentlessly trying to drive down wages. Acting as their agents, the union "leaders," bound hand and foot to the Democratic Party, are telling workers they have no choice but to sacrifice union gains or else face certain union-busting and layoffs. This is a lie!

The unions have the power to defeat the union-busters, but they need a class-struggle leadership to do it. When the French government declared mass layoffs through privatization at Air France, militant workers took over the runways, shut down the airports and won a victory, forcing the government to back down. What's needed here is a *workers counteroffensive* to smash the union-busting, wage-gouging drive. *No givebacks! Organize the non-union carriers and contractors by using labor's power to shut down the airports! For a single industrial union of all airline workers, from ground crews to pilots!*

Union-busting, Clinton-style

The ESOP scheme at United is the latest step in a ruling-class offensive against transportation unions. The deregulation of the airlines and trucking was a move to break the unions, driving down wages and dramatically increasing exploitation. Teamsters truckers have been decimated, as the union has lost almost a million members. While increasingly shifting industrial production "offshore," American capitalists have driven down real wages at home by almost *20 percent* over the past 20 years. Today U.S. industrial wages are substantially below those paid by American imperialism's chief rivals, Germany and Japan. In fact, some top business executives have expressed their determination to "get real wage levels down much closer to those of the Brazils and Koreas" (*New York Times*, 4 June 1987). Meanwhile, productivity per man-hour in the U.S. is surging as companies continue mass layoffs in the middle of the Clinton "recovery."

The Clinton administration has been energetically pushing plans for "worker-management cooperation" and intervened to broker the dirty deal at United. "Proposed UAL Buyout Is Seen as Model for Employee-Ownership Clinton Seeks," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* (17 December 1993). To sell this massive betrayal to the ranks, union officials promised workers a "controlling share" of the company's stock as a means to prevent the layoffs Wolf was threatening. This deal is a grotesque fraud:

- Pilots will take a pay cut of over 15 percent; IAM members will lose almost 10 percent across the board and forgo a raise scheduled for May. These givebacks, plus cuts in benefits, total $3.5 billion, with another $1.5 billion from "work rules changes." IAM members will give up the paid half-hour lunch first won for the graveyard shift in 1969 and extended to all shifts as a result of the 59-day strike by Machinists in 1979.
- The unions agree to the formation of an "airline within an airline," dubbed "U2," which will slash wages and benefits and speed up workers to "compete" with low-wage, mostly non-union outfits like Southwest Airlines—some of which pay pilots *half* what they make at the "majors."
- The agreement will be locked in for *12 years*. This includes not only a *six-year no-strike pledge*, but a "prohibition of IAM-represented employees from honoring lawful picket lines at the Company" (IAM District Lodge 141 *Messenger*, January 1994).
- Layoffs? Ken Thiede, head of IAM District 141, wrote to members that they had to sign this deal because "thousands of jobs were in jeopardy" and to prevent "stripping of assets" from United. But the jobs of 5,200 flight-kitchen workers are gone. The deal allows massive contracting out of maintenance work. And union officials have admitted that layoffs would be made if "necessary."
- The billions in givebacks will pay for 53 percent of company shares to be held by ESOP trusts on behalf of pilots, Machinists and non-union workers. This appears to be a "controlling interest," but it gives union members control over just about nothing. The 8,000 pilots get 24 percent of the shares and the 28,000 Machinists get less than 20 percent—totaling substantially less than half. And the deal was sold to Wall Street by *specifically renouncing* union control over the company. The two unions are to get only one seat each on the 12-member board of directors.

Even if the workers had 100 percent, it wouldn't make a fundamental difference. Workers have no control whatsoever over the capitalist market, which is inherently anarchic. At the first financial difficulty they would be at the mercy of the banks. Just look at the history of "employee-owned" companies like Weirton Steel, where whopping givebacks were accompanied by continuing layoffs—to the point where workers were picketing "their own" company. To "save jobs" by making one airline "more competitive" is to drive down the living standards of all. For starters, the ESOP givebacks at United will embolden American Airlines CEO Robert Crandall to step up his assault on the unions.

Bust the Union-busters!

In November, IAM members at San Francisco International, site of United's major maintenance base, rallied at the airport with chants of "Take the runways!" inspired by the Air France strikers. A week later, when flight attendants at American Airlines defied Crandall in a solid Thanksgiving week strike, Clinton intervened (at Crandall's request) to get them back to work before the strike spread. A joint strike by American and United workers, shutting down the airports, could have stopped the anti-union offensive right there. Over the following month, the Clinton administration worked overtime to push the ESOP deal through, enlisting New York investment banker Felix Rohatyn, notorious as the author of Wall Street's austerity program

continued on page 9

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Right to Bear Arms and Black Freedom

The Civil War, the second American Revolution, was over the issue of slavery. Following Lincoln's 1862 Emancipation Proclamation, issued after long hesitation, the way was opened for the enlistment of black troops in the Union Army in fighting the slavocracy of the Confederate South. In early 1863, Frederick Douglass, the foremost black Abolitionist, issued his stirring appeal, "Men of Color, To Arms!" declaring "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." Douglass also warned that the right to bear arms, recognized in the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, is a fundamental protection that those black rights, won by force of arms, not be taken away. As we have insisted, in this racist society, "gun control kills blacks."

Nothing can be more plain, nothing more certain than that the speediest and best possible way open to us to manhood, equal rights and elevation, is that we enter this service. For my own part, I hold that if the Government of the United States offered nothing more, as an inducement to colored men to enlist, than bare subsistence and arms, considering the moral effect of compliance upon ourselves, it would be the wisest and best thing for us to enlist. There is something ennobling in the possession of arms, and we of all other people in the world stand in need of their ennobling influence....

Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States. I say again, this is our chance, and woe betide us if we fail to embrace it....

This rebellion can be put down without your help. Slavery can be abolished by white men; but liberty so won for the black man, while it may leave him an object of pity, can never make him an object of respect....

Remember that the musket—the United States musket with its bayonet of steel—is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty. In your hands that musket means liberty; and should your constitutional right at the close of this war be denied, which, in the nature of things, it cannot be, your brethren are safe while you have a Constitution which proclaims your right to keep and bear arms.

—Frederick Douglass, "Address for the Promotion of Colored Enlistments" (July 1863)

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In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian

They have used the poor and the sick as human guinea pigs to test the effects of nuclear radiation. They sneer as thousands in the gay community and in the ghettos die painfully hideous deaths from AIDS. They condemn inner-city black children to death from diseases for which there are cures, or from malnutrition—i.e., starvation. In death row torture chambers, their executioners strap human beings into electric chairs and pull the switch or inject sodium pentothal into their veins.

Now the same murderous, racist rulers of this country are waging a vendetta against Dr. Jack Kevorkian for the "crime" of assisting people, whose bodies are ravaged with incurable diseases, to end their pain. Since 1990, the 65-year-old Michigan doctor has assisted in 20 suicides. Kevorkian charges no fee and has one simple rule, "The patient must be mentally competent, the disease incurable" (London *Independent*, 11 November 1993). He conducts extensive videotaped interviews with those who come to him for help, repeatedly asking if they wish to go ahead. When this is assured, Kevorkian provides the means.

The media calls him "Dr. Death," in particular playing up stories that Kevorkian diminishes the Nazi Holocaust and advocates using death row prisoners for medical experiments. Kevorkian has vehemently denied the former, while allowing that he does believe in experimenting on and using the organs of condemned prisoners to save other lives. Of course, we find this repugnant because it accepts the state's legal murder machine and the view of death row prisoners as less than human. But such is not the vantage point of the bourgeois press, which readily accepts the state's "right" to kill. What they don't accept is the right of those who are tortured by incurable disease to end their misery. So they paint Kevorkian as a sinister ghoul who revels in death.

The family and friends of those Dr. Kevorkian has helped to die see him otherwise. As the fiancée of a man who committed suicide with Kevorkian's assistance told a reporter: "Jack is very aware of people's status, their suffering and dignity...if someone makes a decision to end a life of pain and suffering, I don't see what the big problem is" (*New York Times*, 29 October 1993). The majority of the population is in favor of the right to die for the terminally ill. This is hardly surprising. Most of us don't want to end our days dehumanized and ridden with pain.

The big problem is the state, priests and preachers, and the upper echelons of the medical establishment who ordain that they, and only they, have the "god-given right" to determine how you live and how you die. In February 1993, the Michigan legislature handed down a law, aimed at Kevorkian, making physician-assisted suicide a felony punishable by four years in prison. Last November, Kevorkian was thrown into county jail where for 18 days he went on a hunger strike, declaring "It's my life or this immoral law." He was released on the condition that he would no longer help people end their lives.

"Pie in the Sky"—Hell on Earth

Expressing his "disgust, even contempt, that they would even think of perpetuating human misery by law," Kevorkian noted that the Michigan legislation is "the arbitrary codification of an edict, for the sole benefit of a barbaric religious clique" (*New York Times*, 22 February 1993). One of the key players in the vendetta against Kevorkian is the director of Michigan's "Right to Life" organization. The same religious fanatics who terrorize abortion clinics in the name of "life" are a moving force to ensure that you die in agony in the name of "god."

Any veterinarian will put a fatally sick dog or cat out of its misery. The opposition to applying the same elementary humanitarianism to human beings is derived from the Christian concept of the human "soul," which only god can take. Unless, of course, the "soul" is one of a "criminal"—in which case often the same bible-thumping "pro-lifers" will campaign for your death. Allowances are also made for killing those who are "enemies" of America.

Coates/Detroit News

Cops dragged Dr. Kevorkian off to jail last November, where he waged a hunger strike against law declaring assisted suicide a felony.

This sanctimonious hypocrisy was condemned by Joseph Fletcher in his book *Morals and Medicine* (New Jersey, 1954). Pointing to a committee of preachers who, in the aftermath of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ordained that the mass extermination of civilians in a nuclear holocaust could be "just," Fletcher argued: "We are...willing to impose death but unwilling to permit it: we will justify humanly contrived death when it violates the human integrity of its victims, but we condemn it when it is an intelligent voluntary decision."

In the U.S., the Catholic church has been in the forefront, pouring sermons and above all money into fighting the right of the dying not to suffer any more. In 1991 they dug deep into their collection plates to defeat a right-to-die referendum in Washington. In 1992 the Catholic church campaigned against the "California Death with Dignity Act," which sought to give "a terminally ill, mentally competent adult the legal right to voluntarily request and receive physician aid-in-dying."

The priests and preachers simply provide the ideological overlay to the interests of the rich, propertied few. To maintain their rule, they try to enforce their control over all aspects of the lives of the rest of us, from birth to death. Those with the money and the power believe that all good things exist only for them. It's like the old joke where a British "noblewoman" experiencing her first orgasm squeals in delight, "Ooh, this is much too good for the lower classes!" In the case of life and death, the bourgeoisie has the bucks to buy the best medical care there is and, if that fails, the connections to check out when they want to. But allowing the "lower classes" similar leeway might lead the exploited and oppressed to believe that they have the power to shape their own future—not only how they die, but more importantly how they live.

In their book *The Right to Die* (Hemlock Society Press, 1986), the Hemlock Society's recently deceased founder, Derek Humphry, and his wife, Ann Wickett, point to the case of a quadriplegic woman who had asked that she stop being force-fed: "If Elizabeth Bouvia had been wealthy—and had shrewdly used the independence money brings—she would have been able to decide her medical treatment herself. For instance, multimillionaire Howard Hughes used his wealth to make physicians and nurses his servants as he followed his eccentric lifestyle, even unto his death in an air ambulance."

Wealth Care U.S.A.

Many doctors do comply with the wishes of terminally ill patients to be put out of their misery. But they are forced to do it secretly. Twenty-nine states have laws against physician-assisted suicide and even where such do not exist one can be hauled up on murder charges (which were initially leveled at Kevorkian but thrown out of court). Doctors who provide their patients with the option of dying with some dignity are faced not only with the wrath of "god" and the state, but also the AMA. The medical establishment has long opposed any right-to-die initiatives.

The California Medical Association opposed the 1992 "California Death with Dignity Act," which was narrowly defeated. In an article in the *California Physician* (January 1988), Dr. Alan Shewmon stated baldly: "Legalized active euthanasia poses a much greater threat to the medical profession than... national health insurance"! Shewmon simply articulates the interests of organized medicine in this country—to safeguard medicine for profit. He goes on to add that "advances in pain management and the experiences of the hospice movement make clear that terminal pain is primarily a pseudo-issue used by euthanasia advocates to win public support. Their real motivation is a belief in absolute personal autonomy."

The idea that the patient should have any "autonomy" from what the "doctor says" is anathema to the medical establishment, who consider this an invasion of their turf and, above all, a threat to their profits. As Kevorkian put it, doctors operate a "cryptic totalitarian state." Paraphrasing Kevorkian, an article in the London *Independent* (11 November 1993) continued, "they tell them the options for dealing with a fatal illness, but they do not say 'whatever we do, you're going to die anyway'; and it is widely perceived by dying patients and their families that they lie for a simple reason: the dying of an individual takes time, and it is lucrative."

The ruling class, the church and the medical establishment argue that giving fatally ill patients the right to die is the first step down a slippery slope to the Nazi-style genocide against the weak, the poor, the disabled, the old. What mind-numbing hypocrisy coming from a government which fed radioactive iron to pregnant women and experimented on black men infected with syphilis, denying them treatment in order to observe the suffering they went through! Where was the outcry from the American Medical Association over these truly Nazi-style "experiments" carried out by their profession?

In the U.S.—the only industrialized country outside of South Africa which has no national health care program—human life has always taken a back seat to profit. For unionized workers, the aged, immigrants, Clinton's new "health" care scam will only make things worse and be of dubious value to poor children and other welfare clients. To cut costs and also improve health care, as Clinton proposes, is a deadly contradiction.

In 1975, the case of 21-year-old Karen Ann Quinlan gave heightened public attention to the issue of the right to die. Completely comatose, Quinlan was maintained by a respirator and intravenous food tubes. After several court battles, her father finally prevailed in having the hospital turn off the respirator. Quinlan existed in a vegetative state for ten more years. But her case prompted the passage of "living will" legislation—documents where people can indicate that if they are hopelessly ill they do not want their "life" artificially maintained—in the majority of states. Nonetheless "living wills" are not binding. Only durable power of attorney, where you appoint another person to serve as your representative, allows the choice of having life-support systems removed.

The legal decision over who dies should not rest in the hands of this capitalist government. We believe that mentally competent people afflicted with painful, incurable diseases have the right to determine for themselves if and when they want to die and they also have the right to whatever medical assistance they need to do that. With that right, people could turn to their own doctors for help as opposed to having to spend their dying days looking for a Dr. Kevorkian.

In his speech "On Socialist Man," Isaac Deutscher noted:

> "May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?
>
> "In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us....
>
> "Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these."

A rational socialist society might in fact be able to ease the third tragedy, i.e., death. When the wealth, tremendous resources and medical technology of this society are put to the service of the many, not the profits of the few, we will be able to build a society where human life, human worth and human dignity count. But that will take a socialist revolution to bring down the decaying system of capitalism which sells human life for dollars. In the here and now, we defend Dr. Kevorkian's fight for human beings to die with dignity. ■

International Support for Labor/Black Mobilization

The call by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the KKK provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday in Springfield, Illinois on January 16 received an outpouring of support from a broad range of labor unionists around the country and anti-fascist groups around the world. We reprint below several of the international statements which were received.

From Edinburgh, Scotland

As one of the "Bradford 12," arrested, charged and imprisoned by the racist British state in 1981 for defending our Asian community against fascist attacks, and tried and acquitted in 1982, I extend my solidarity and greetings to all those engaged in struggle against the KKK. The threat of fascism looms over the former USSR as well as in the former Yugoslavia, where "ethnic cleansing" has become the vocabulary of many right-wing and fascist organisations. Similarly, the threat posed by the KKK on Martin Luther King holiday needs to be challenged by all working people. It is by developing effective local and international solidarity that the threat of the KKK can be defeated, and not by relying on the state.

All out to stop the KKK!

Tarlochan Gata-Aura

Bund der Antifaschisten (League of Anti-Fascists), Leipzig

We, members of the League of Anti-Fascists in Leipzig, Germany, stand side by side with you in the fight against racism, anti-Semitism, against all those who present a deadly threat to anybody who looks different, has differing views or an alternative way of life.

Right-wing terror is on the rise! Here in Germany it is mainly directed against foreigners, especially—but by no means only—against refugees from countries of the Third World, also against leftists, gays and Jews. And, as in your country, the police are usually blind in the right eye. It even happens that policemen stand by and look on while right-wing skinheads throw firebombs at a refugee hostel. And many people—decent people in everyday life—just turn away and pretend not to see anything.

In 1945, after the power of Hitler had been crushed by the Allied armies, most Germans claimed not to have known about concentration camps and the Holocaust. We, the League of Anti-Fascists, regard it as an important part of our work to make people understand the danger of fascism and win them for the common fight against it, so that any new kind of stormtroopers may be "crushed in the egg before they rise to power."

We wish you success in your campaign to stop the Ku Klux Klan, to stop the fascists.

May all anti-fascist forces all over the world stand together in this fight and may their struggle be victorious!

Prof. Dr. Ernst Springer,
Chairman, League of
Anti-Fascists—Leipzig

Comité de Défense des Libertés et des Droits de L'Homme en France et dans le Monde (Committee for Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man in France and the World), Paris

In the name of the Committee for Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man in France and the World, whose president is Georges Marchais, we want to extend our support to the rally which you are organizing in Springfield on January 16, to respond to the provocation of the Ku Klux Klan.

The day chosen as well as the place for the demonstration planned by this organization [the KKK] could not be more revealing of its deep-seated intentions. It attacks everything which can symbolize the democratic and progressive advances in the USA in all fields: civil liberties, civil rights, social gains.

We fully share your viewpoint that to oppose the Klan is not a matter of attacking the right of free speech since what's involved is a criminal organization.

Moreover, we think, as the laws of our country stipulate, that racism is not an opinion but an offense.

In these times, when the worsening of the crisis constitutes fertile ground for the development throughout the world of the most backward ideas and of fascistic organizations which have made these ideas their stock in trade, your initiative—which seeks to broadly mobilize all people of good will in your country who are committed to the rights of man—is very precious in contributing to uniting progressive people everywhere who want to oppose violence and hatred and to act in favor of social progress.

With our warmest salutations, dear friends.

For the Committee,
Roland WLOS

Spartacist Group Japan, Japanese Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), Tokyo

Brothers and Sisters:

We send you our support and solidarity from Tokyo, Japan. Your demonstration today, to stop the KKK from publicly spreading its racist poison, will also be a victory for the Japanese workers movement. We have publicized your demonstration and have received support from labor and minority organizations. In Japan, minority Burakumin, Korean, Chinese, Ainu aboriginal people and recently arrived immigrant laborers from Asian and African countries are brutally oppressed and segregated from the mainstream of Japanese social life. The racist Japanese government has stepped up their campaign to arrest and deport so-called "illegals." Rightist gangs in Japan have stepped up their activity. Swastikas have been posted in public parks in Tokyo and these thugs have assaulted Iranians and others.

What you are doing in Springfield today, we need to do in Tokyo tomorrow! The official union leadership in Japan has turned its back on immigrant and minority labor. But your demonstration will be a powerful example to the millions of workers here who want to fight against Japanese fascism and the capitalist government's austerity programs that seek to drive down wages and working conditions. This is a critical time to forge links between the American and Japanese working class, to stand together against protectionist measures that want us to back our exploiters instead of fighting together. The rise in fascist gangs and their xenophobic and racist violence must be stopped.

All out to stop the KKK!

Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (Party of Refounding Communism), Lodi Federation, Milano

Communists of Lodi express their strongest indignation over the demonstration called by the Ku Klux Klan for January 16 in Springfield and over the authorization of it by the authorities.

The struggle by black Americans and by the working class against racism, a struggle in which Martin Luther King was one of the most coherent exponents, is part of the struggle of oppressed people against imperialism and neocolonialism.

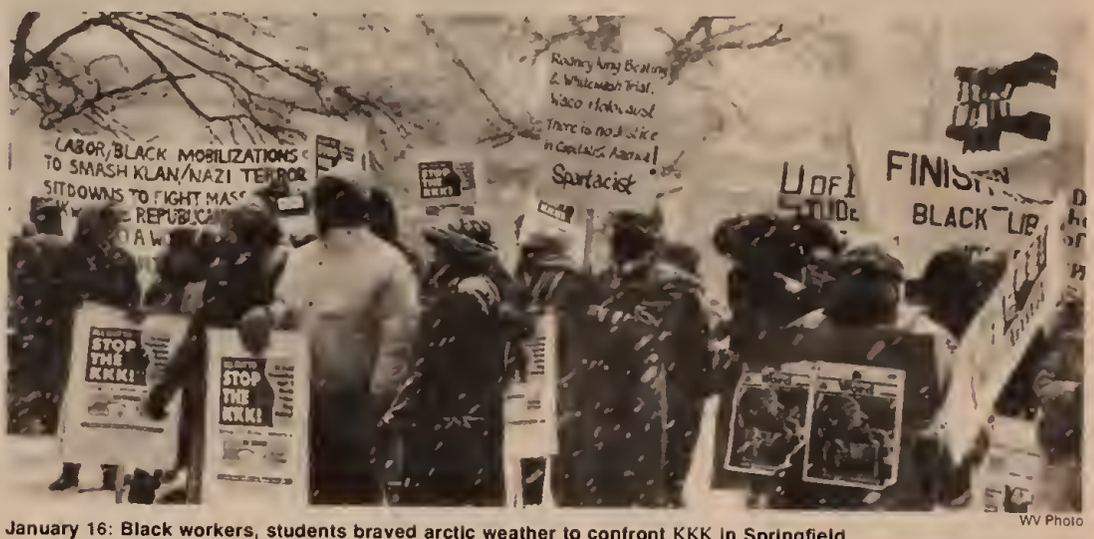
The U.S. administration, although always proclaiming its defense of human rights, has continually given free rein to racist organizations just as it has always supported governments which continue to oppress peoples.

It is the same in relation to racist South Africa as it is for Israel which occupies Palestine, for Turkey which drowns in blood the revolt of the Kurdish people, or the Mexican government, the genocidal oppressor of the Indian people.

In reality the U.S. administration doesn't recognize the peoples' rights but only that of Capital, of the free market and of profit.

Supporting every action which will impede this demonstration of the KKK, Communists of Lodi renew their will to unite the struggles of Italian workers to those around the world against every form of racism and oppression of the peoples.

Ivo Batà
Secretariat of the Lodi
Federation, Partito
della Rifondazione
Comunista



WV Photo

January 16: Black workers, students braved arctic weather to confront KKK in Springfield.

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Young Spartacus

Springfield, Illinois

A Proletarian-Centered Strategy to Fight Fascism

Revolutionary Consciousness Is Key

Over the Martin Luther King holiday weekend, the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations in eight state capitals. Wherever these fascists reared their heads, they were outnumbered by anti-racist protesters. But the anti-Klan protest in Springfield, Illinois was different because here, uniquely, in response to a call by the Partisan Defense Committee, a struggle was waged to mobilize the social power of labor to defend all intended victims of KKK terror. Over 500 people braved arctic cold to stop the KKK on January 16. (The previous issue of Workers Vanguard *features full coverage of the Springfield demonstration.) We reprint here a presentation by comrade Al Nelson, slightly edited for publication, to a meeting of the Bay Area membership of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club on the political significance of the Springfield labor/black mobilization*

It's been a little over five years since the Philadelphia labor/black mobilization prevented the Nazi skinheads from carrying out a provocation on November 5, 1988. Since that time, we've acquired a number of new members whose only knowledge of that mobilization and other previous party actions comes mainly from a couple of videos and possibly prowling through the bound volumes of *WV*. Looking at a video, you can come away with the impression that the whole process is pretty seamless: you issue a call, unions endorse, leaflets are mass distributed, several thousand people show up, and the Klan and Nazis are routed.

The reality is much more complex and difficult, involving very intense political struggle on three or four or five fronts simultaneously—with the capitalist state, both federal and local; with the reactionary top labor bureaucracy; with the reformist opponents, inside and outside of the labor movement; with the churches, the Anti-Defamation League, the ostensibly revolutionary organizations and their particular competing coalitions; with the bourgeois press, and so on. The struggles become more furious the closer you get to the day of the demonstration itself, with the last 12 to 24 hours being the time of the really dirty tricks. In Philadelphia, for instance, after being constantly jerked around by the police, we had comrades camping in tents overnight at the site down by Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell. At midnight they heard clanking noises and discovered the cops cutting up our area with barricades. Our general counsel roared down there, yelled at the cops, then woke up the head of the Parks Department—I think it was about 2 o'clock in the morning—screamed at him, and they removed the barricades. But this was just hours before we were to do our actual setup.

Then on the day itself it shifts over to a semi-military situation which involves the relationship of forces between demonstrators, cops and the fascists—which itself has many, many variations that can only be partially anticipated and requires a great deal of tactical flexibility and judgment with steady communications from the site to the party center. In any case, you never know what actually is going to show up until the day itself.

There have been, since 1979, about six or seven of these. There have been tactical errors, small and large, partial collapse of key cadre, and on at least one occasion a very serious political distortion taking place within the demonstration and the preparation itself. After each one the Political Bureau usually has a post-mortem, attempting with our customary brutal honesty to assess and characterize the particular shortcomings. My own personal final checklist is kind of a mental scorecard of all the previous screw-ups—great and small—to at least minimize the chances of committing the same mistakes again.

In this way the party as a whole has acquired considerable experience in these labor/black mobilizations since November 1979 in Detroit, the first one of these that we did. In that demonstration, the PB passed a motion on Wednesday, the demo was Saturday—try that one on! We got out 85,000 leaflets. That was when another hard core, a *really* hard core, of black workers and youth showed up. I think there were about 500 there. The "youth," by the way, was a euphemism for gang members—there were some tough characters out there. At that time the Klan said they were going to celebrate the killings in Greensboro which had taken place just about two weeks before that. Then, in Detroit, the black Democratic mayor, Coleman Young, viciously violence-baited the demonstration on the 11 o'clock news the night before the demo was to take place, and we worked the phones all night calling major endorsers all over the country and calling Washington, using the Justice Department as a wedge against the city of Detroit.

A Strategy and Tactics Inherited from the Bolsheviks

We didn't invent either the principles or the tactics that we use in these actions. Rather they are concrete applications of the experience of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party through the Russian Revolution, and particularly of comrade Leon Trotsky whose writings provide us with a broad Marxist analysis of fascism, under what conditions it arises, its class base, and the tactics required to mobilize the working class to smash it. I urge the comrades to read or reread the collections of these writings on fascism. There's two volumes in particular—*The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* and also *Whither France?*—as a basic course. When you read some of these articles you will see that many of the basic tactics derive from the Bolshevik defense of Kerensky's government from General Kornilov in order to more systematically prepare for the overthrow of Kerensky himself and with him the provisional government. So a lot of the tactics we use come from that.

We are really talking about the party question in action, the subjective factor necessary for the political mobilization of the proletariat in its own defense, the relationship between the leadership, the party and the class. Therefore, there's a lot more involved in

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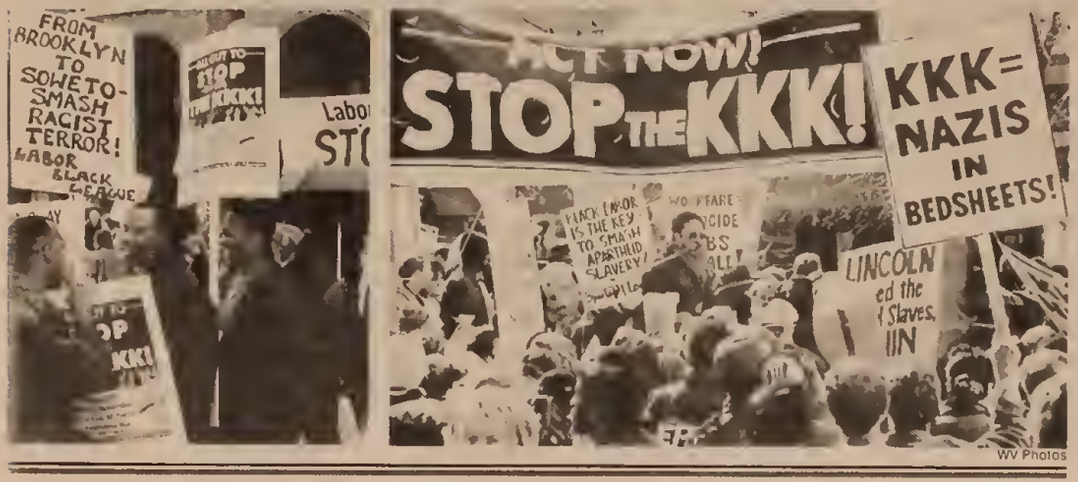
WV Photo

Early support from Illinois unionists was key to building labor/black mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan.

Labor/black mobilizations against the Klan (clockwise from top left): Detroit, November 1979; Washington, D.C., November 1982; Atlanta, January 1989; Philadelphia, November 1988.



WV Photos

Springfield...

(continued from page 5)

these actions than just playing a number game. There's absolutely no doubt in my mind that with milder weather we would have had a turnout of 1,500 minimum, despite the logistical difficulty of mobilizing main forces and a command center in Chicago, and then traveling three hours to Springfield. Larger forces turned out in Austin, Texas—2,000 demonstrators against 33 Klansmen, much better odds than in Columbus where it was several hundred to 40, and in Denver where it was reported by the cops it was 95 to 30, roughly.

I wish that 2,000 had also turned out in all the other states where the Klan had their rallies. But there's another important criteria. Of all the protests that weekend, which action rendered the proletariat more conscious of its social power and historical tasks? In 1939, when the Red Army went into eastern Poland following the Stalin-Hitler pact, capitalist private property was abolished, since Stalinism was a parasitic caste based on collectivized, state-owned property relations. Trotsky said that while the transformation of property relations was progressive and defensible, the primary political question for us, the Fourth Internationalists, was whether these transformations of property relations resulted in raising the consciousness and organization of the proletariat. Given the bureaucratic military methods used by Stalin, the answer in 1939 was negative; Stalinism remained a reactionary obstacle to revolutionary consciousness. Did the Springfield mobilization raise the consciousness of the proletariat and increase their awareness of their potential social power? The answer to that has to be an emphatic "yes."

Revolutionary Leadership Is the Key

This mobilization went very, very deep into the Chicago and Illinois-area labor movement and had a political impact far beyond the numerical size of that hard core that left their homes that morning in temperatures of -10 or -12 degrees and a windchill factor of -30 to -40. (That's what it was at 7 o'clock in the morning in Springfield. The figure in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* of 16 degrees below zero with windchill factor, that was the *high*, that was when it warmed up and started to snow.) This mobilization caused reverberations and polarizations in the Chicago and Illinois labor movement, among black politicians, students, the whole social spectrum. And what the workers in the unions saw were people who knew what they were doing, who fought like hell in the courts and in the streets and never yielded an inch until we were absolutely forced to by the police power of the capitalist state.

This reminded me of a similar point that comrade Cannon made in his *History of American Trotskyism*, in the chapter on the great Minneapolis strike. He said, following a section describing the first strike in May:

> "When they saw the performances in the May strike in Minneapolis, that same sentiment was expressed again: 'These Trotskyists mean business. When they undertake anything, they go through with it'."

That caught my eye, but here's a more important point:

> "There was no essential difference, in fact I don't think there was any serious difference at all between the strikers in Minneapolis and the workers involved in a hundred other strikes throughout the land in that period. Nearly all the strikes were fought with the greatest militancy by the workers. The difference was in the leadership and the policy. In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank and file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overawed by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing and another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy was not restrained but organized and directed from the top."

And he continues later:

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups."

That is, all the accoutrements of Roosevelt's New Deal.

Coming from an entirely different situation, that characterized what we did in Chicago and other mobilizations. We had no illusions in the capitalist courts either, even though we have generally been successful in previous mobilizations and related libel suits. Some party leaders were concerned that our earlier successes in the courts might blunt some comrades' understanding of the basic lessons contained in Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Well, we lost this one in three different courts, fast!

But we also managed to impress a lot of people with the aggressiveness and tenacity of our efforts. We went through Federal District Court in Chicago and then later that same day in Springfield and then the following day in the Federal Court of Appeals back in Chicago—all in about 30 hours. Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis said at one point, "Boy, you guys work fast!" Our lawyers carried the legal fight, and other comrades kept the press and our main endorsers informed at every step. But we did lose in the courts, and based on that concluded that we had no choice but to comply with the restrictions placed on us by the Illinois state authorities.

Restricting our command center to the north steps created a vulnerable and dangerous situation, and placed a heavy burden on our leadership and security setup, the union marshals with its party core. Our main guy in charge of security had about seven or eight captains, and then each of them had a squad of union marshals working with them. We promised those who supported our call a disciplined, militant and democratic demonstration. Our purpose was not to mobilize to fight the cops but to stop the Klan.

Trotsky taught us that there are often differences between the existing state and its police, and the fascist bands. Cops and Klan may go hand in hand, as the slogan says, but they are not the same. And bearing in mind the Bolshevik approach to the Kerensky-Kornilov situation, we prefer to have a different tactical approach to each. If the relationship of forces is overwhelming, say 5,000 demonstrators to those purported 285 cops they had in Springfield (holding aside speculations as to what was hidden inside and how many BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] forces were there), the cops might not be so eager to act as bodyguards for the fascists. Given an opening in any situation that we are in, in any of these mobilizations, we will and have stopped the fascists.

Labor and Blacks Show the Way

This demonstration had a polarizing impact on the labor movement. Two Chicago ATU locals played a pivotal role in the fight for this mobilization and during the demonstration itself, providing many of the critical union marshals. Local 308 endorsed this demonstration and chartered a bus to get ATU members there. ATU International Vice President Jackie Breckenridge was an early endorser and active fighter for the demonstration.

The *WV* article refers to the heavy intervention against our mobilization by the state AFL-CIO. It really pissed a lot of the labor guys off, younger local presidents who perceived the fascist danger and wanted to mobilize against it. They said to us, "Look, we can't do anything more; they're really leaning on us. But we're not going to pull our endorsement, and we feel sure that some of our guys are going to be out there." That was just about the uniform response. Others, like the multistate Region 4 Rubber Workers endorsement, came in after the AFL-CIO sent out its "stay away" message to all the area locals. It was an act of defiance.

Another comrade made a useful point in a Chicago local meeting before the mobilization: For a whole layer in the labor movement, like this middle layer of union officers, we gave them a lesson in how to mobilize the power of labor. Even though they were willing, they had

It Costs $$$ to Stop the Klan

The labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield on the Martin Luther King holiday cost lots of money. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications and equipment cost thousands—and the bills are still coming in. We need your help. Get your union, church group, student club and friends to help defray the costs. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867.

never done this before, having come into office in a prolonged period of near-zero class struggle. What they were good at was sending out faxes and sitting on dead strikes. The labor component of this mobilization was heavily black, and many of these labor guys drew on and were motivated by their previous experiences in the civil rights movement, often in the South.

This mobilization went deeper into the black population than anything we have ever done before, reflecting also the changed political climate we have been talking about since last year. In America the biggest impact of the collapse of the USSR is on the most vulnerable layers in society, which means that black people are being hit really hard, not just economically but with Clinton's "war on crime" and the "end of welfare as we know it" and all that. Even the black Democratic politicians in Chicago, who in 40 percent black Chicago were an important part of the old patronage machine under the former mayor Richard Daley—Harold Washington, for instance, was a product of that—realize that in this new Democratic Party they mean nothing, they're out.

A liberal writer, Joan Didion, in her article "Eye on the Prize" (published in the *New York Review of Books*, 24 September 1992) which I urge comrades to read, observed that Clinton's public insult of Jesse Jackson over the "Sister Souljah" incident had in a substantial way been calculated for four years. It was a conscious effort to go for the white racist vote, the so-called Reagan Democrats, in order to reverse the Dukakis disaster of 1988 where Bush played very effectively the race card, the Willy Horton ploy.

The role played in this mobilization by black Democrats, especially by Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis but also the other black politicians, both in Chicago and in the state legislature, was really unusual. Davis himself came to the first press conference—which was not hostile, by the way. In Chicago the press was not hostile; in Springfield it was all being orchestrated out of the Secretary of State's office. At that press conference, when there was a little hint of hostility, he just stepped forward and said, "If the Klan isn't stopped in Springfield on Sunday, they'll be in Chicago on Monday. And I fully support the efforts of the Partisan Defense Committee." That carried a lot of authority. He and others didn't flinch in the face of the red-baiting and violence-baiting and "stay away" campaign that was coming out of Springfield. If anything, their support increased, and Davis led a car caravan down from Chicago.

Historically speaking, we are a tiny vanguard formation, but yet we had such a great impact. Imagine what larger forces could do. These Democrats who want to struggle have a very big contradiction: black people need a party that will fight for their interests. It is currently abundantly clear that that cannot happen within the Democratic Party. If a workers party with some social weight existed, some of the more serious of these black Democrats would very likely come over to such a party. And in fact in this instance, this microcosm of that equation, that's what happened. In this one- or two-week period, they did join forces with this small vanguard formation.

In reality the whole Chicago operation pivoted on our slender industrial presence. Imagine the greater impact on the whole area if we had groups of supporters playing a similar role in a number of other industrial unions. When the UAW presidents slacked off, for instance, we didn't have the capacity to substitute for their efforts. If we had groups of supporters, we would have been on the inside and would have been able to form an ad hoc committee or carry the ball just as independents working within the union. With recruitment, we can make that a reality.

Fake Leftists Lack Confidence in the Working Class

If our mobilization taught the workers something about the class nature and role of the state and increased their consciousness of the role of leadership and organization and mobilizing the social power of the working class, how does the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)—along with Progressive Labor (PL) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—stack up in this regard? The RWL treated this mobilization with contempt *because* of its labor-centered basis. These people are basically petty-bourgeois radicals with a micro-thin veneer of Trotskyism. Fundamentally they personify Lenin's observation that the source of all opportunism is an underestimation of the revolutionary capacity of the working class. The old New Left, because of its overwhelming petty-bourgeois social composition, was hostile to the working class. The RWL's "founder-leaders" brought with them this fundamental alien class bias and world outlook, which also explains their grotesque anti-working-class defense of scabbing. They live in some Alice in Wonderland world where the BATF and FBI fight "fascism" in Waco.

By the way, there was an illustration at the demonstration in Springfield of the intersection of class and race with social reality and their different responses. We addressed the demonstration very seriously in the beginning regarding the danger of the setup engineered by the state and called for increased vigilance. When the Klan did appear on the east steps, about 200 of our demonstrators drifted over to the area directly in front of the Klan at Second and Capitol where there was a mixed crowd—it turned out—of RWL, PL, ISO, Klan supporters who came to hear the Klan speak, and undercover cops as well as a lot of uniformed police. Those that drifted away were mainly young and white. Those that remained in our perimeter, where we had the union marshals, were heavily black and union. They had a better grasp of social reality and knew better the danger of the situation for them. Black students we met in Albany, New York had a similar reaction to the confrontation last fall with the Klan in Auburn, New York. They told us they were glad the KKK was run out, but they also knew that the cops would not be so permissive toward any black youths who tried some of the same stunts some RWLers and white college kids got away with.

Lacking a proletarian revolutionary perspective, politics for the RWL is just a game of personal confrontation, with the cops or the Klan, that someday is going to get somebody seriously hurt. For them the struggle for leadership of the working class is meaningless. Despite the fragmented aspect of this demonstration, arranged and maneuvered by the state, the formidable com-

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Police Pens and Liberal Stunts

RWL Anti-Fascist "Strategy"

Sabad/Columbus Dispatch

At anti-Klan demonstration in Columbus, Ohio last October, RWL led its supporters into cop-controlled holding pen.

The Springfield labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK was a test in action of the various socialist groups contending for leadership of radicalized youth and the working class. Applying Trotsky's tactic of the united front—building a strong and united opposition to the fascist threat within which all participating organizations have the fullest opportunity to present their particular views and program—the Partisan Defense Committee made a written proposal to the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its front group NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition) to join forces with us against the KKK in Springfield.

Our letter to the RWL and NWROC of 4 January stated: "What's necessary is to link the justified outrage of the youth, the black community, and all the intended victims of the KKK to the organized power of labor to stop the fascists.... It is vital that all opponents of fascist terror come together as one powerful fist, united in action behind the slogan, 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan, January 16!'" Copies of this letter were sent to the RWL's national office and to local NWROC chapters, and were hand-delivered to their members around the country. These "militant" liberals who sometimes strike a pose of Trotskyism couldn't muster a reply to our straightforward approach for unity in action and open political debate.

On paper, NWROC spouts slogans like "No reliance on the cops, courts, Democrats or Republicans to stop the fascist marches!" But in Indianapolis and Columbus last fall, the RWL herded their supporters into "protest pens," behind chain-link fences with every entrance controlled by the police. Moreover, in searching for other forces to tailgate into Springfield, the RWL argued that these police-controlled protests were a good thing! At a January 5 meeting of the Chicago Coalition Against the Klan, when all other organizations present agreed that they would not demonstrate inside a police pen, Luke from the Detroit NWROC argued that you should go into pens to get closest to the Klan, get in their face and "really confront" them! He went on to say it's OK for anti-fascist demonstrators to go through metal detectors and be frisked by the cops because no one would carry a knife or a gun anyway!

NWROC and the RWL have a big appetite for liberal company, but in Columbus, Ohio on January 15 they swallowed something indigestible for any upstanding socialist. A cop group called "Police Officers for Equal Rights" was part of a coalition of organizations —including NWROC and the RWL!— which came together to oppose the Klan rally on Martin Luther King's birthday in Columbus. When the RWL's verbal protest over the cop presence found no echo in this liberal NAACP-dominated coalition, the RWL junked their paper principles, shut their mouths and *demonstrated with the cops!*

The RWL/NWROC is exposed through their own words and deeds as cynical and politically corrupt. Behind their self-styled "militancy" is a programmatic void that leads straight to mainstream liberalism and even an alliance with the class enemy, the cops, who, whatever their race, serve as the armed fist of the capitalist state. And when they aren't directly appealing to the guard dogs of capital to regulate and "protect" anti-fascist protesters, they stupidly substitute their own small forces in struggle against the Nazis...with potentially disastrous results.

The January issue of the RWL's *Fighting Worker* admits to a particularly dim and losing adventure against a nest of Nazis in Hamtramck, Michigan. On New Year's Eve a small band of RWL and NWROC members set out on their own to "confront" the fascists at "Paycheck's Lounge," a bar known to be a center of fascist organizing. Outnumbered by dozens of "Sieg Heil"-saluting Nazi skinheads, the RWL was forced to beat a hasty retreat. This kind of *losing* adventure not only stupidly endangers the RWL's own supporters, but it emboldens the Nazi scum by handing them an easy victory against anti-fascist forces.

Behind a façade of Trotskyism, the RWL leadership is playing at politics with young militants as their pawns. Those who are serious about making a revolution should check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs. It is steadfastness of political program and resolution of purpose that have laid the basis for our success in the anti-fascist actions we have initiated and organized. Those principles include: no illusions in the state, an intransigent fight for the political independence of the working class, and confidence in its ability to fight on behalf of all the oppressed and in its own self-defense. To defeat the fascists once and for all means building a revolutionary party to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class which spawns the fascists and to bring the working people who create the wealth of this country to power. ■

Springfield...

(continued from page)

position and disciplined character of our demonstration extended an umbrella of protection to the RWL as well. There would have been a hell of a lot more arrests if our strong force had not been present there.

Genocide Is Not Debatable!

I was asked to address the point of "no free speech for fascists." That particular phrase or slogan poses the question incorrectly. Free speech is not an issue in these appearances by the Klan. The Klan (or the Nazis) is not a right-wing political organization like, for example, the John Birch Society, which holds and propagates conservative political views in print or public speeches and whose right to free speech we might defend in certain circumstances where a principle is being invoked. The Klan is a paramilitary *action* group whose public rallies are used to incite racist violence and to recruit to their ranks.

In this period, the state invariably acts to protect the Klan or Nazis while suppressing the ostensible rights of free speech and assembly of anti-Klan demonstrators. The liberals bow down to the trappings of bourgeois democracy, the social democrats and reformists capitulate to the liberals, and the centrists tail the reformists. Thus in most, if not all, of our mobilizations to stop the Klan, the liberals, typically the mayors and the churches, say "ignore the Klan and stay home," while the centrists and pop-front types, like the Marcyites (Workers World Party), have an explicit or de facto position of "ban the Klan"—usually holding a diversionary demonstration at some distance from the Klan site. The Socialist Workers Party in past years has carried this position to obscene lengths, conducting public "debates"—so-called—with Klansmen or Nazis to demonstrate to the bourgeois state that they are utterly toothless and completely stupid, "peaceful-legal" socialists.

A New Political Period

Regarding the military aspect of these mobilizations, they have varied quite a bit in reality. While the political impact may be more important than the military aspect, if you blow it militarily, that could affect and diminish the political impact. In Detroit the Klan never showed up; in San Francisco they never showed up. In Philly they canceled out and then some skinheads tried to get through our line and were lucky to have been able to walk away because the cops were there. In D.C. a very small number of the promised 30 showed up and then were just literally trembling—you could see them in the newsreel shaking, and they had their Klan outfits in a brown paper bag, and they were taken away. In Ann Arbor they showed up at another location and were run out of the area by the demonstrators, who chased them down the street. In Chicago the Nazis were on the other side of a cyclone fence from us. Still, they couldn't be heard because we just overpowered them, 3,000 people against their 30. In Atlanta the Klan marched protected by a tremendous phalanx of police, the vanguard of which were the special squads from the state prisons who are sent in to break up riots, real hard-core psycho killers; these are the ones that just go in to beat up and kill people.

In Washington, D.C. it was really a wonderful thing; we stopped the Klan. These guys didn't *dare* walk down that short hill to start their march; there were 5,000 people waiting for them. But what was different in Springfield from D.C. and these 5,000—which we characterized as a classical mass action of the intersection of the vanguard party and the labor and black masses—was a different political period with different polarization. At that time Reagan was in office; it was understood to be an indicator of the Reagan Republican administration that the Klan was given permission to march, as they had in 1925 when 45,000 hooded members paraded from the Capitol to the White House. By the way, the Klan demo was to be against immigration, and D.C. is 80 percent black, and that was a big factor.

A couple of comrades have said that in D.C. and other places there were "paper" endorsements for the mobilization. Yes and no. In most cases the endorsements didn't mean the union tops actively sought to turn out their members. But what it did provide was an official "okay," that it was all right to be out there. Union members treat their unions with a certain respect—not because of the hidebound bureaucrats that run them, but because that's the organization they are in. If the tops say "no," you have to have a little more going for you to say "well, to hell with them, I'm going to be out there anyhow"—which happens, if the perceived threat is great enough to defy the leadership. Whereas if the unions endorse, that means it's all right and there will be no problem; if you get arrested or something, you won't necessarily get fired because the union will probably stick up for you. That factor showed up in Philly where there was an extreme polarization, mainly against us, on the labor side. Opposing us was the Central Labor Council, which turned out to be run by an old Irishman in his eighties who had been in office since the 1950s, the ILGWU and the president of the Transport Workers Union who was a younger, rad-lib type who was an active anti-Spartacist. The turnout came mainly from the endorsing unions.

For the mobilization in November 1982 in Washington, Reagan was the president. In 1994 Clinton is the president. The world has changed dramatically: the Soviet Union is no more; there were expectations about the Democrats which are being fairly instantly dashed. The debates and the depth of the response in Chicago went a whole lot deeper than they did in D.C. in 1982 where it was against Reagan. But even then the Democrats—Marion Barry was the mayor of D.C.—stayed away. In most of these demonstrations the black Democrats have always been very hostile. In Philly, Wilson Goode was the mayor and he publicly opposed our mobilization. David Richardson, a black state assemblyman, withstood the political pressure and endorsed.

The country and the world have changed very dramatically, and therein lies the real significance of this Springfield mobilization. For a lot of the people that came out in Washington in 1982, that was an important event in their lives. When we later set up a local there, we found out that a lot of people kept their "Stop the Klan" placards, had them on their walls. It was a real, historic event. But as broad as that was, the response, the polarization, didn't go as deep because the society was different. It was easier to go against the Republicans. Now the thrust of it, objectively and perhaps consciously, is against the Democratic administration in Washington. There's a sense that this society is getting really bad and really dangerous.

The Klan's natural habitat is the rural and semirural areas, and they are being smart focusing on the state capitals because they are symbolic and that's where statues of Martin Luther King Jr. are, yet with the exception of Boston, every state capital is some Podunk town. We were successful in the early '80s in preventing fascist forays under the cover of the Reagan administration from establishing a substantial base in a number of urban centers. The area they are currently operating in, which these state capitals represent, is still the rural constituencies that tend to be more Republican compared to the big cities with their heavy black and labor constituencies which tend to be Democratic. Of course, every action we've initiated against the fascists in a major urban center has required a political fight against a Democratic Party mayor.

Building the Revolutionary Party

Given the broad political impact of this mobilization and the changed political climate in this country, the Springfield demonstration puts us in a very good position to be able to enhance our capacity and recruit additional forces, to the party, to the Labor Black Leagues and to the youth clubs, not just in Chicago but all over the U.S. And the fact that so many of our party and youth members made it to Chicago on their own steam to assist with this mobilization says a whole lot about the commitment and morale of the Spartacist League/U.S.

There's a big political vacuum in this country, and our little organization in this instance filled it in a particular struggle. It really does anticipate what role a mass-based workers party would have. That was one key lesson of this mobilization. If this country has 230 million people, probably 50 million of them consider themselves racists. But normally they don't do anything about it, because most times there is nothing pushing them—until their lives are disturbed. And their lives are being disturbed now by a lot of things.

You should read the material in Trotsky's writings where he analyzes what social motion takes place when the petty bourgeoisie becomes frenzied. There are only two major classes in society, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie attaches its wagon to the bourgeoisie but then the economy sours and they start getting ruined. And if the proletariat is not able to demonstrate that they are the way out of ruination and despair through workers revolution, the loyalties of the petty bourgeoisie will shift, and then you have a mass base for the fascists, which Trotsky described as the party of white-hot reaction.

In this country the ruling class has been working on driving down the wages, increasing the rate of exploitation, using the black population as a scapegoat, using crime and welfare as a cover. There's a very bad potential here unless the working class mobilizes as a political social force. And the latitude that the Klan feels now, in very boldly organizing their demonstrations, is in the absence of the working class as even a force on the economic plane. Strikes have been statistically zero since around 1982. So this underscores for us the importance of this particular demonstration, but in the context of a very changed international and national situation.

The state and the cops in this mobilization were maximally malicious and repetitive liars and they were looking for trouble, all the way. And I don't know what the BATF was doing there—that's big time. How did they come to be in Springfield? There are splits in the government, and the BATF is scrambling to stay in the budget, but who called them in? Those Springfield cops clearly had never been taught a lesson by serious strikes. We keep saying in *Workers Vanguard* that we could really use a big, victorious strike. Well, this demonstration didn't have the kind of clout a big strike would, like if the Caterpillar guys in Peoria had won instead of being hung out to dry for months and months. But this demonstration, on a somewhat different scale, will have those kinds of reverberations or ripple effect.

It would have been more demonstrative if the weather had been better and the labor mass that was represented by that hard core had been there. But I think even with the smaller forces that turned out, we really shook up the political structure in Illinois and Chicago, which itself reflects the different national and international political context. It forced everyone to have to take a position. Even for the people in Decatur and Peoria that didn't show up, that we knew about, this effort of our little party made a big impact. That is just a fact. The impact of the Springfield mobilization may very well manifest itself the next strike around. We showed that something *can* be done, and the workers may think, those guys stood up against everything, and they did it because they had good leadership and good organization. Maybe with good leadership and good organization, we can win too. ■

Young Spartacus photos

Champaign-Urbana students joined Springfield labor/black mobilization against the Klan.

Black History Month Spartacist Forums

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
VICTORY PARTY

Celebrate the successful labor/black mobilization of anti-racist protesters who confronted the Klan in Springfield, Illinois, January 16th!

Refreshments • Dancing

Saturday, February 5, 7:30 p.m.
UE Hall, 37 South Ashland
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For more information: (312) 663-0719

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky

First class: Sat., Feb. 5, 3 p.m.
The State and Revolution

Allen Hall, 1005 Gregory
U of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana

For more information: (312) 663-0715

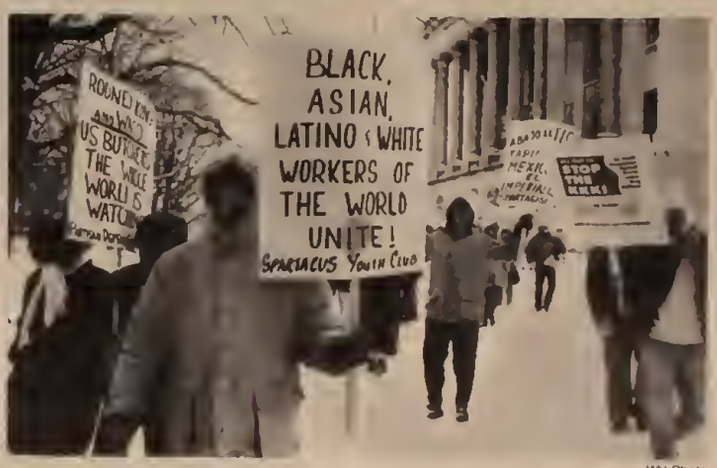
URBANA, ILLINOIS

Black History Month Video/Discussion Series

Mondays, 12 noon
Feb 14 *The Civil Rights Movement*
Feb. 28 *The Black Panther Party*

Room 3517, Ackerman Union, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES



WV Photo

Eyewitness Reports from Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois

Spartacist League Forums

Stop the KKK! For a Workers America!

Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche, member of ATU Local 308
Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 19, 7:30 p.m.
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 663-0715

Speaker: Alison Spencer, SL Central Committee

Thursday, February 10, 7:30 p.m.
Room 305, Emerson Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge

Speaker: Thomas Downing, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 26, 2 p.m.
Room 201, Student Center
Roxbury Community College
(Columbus Ave., near Roxbury Crossing stop on the Orange Line)

BOSTON For more information: (617) 492-3928

Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Speakers: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League
Frank Hicks, Partisan Defense Committee

Tuesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m.
Room 702, Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(IRT 1/9 trains to 116th & B'way)

NEW YORK CITY For more information: (212) 267-1025

"Stop the Klan, This is the Hour! Labor and Blacks Have Got the Power!"

Speakers: Skye White, UC Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club
Jeff Higgins, Labor Black League for Social Defense

Saturday, February 5, 3 p.m.
145 Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Speaker: Skye White, UC Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club

Wednesday, February 16, 4 p.m.
Room to be announced
San Francisco State University
For more information (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forums

Anti-Racist Protesters Confront KKK

Plus: Report on defense of Vancouver Six anti-fascist protesters, arrested after May 1993 protest against white-supremacist Canadian League of Rights

Guest Speaker: Peter Stevens, member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459

Saturday, February 5, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West (one block west of Spadina)
For more information (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Friday, February 4, 12:30 p.m.
Room 211, S.U.B., UBC
Friday, February 4, 7:30 p.m.
Room L4,
Britannia Community Centre
(Napier and Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

VANCOUVER

United...

(continued from page 2)

for New York City in the 1970s.

In the airlines, the unions are still strong—65 percent unionized, compared to less than 12 percent for industrial workers. "Deregulation had a special thrust at labor costs," said David A. Swierenga, chief economist of the bosses' Air Transport Association of America (quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, 23 December 1993). "The fact that we are still dealing with labor cost differentials between older [air] carriers and upstarts means we have some unfinished business from deregulation." While the anti-labor offensive is identified with Reagan, the airline deregulation plan was implemented by the Democrat Carter, and the assault on the PATCO air traffic controllers was carried out according to a secret Carter administration plan. Now the airline bosses are out to finish the job, with the active help of Clinton and the labor traitors.

Air transport is critical to the American ruling class, and airline workers have the power to *shut it down*. As Air France workers showed, that is the key to victory. Such a struggle would immediately confront the hostility of the Democratic Party and the capitalist state. The oppositional material circulated by an "Anti-ESOP Coalition" in San Francisco, while exposing some of the more scandalous details, offered no alternative. This is especially striking given the wide range of leftist groups with supporters in the industry. The Socialist Workers Party (*Militant*, 7 February) says it's necessary to "prepare ourselves for the bigger showdowns that are down the road"—that is, do nothing now. Committees of Correspondence supporter Malik Miah admits defeat: "In any battle with employers, it may be necessary to concede some issues." And *Workers World* calls for "ESOP Vigilance Committees"—a kind of "workers control" of speedup and cutbacks!

The sharp class struggle necessary to win is anathema to these fake-socialist outfits—they have hitched their wagon to the wretched trade-union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party of union-busting, racism, exploitation and war. Yet despite more than a decade of labor defeats, the working class has the power to bring the capitalists to their knees. The key is leadership. With the unions continuing to give back one hard-won gain after another, it's little wonder that they can't organize the unorganized. Today ousting the pro-capitalist labor hureaucracy is a life-or-death matter to save the unions as means of workers defense. As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

The wealth and industrial resources of this country were created by the workers and belong by right to the workers. The working class must take power in its own hands, take back industry and reorganize it on the basis of society's needs, not profit. That's the only kind of "controlling interest" that's worth a damn.

When the smashing of PATCO opened the current era of union-busting, the AFL-CIO "labor statesmen"—especially IAM bureaucrats who had the power to shut down the airports—did nothing. In 1989 they betrayed the hugely popular Eastern strike. The working class needs a leadership that understands this is *class war* and how to win it. Break with the "company union," strikebreaking Democrats—we need a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Racist "Law and Order"...

(continued from page 1)

community. Even as they turned a blind eye to deadly KKK provocations in eight states, black liberals turned this year's official Martin Luther King Day celebrations into disgusting rallies against "black-on-black violence." In early January, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition joined with the Congressional Black Caucus in sponsoring a three-day confab in Washington, D.C. to "stop the violence and save the children." Nation of Islam demagogue Louis Farrakhan pushed the same theme a few days later at a "black men only" rally in New York.

Big Brother Is Watching

From radio talk shows to TV crime-buster shows to the front pages of the "respectable" dailies, there is an onslaught for more "law and order." A *Business Week* (13 December 1993) cover story declares crime to be "America's No. 1 problem," at an annual cost of $425 billion. *U.S. News & World Report* (17 January) blares out "The Truth About Violent Crime," ratcheting the price tag up to $675 billion. Now the cover of *Time* (7 February) screams, "Lock 'Em Up and Throw Away the Key"!

This public furor is a supreme example of media manipulation in the service of racist reaction. They *made* crime *the* issue in last fall's elections. Between January and November of 1993, the number of those polled who saw crime as the country's major problem skyrocketed from *1 percent* to 16 percent, conveniently eclipsing concern over the economy, unemployment and health care. Yet the crime rate actually went *down* in the past two years, and the rate of violent crime has remained steady for nearly two decades.

Every tragedy is stage-managed to whip up support for the bourgeoisie's "anti-crime" crusade. The December funeral for 12-year-old kidnap and murder victim Polly Klaas in Petaluma, California was turned into a grotesque spectacle attended by California's governor Wilson, Senators Boxer and Feinstein and a horde of other politicians smelling blood and votes, replete with live performances by Joan Baez and Linda Ronstadt. The funeral was broadcast live in prime time on Bay Area TV.

On the East Coast, a psychotic shooting spree on the Long Island Rail Road on December 7 fed the same hysteria. Colin Ferguson, a Jamaican immigrant who snapped after leaving a relatively privileged life for the racist hellhole that is everyday life for blacks in America, opened fire on a commuter train out of New York's Penn Station. Appealing to "white flight" suburbanites' fears, "Slaughter on the 5:33" became the rallying cry for an all-out crusade for gun control.

To the bourgeoisie, the demented random slaughter on the LIRR was of a piece with the mass explosion of multiracial outrage in Los Angeles two years ago over the acquittal of the racist cops who brutalized black motorist Rodney King. Here was the spectre of the heavily minority "underclass"—the "dysfunctional" elements of society, as Clinton calls them—overrunning the bastions of middle-class white privilege.

Wayne State University Press

Detroit blacks face cop invasion during 1967 ghetto revolt: capitalist rulers' racist "anti-crime" campaign was response to social unrest.

Particularly since the L.A. upheaval, the ruling class has sharply escalated its campaign to disarm the dispossessed in the guise of cracking down on drugs and street gangs. In fact, a lot of the random crime associated with drugs could be eliminated simply by *decriminalizing drug use* and taking the extortionate profit out of the trade. But the American rulers are driven by reactionary values to keep drugs illegal, and use the "war on drugs" as an excuse to crack down on minorities. They want to turn the ghettos into a free-fire zone for the cops. In late November, Clinton pushed through the Brady Bill, which imposes a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases and is a stalking horse for outright prohibition.

New Jersey Democratic Senator Bill Bradley is pushing for a punitive 30 percent tax on handguns, ammunition and so-called assault weapons, while California Senator Dianne Feinstein wants to ban outright semiautomatic firearms with magazines holding more than ten rounds and New York's Moynihan tries to tax hollow-point bullets out of people's reach. What all of these measures amount to is making it illegal or impossible for poor and working people to have guns, while the rich (and the cops) keep theirs.

In the wake of the LIRR shootings, "New Democrat" Clinton and Reagan Republican NYC mayor-elect Giuliani joined in calling for nationwide registration of gun owners. Liberal *New York Newsday* gossip columnist Liz Smith chimed in with a police-state call for "a three-month suspension of civil liberties, with cops free to body-auto-and-house search, confiscating illegal weapons in the United States."

This is a call to mete out to the population as a whole what the feds did to the survivalist Weaver family in Idaho and the integrated Branch Davidian religious commune in Waco, Texas. In the name of "gun control," the feds murdered Randy Weaver's wife and son and incinerated 86 men, women and children in the Waco holocaust.

Clinton and Attorney General Reno are calling for the government to keep a dossier on all gun owners (roughly half of American households). The drive for registration and restricted gun ownership—especially the threatened ban on "assault weapons," which could encompass everything but revolvers and single-shot bolt-action rifles—is a program to criminalize several million people, many of whom will rightfully assume that when this state power asks to know everything about your guns it is because it wants to take them away.

More ominously, the Brady Act stipulates the creation of a national computer bank of data on gun buyers. Clinton's proposed national health care ID card, which may contain information ranging from sexual orientation to financial and other personal details, is so transparently intrusive that *Scientific American* (February 1994) warns of "Dr. Big Brother."

The National Rifle Association has joined in calling for a national database of gun owners, promoting the police-state regimentation it claims to oppose in defending the right to bear arms. For years the NRA has supported right-wing politicians and boosted cop power, offering itself up as the "shock troops" in the "war on crime" and pushing life imprisonment for three-time offenders.

Cops, Criminals and Klansmen

For sheer hypocrisy, the hysteria against "high-capacity magazines," "assault weapons" and "maiming bullets" is astounding. To read the bourgeois press, you would think these weapons were expressly designed for and exclusively sold to street gangs and drug dealers. It is the military and police who set the trends in firearms.

The Ruger 9mm with its 15-round magazine used by Colin Ferguson provoked the wrath of Clinton, Cuomo and Sarah Brady's Handgun Control Inc. as some kind of new demon gun. Large-calibre semiautomatic pistols were first produced around the turn of the century, but the explosion in the domestic use of high-capacity handguns came straight out of the Vietnam War. The Illinois state police have been using semiauto 9mm pistols since 1967, and today they are used by the Secret Service, the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) as well as hundreds of police departments around the country, including NYC transit cops on crowded subways!

There has been a campaign waged against hollow-point bullets like the "Black Talon" round designed by Winchester. The company has buckled to the campaign by Clinton and Moynihan, withdrawing the ammunition from sale to the public—*but not to cops*. In fact, this cartridge was developed for use by the cops. In evaluating the Black Talon, the NRA's *American Rifleman* (November 1992) notes that "The FBI's testing regime has borne fruit in a new bullet designed for maximum penetration and expansion at moderate velocities."

Meanwhile, the bourgeois press, led by the *New York Times*, relies on the lack of knowledge about guns common among many of their urban readers to push anti-gun hysteria, falsely calling semiautomatic longarms "assault rifles" and even referring to revolvers as "automatic" weapons! Semiautomatic guns which require a trigger pull for every shot are routinely labeled "machine guns." In any case, for all the fuming about "assault weapons," they are used in only a tiny proportion of homicides.

The kill-crazy cops have all the guns they need, as well as "Blue Thunder" helicopter gunships, armored personnel carriers and plenty of other "riot control" weaponry. Criminals and drug gangs will always be able to get hold of weapons, especially since the CIA has long been the biggest drug-runner in the world. And it is common knowledge that local police departments as well as federal agencies are deeply interpenetrated with KKK and other right-wing paramilitaries, who often form the core of strikebreaking "private security" outfits. The Klan/Nazi group that gunned down five leftist civil rights workers and labor organizers in the 1979 Greensboro massacre were led to the murder site by an FBI informer and shown how to use and transport their semiautomatic weapons by a BATF agent.

Gun control leaves guns in the hands of cops, criminals and Klansmen while making the country's black, poor and working people defenseless in the face of racist terror and armed strikebreakers.

Charles/Ebony

New York, 1964: Malcolm X guards his home and family against threatened assassination. New York City rushed through special ordinance to prevent him from carrying weapon.

Gun Control Kills Blacks

Behind all the lies and hypocrisy stands the vicious capitalist order, which imposes the most brutal conditions of oppression while seeking a total monopoly of the means of violence. We do not dismiss the very real fear which accompanies living in urban America. In fact it is the working people and the poor, above all blacks and Hispanics, who are most subjected to random street crime.

And self-defense is a lot easier if you're armed—as basketball star Charles Barkley says, he feels secure "as long as I have that 9-millimeter beside me." Millions of women who aren't 250-pound professional athletes like Barkley also understand that a firearm can be a great equalizer in violent confrontations. In the last decade, handgun sales to women have exploded, but bourgeois feminists like NOW ape the worst sexists, arguing that women won't know how to use them and shouldn't have them, because they're not "naturally violent" like men.

The gun-control fanatics have no intention of taking weapons away from

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Protests Against Racist Cop Terror

Oakland, Berkeley

On January 27, the Spartacus Youth Club organized a speakout on the University of California-Berkeley campus to protest the ominous rise of racist police terror against blacks in nearby Oakland. They were protesting the cops' murder of Luke Grimage and his 62-year-old wheelchair-bound father, Raphael Grimage, gunned down shortly before Christmas and of AFSCME union member Nathan Cosby, who was slain on January 6, as well as of black youths Baraka Hull and Jerrold Hall, earlier victims of cop terror in Oakland. The SYC seeks to win students to join in struggle against a society where cops kill blacks and other minorities at will, keeping the population in fear.

The Grimages were slain in their home by the police for the "crime" of refusing to surrender the family dog to an Animal Control squad. Rashidah Grimage, widow of Raphael and mother of murdered Luke Grimage, was unable to attend the speakout but sent her surviving son, Manuel, to read her statement to the demonstrators:

> "As victims of the brutality and destruction of the Oakland Police Department, we are here to say, 'It must stop. We will have it no more.'... Why should we tolerate behavior from men in uniform that we would not tolerate from citizens?... If we are going to be a society which seeks to eradicate violence and crime, let us begin with society's institutions first. Let us never forget that the most horrendous acts of brutality, oppression and destruction throughout history have been committed by men in uniforms, carrying out official governmental policies.... The Grimage family thanks all of you who are here, to lend your support to this effort to obtain justice for all of us. Let's stay strong and determined."

Underlining this courageous woman's message to fight, speakers from the SYC and the Labor Black League for Social Defense pointed to the tremendous social power of the labor movement which must be mobilized in defense of black rights. When all the mainstream organizations said "ignore" the deadly Klan provocation in Springfield, Illinois on January 16, the conscious organization of labor and the black community showed how to defeat our enemies and defend ourselves through revolutionary action. As Don Collier from the Labor Black League stated:

> "The Springfield mobilization brought to bear the united power of organized labor and blacks in struggle against the Klan... This same leadership can and will organize the unorganized and unemployed, mobilize in social defense of the ghetto and barrio masses against racist cop terror, like we are seeing in Oakland, and defend the right of youth to an education."

A week earlier, on January 21 the Spartacist League and the Bay Area LBL attended a protest march of some 75 people in downtown Oakland, organized by the family of Nathan Cosby. The crowd of mostly young black friends and family marched from city hall to police headquarters, then on to the federal building. At the city hall rally, Cosby's widow addressed the crowd and Ben Visnick, president of the Oakland Education Association, made a statement of support.

Cosby, a black public school custodian and a popular member of AFSCME Local 257, was killed in cold blood by Oakland police on January 6. The cops put out their standard cover story that their victim had pointed a gun at the cops. In fact, an invasion force of some 20 cops, many in riot gear and armed with semi-automatic weapons, assassinated Cosby with a shot in the head fired through his bedroom window during an early morning death-squad-style raid on his home.

WV Photo

January 21: Demonstrators in Oakland protest cop murder of Nathan Cosby.

Promoting dangerous illusions in state and federal capitalist authorities, the Oakland Board of Education has demanded the state attorney general and Bill ("Death Penalty") Clinton's top cop, Waco mass murderer Janet Reno, "investigate" Cosby's death. Speaking for the Labor Black League at the rally, Joe Sol called for the "integrated trade unions, from Nathan Cosby's AFSCME brothers and sisters, to transit and city workers, teachers and machinists" to "flex their muscle in defense of the black population." A labor protest strike against cop terror in Oakland would send a powerful message that these racist atrocities must stop!

To lead this fight requires a revolutionary party committed to mobilizing labor in defense of all of the oppressed, sweeping away this racist capitalist society and its agents of bloody oppression—both those in blue uniforms and white sheets. The power is there to avenge the victims of the state's killing machine. For labor/black mobilizations against racist terror! Fight for socialist revolution!

Correction

In our last issue, we wrote that when Nathan Cosby was gunned down by the cops, he had "grabbed his pistol and opened a bedroom window to escape." This story, given in press accounts, is unsubstantiated. The article mistakenly stated that black youth Baraka Hull was killed by BART cops in 1992. Hull was slain by Oakland cops last summer, while black teenager Jerrold Hall was shot by BART cops in 1992.

ruling-class types like *New York Times* CEO Sulzhurger, who have no trouble getting permits to carry, and have private security guards and stretch limos to take them to their heavily fortified estates and penthouse suites. As was the case in the wake of the L.A. revolt, when "armed response" signs sprouted up in front of white suburban homes while black and Hispanic South-Central was put under a state of siege, the drum-beating for gun control over the LIRR shootings didn't stop tens of thousands of suburbanites from jamming the gun stores to stock up on guns while they still can.

In arguing for tighter gun laws—NYC already has the most stringent in the country—Giuliani insisted that firearms should only be in the hands of "decent New Yorkers, very legitimate people." What he means is *white* people! When black Brooklyn Domino Sugar worker Arthur Boone defended himself with a gun from two young street thugs who put a pistol to his head, he was hauled before a grand jury and charged with possession of an illegal weapon.

Gun control has *nothing* to do with fighting crime. After Clinton's State of the Union address, ABC-TV carried an unusually revealing story on the history of these national campaigns on crime and violence, pointing to "the violence of the '60s, the inner-city riots, the antiwar protests" as having "first put the federal government in the street crime fighting business in a major way." Robert Kennedy called inexpensive handguns "tools of the urban rioter." The 1968 Safe Streets Act and Gun Control Act, pushed by LBJ's attorney general Ramsey Clark (current favorite of reformists like Sam Marcy's Workers World Party), was followed by Nixon's "War on Crime."

Today, as Clinton and Jesse Jackson vituperate against "black-on-black" crime, pro-Democratic Party "leftists" tail right behind. The Communist Party proclaims, "Hand Guns Are Equal Opportunity Killers" (*People's Weekly World*, 18 December 1993). The social-democratic *In These Times* (27 December 1993) competes with *Time* and *Newsweek* with a cover story headlined, "Violent Crime: Real Causes, Real Solutions."

While the ruling class packs the prisons with "drug offenders," the very mention of decriminalization of drugs by Surgeon General Elders recently provoked howls from the White House on down. What is behind the bourgeoisie's crusade against guns and crime is the decay of American capitalism. A society of glaring inequality and rampant poverty and despair breeds random street crime—not to mention the large-scale extortion and violence of big business and its Murder Inc., the capitalist state. With the deindustrialization of wide swathes of the U.S. economy, the bourgeoisie no longer has need of a whole layer of the population, predominantly inner-city blacks. The ghettos have become ever more hellish concentrations of poverty, disease and crime because the rulers want to see this "surplus population" *die*.

The black middle-class "talented tenth" heads for the suburbs, while still facing pervasive discrimination. But the overwhelming mass of ghetto youth have been condemned to a future of no education, no jobs and no hope. And at the first sign of rage and rebellion, the ruling class cracks down with brute force and programs to disarm and imprison the population. It is no accident that one of the chief aims of the post-Civil War "Black Codes," aimed at disenfranchising the black population, was to disarm the freed slaves who had fought for their liberty.

The Second Amendment guaranteeing the right of the people to arm themselves, which the gun-grabbers want to undo, was the result of the American Revolution and constitutes a vital defense against tyranny. Gun control has always been about strengthening the repressive power of the bourgeois state and disarming the working class and especially blacks. Bill Clinton carries out state-sanctioned terror bombings from Baghdad to Somalia to Waco and answers to no one for it. It will take a socialist revolution to disarm the blood-soaked capitalist class and put an end to their violent rule. ■

Quake Relief...

(continued from page 12)

few vouchers have been forthcoming. Indeed, prior to the quake some 45,000 low-income city residents had been waiting at least four years to qualify for assistance.

With an estimated 80,000 housing units standing vacant in the city, including some 26,000 in the San Fernando Valley, the solution to the housing crisis is simple: the homeless should occupy the empty apartments!

The most dangerous and life-threatening conditions are now found concentrated in the hard-hit San Fernando Valley communities of Northridge, Panorama City, Van Nuys, Pacoima and adjacent areas. Today more than one-third of the Valley's 1.2 million people are Latino. Meanwhile, in heavily black South-Central L.A. collapsed unreinforced brick structures abound. Residents complained that four days after the quake no city building inspector had set foot south of the crumpled Santa Monica freeway, leaving many on the street fearful of returning to their homes.

After two years, the much-hyped "Rebuild L.A." scam has rebuilt nothing—only clearing away the rubble—without making a dent in the pervasive unemployment and poverty. The events of the past few years here make it abundantly clear that it will take a workers government to rebuild L.A. for its multiracial population. In seeking to build a revolutionary party that champions the interests of all the oppressed, we call upon labor to fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and for a vast program of public works to provide decent housing, education and jobs for all. ■

Flag...

(continued from page 12)

Mississippi, racist killer Byron De La Beckwith is again being tried for the 1963 murder of civil rights martyr Medgar Evers. As he sat scornfully in the courtroom during the testimony of Evers' widow, De La Beckwith wore the Confederate battle emblem in his lapel.

From the murder of Medgar Evers to the 1979 Greensboro massacre of union organizers and leftists, the bearers of this hated banner want to reverse the outcome of the Civil War. Especially in the South, the Klan are the bosses' enforcers of the open shop against the integrated labor movement. The social power of organized labor can bring down this Jim Crow banner and the racist capitalist system which spawns it. Tear down the flag of slavery! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

L.A. Quake Relief Spurns Latinos, Blacks

LOS ANGELES—Nearly two weeks after the devastating 6.6 Northridge earthquake, thousands of largely Latino and black residents of metropolitan Los Angeles remain homeless, sick and hungry. As more than 20,000 people were dumped into the streets and parks, the woefully inadequate Red Cross shelters filled up as fast as they opened. It took four days for the government to finally erect a few tents. But haunted by the spectre of the multiracial 1992 L.A. upheaval, the state immediately dispatched over 2,600 National Guardsmen to "prevent looting." The LAPD went on a full mobilization, flooding entire areas with patrols.

Worried about a political backlash from California, mired in a deep recession and recently hit by a series of natural disasters, Clinton announced a federal emergency aid package. But the response of local, state and federal officials betrayed the deep-seated class and racial bias of this country's capitalist rulers. Once the authorities realized that the "earthquake refugees" were overwhelmingly Latino immigrants from Mexico and Central America, calls were heard to check quake victims' documents, withhold aid from "illegal aliens" and quickly shut down the tent cities. In a racist frenzy, Congressman Dana Rohrabacher and assemblyman Pat Nolan held a press conference pushing legislation that would not only deny aid to non-citizens but order summary deportations!

Intimidated by the bipartisan anti-immigrant offensive that pervades California politics, from Republican governor Wilson to Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown, the vast majority of those without proof of citizenship have refused to register at Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) centers and Red Cross shelters or to seek refuge in the tents erected by the National Guard. Left to fend for themselves, this besieged population has borne the brunt of the deteriorating conditions in the aftermath of the quake. Braving the rain and plummeting temperatures for two weeks under sheets of plastic and tarpaulins, crowded into parks with overflowing portable toilets and contaminated water, hundreds of families are now experiencing serious health problems, especially among children.

Diaz/L.A. Times

Those made homeless by Los Angeles earthquake are overwhelmingly Latinos. Many from Mexico and Central America don't apply for assistance out of fear of deportation.

When county officials announced the release of emergency food stamps, over 45,000 people appeared at welfare offices, often under the menacing glare of the LAPD, which was put on tactical alert. County officials immediately screamed "welfare fraud," objecting that hungry people not directly affected by the quake might get food stamps. So on January 29, county officials ordered a three-day waiting period in order to carry out computer background checks to "weed out" the undeserving!

Meanwhile, as aftershocks continue, landlords have used the pretext of quake damage to oust tenants and raise rents. Despite a 12 percent vacancy rate, even before this many poor Latino families had to share apartments because of the exorbitant rents. The *Los Angeles Times* (30 January) reports that "the typical poor household in Los Angeles spends 77 percent of its income on rent." Though the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has a program for emergency housing subsidies,

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Super Bowl Protest

Down with the Flag of Slavery!

Atlanta, Georgia, dubbed the "city too busy to hate" and the showcase city of the supposed New South, hosted the Super Bowl in the Georgia Dome on January 30. In a gross insult to black America, the game was played under the Georgia state flag, which incorporates the Confederate banner of slavery and resurgent racist terror. Sportswriter Wallace Matthews wrote in *New York Newsday* (27 January):

> "It is a flag that was wrapped around the bodies of lynching victims as a horrendous calling card. Twenty-eight of the 44 starting players on that field will be black. Sixty-five percent of NFL players are black. Raising that flag over the Georgia Dome is like raising a swastika over a synagogue."

About 150 protesters were outside the heavily policed and barricaded Georgia Dome before kickoff. Organized by black Democratic state representative Tyrone Brooks and state senator Ralph David Abernathy III, there were participants from the NAACP, SCLC and Rainbow Coalition. Los Angeles Congressman Maxine Waters and Jesse Jackson both put in an appearance. The Spartacist League joined the protest with signs reading: "Tear Down the Flag of Slavery!", "Mobilize Labor/Blacks to Fight Racist Terror!" and "Confederate Flag Means Lynching, KKK Terror, Jim Crow Discrimination! Bring it Down!"

Inside, an integrated group of 60 reporters walked out of the press box before the national anthem and presentation of the color guard which included the stars and bars. Many of the remainder wore black armbands.

Opposition to the flag echoed among the football players. Particularly outspoken was reserve Buffalo Bills linebacker Richard Harvey, a black who grew up in Mississippi, who said the players should not play beneath the flag, and called on the big-name players of both races to act. Harvey's brave sentiments should have been backed by organized action by the NFL Players Association. Such an action would have likely achieved the desired result and breathed new life into the besieged players union.

WV Photo

Spartacists join January 30 protest in Atlanta against flying Confederate flag, symbol of lynch-mob terror, over Super Bowl.

Newly elected black mayor Bill Campbell and former mayor Andrew Young urged the National Football League to ignore protests against the flag. Their line was to sweep the homeless off the streets so as not to offend the elite who attend the Super Bowl—and let the flag of slavery fly. They were following the lead of Governor Zell Miller who junked his earlier ostensible opposition to the flag to get re-elected. Meanwhile, Abernathy & Co. appealed to Mr. Death Penalty Clinton, whose troops shoot down black Africans in Somalia, to "do the right thing" and avoid embarrassment by getting the flag changed in time for the 1996 Olympics.

In eight U.S. capitals earlier this month, the KKK flew the slaveholders' flag in their provocations against the Martin Luther King holiday. The Confederate banner was added to the Georgia flag in 1956 in racist defiance of the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision calling for desegregating the schools. Today in Jackson,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 594

18 February 1994

Clinton Wades into Balkan Quagmire

U.S./NATO Hands Off Serbia!

U.S. fighter-bombers over the Persian Gulf on eve of Desert Slaughter. Now Washington threatens terror bombing against Serbia.

FEBRUARY 14—On February 9, a NATO meeting threatened to launch air strikes against Serbian forces around Sarajevo if they did not hand in their heavy weapons to United Nations "peacekeepers" and withdraw at least 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the city center within ten days. Applauding the NATO decision in a televised speech, Clinton intoned: "We have an interest in showing that NATO...remains a credible force."

The Serb leaders immediately acquiesced to NATO's ultimatum, even turning over a few weapons a day or two later. But given the powder keg which is Balkan politics today, some excuse or another will doubtless present itself for Clinton to show that America continues to "stand tall" by raining death down on the Serbian people.

Over the weekend, the French aircraft carrier *Foch* and Britain's *Ark Royal* entered the Adriatic Sea off the coast of the former Yugoslavia to join the USS *Saratoga*. Additional American F-15 fighter-bombers and helicopter gunships are being flown from Britain to Italy to join the already formidable arsenal of terror ready to strike against Serbia. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has authorized his local representative in Bosnia to order air strikes at will, while the United States and Britain have ordered all dependents of diplomatic personnel in the rump Yugoslav capital of Belgrade to leave the country.

Clinton and other NATO leaders wept crocodile tears over last Saturday's shelling of a Sarajevo marketplace, where over 60 people were killed. They are using this as a pretext to teach the Bosnian Serb forces and the Yugoslav/Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic a bloody lesson in obedience to imperialist *diktats*. Even UN observers admit to not knowing who shelled the market, and Milosevic denounced the perpetrators as "war criminals."

Atrocities abound in the two-year-old, three-cornered nationalist civil war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, as all three forces seek to carve out nation-states through "ethnic cleansing" and genocidal terror. But in the face of direct imperialist military intervention, it is the duty of the international working class to stand militarily with the Serbs. Down with the starvation embargo against Serbia! U.S./NATO out of the Balkans now!

With its "Vietnam syndrome" anxiety over a domestic backlash if even one American pilot goes down, the Pentagon intends to launch its laser-guided "smart bombs" against Serbian artillery installations from a height of *more than 15,000 feet*, out of the range of anti-aircraft defenses. This virtually ensures civilian deaths in the numerous Serb-populated villages in the area.

Even the pro-Bosnia London *Independent* (7 February) admits that NATO air strikes will "deliver destruction on a scale as yet unseen in this war." The new commander of UN "peacekeeping" forces in Bosnia, British general Sir Michael Rose, is a veteran of the killer elite Special Air Services (SAS), who formerly commanded forces in both Northern Ireland and the Falklands/Malvinas war with Argentina.

Despite the current veneer of imperialist consensus, war-torn ex-Yugoslavia is a cauldron for imperialist intrigue and conflict. Washington has long promoted Alija Izetbegovic' Sarajevo regime—instigating its "declaration of independence" two years ago and, according to European sources, covertly supplying it with arms in violation of the UN embargo—in order to punish Serbia for its recalcitrance. France, and more openly Russia, tilt toward the Serbs, while Germany is the main patron of the Croatian regime of fascistic ultranationalist Franjo Tudjman. But the European powers have grown increasingly concerned over a widening of the Balkan war, which would unleash a flood of refugees and destabilize the continent, and increasingly fed up with American finger wagging—from the safety of the Potomac—over their lack of resolve.

Last month France finally called Washington's bluff. An editorial in *Le Monde* (30-31 January) was snidely headlined, "World Politics Too Hot for U.S.?" Then came the Sarajevo market attack and a renewed outcry that America's "credibility" was being tarnished. Acquiescing to its European allies, the U.S. agreed to push the Bosnians to accept a long-standing deal partitioning the country into "ethnic cantons" once Washington shows its "toughness" by bloodying the Serbs. Clinton immediately got on the horn to strong-arm his junior partners in London and Ottawa, who have been openly reluctant to raise the military ante for fear that their troops in Bosnia will get shot up.

Pro-Bosnia hawks ranging from liberal *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis to conservative William Safire would like Clinton to push all the way to Belgrade. Reaganites Richard Burt and Richard Perle enthused, "Air strikes, especially televised ones, would be dramatic, even exhilarating" (*New York Times*, 11 February). But there are deep divisions within American ruling circles over wading into the Balkan quagmire. On the eve of the NATO meeting, U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry warned: "If air strikes are act one of a new melodrama, what is act two? What is act three?"

"Poor Little Bosnia"

Clinton, with bipartisan backing, insists that U.S. ground forces will not go in except to police a "peace." But U.S. troops are already stationed in the

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Nazi-Like "Medical" Tests in Service of Cold War

U.S. Irradiated Thousands In Atomic Experiments

See Page 6

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Clinton/Reno Are Guilty of Mass Murder

Waco Survivors on Trial

BATF's Continuing Vendetta

FEBRUARY 13—Last April 19, Bill Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno ordered an army of federal police to unleash a fiery inferno, incinerating some 86 people, including women and many young children, in the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas. Now eleven survivors have been put on trial by this vindictive government, which seeks to silence for life those who were not burned to death. But five weeks into the trial, statements even by government agents who perpetrated the massacre are demolishing the layer upon layer of lies that is the feds' self-serving story. And now sensational testimony has shown that the government was determined that every man, woman and child who remained in the commune would die.

The trial itself is a travesty of justice. Three of the defendants weren't even there when the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) staged its first crazed, deadly raid in February 1993, which left six Branch Davidians dead. Yet all eleven are charged with conspiracy to commit murder in the deaths of four BATF agents who were part of a heavily armed 100-strong invasion force that day, setting off a 51-day siege that ended in government mass murder. At the trial BATF agents testified there "never was a plan for peacefully serving the warrants on Koresh" (*Washington Post*, 23 January).

In order to exonerate mass murderers Clinton and Reno, the government and media have put out a Big Lie campaign that the Branch Davidians were a gang of lawless fanatics who deserved to die. They claim that the small Christian commune willfully decided to incinerate itself. We wrote last May: "We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government" ("Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies," *WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993).

The day after the fire, FBI tactical commander Jeff Jamar noted that there was an underground escape route leading from the Mount Carmel compound to a buried bus where "the air was cool." Jamar claimed, "Had Koresh wished those children to survive, that was the one place they could have hidden safely when he had the fires started." But at the trial, on February 10, veteran FBI agent R.J. Craig told the jury that his first assignment on April 19 was "to gas the hallways to prevent people from going down the hallways into the bus." So the FBI knew members of the group might survive in the bus—and *that's why they made sure that access was blocked before the murderous attack began.*

The BATF and FBI were determined that no one would get out alive when they launched their firestorm. Craig was in charge of "combat engineering vehicles" used to punch holes deep into the compound's walls and pump in tear gas. In response to the feds' story that Koresh and his followers deliberately started the fire themselves, we earlier noted "the smoke first came out of a second-floor window above and right next to where the M-60 had been smashing the building." Now a government videotape which has been introduced at the trial shows that the fire started "90 seconds after the video shows an F.B.I. tank smashing into the area" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

Other testimony at the trial rips holes in the government's cover-up, including the bogus weapons charges. BATF undercover agent Robert Rodriguez testified that his bosses were unhappy with his surveillance team because he was never able to report any illegal weapons. In fact, Rodriguez admitted during cross-examination that he never once saw a resident of the commune even carrying a weapon. Again, *WV* reported at the time that "every weapon they owned, including a Barrett .50 cal. semi-automatic rifle, had been *examined and returned by the local cops as perfectly legal.*"

In an opening statement, one of the defense attorneys declared, "Evidence will show you the ATF declared war on its citizenry" (*Washington Post*, 13 January). Even Treasury Department and Justice Department reports on the massacre show that from the top down the official account has been filled with lies. The public is increasingly unwilling to swallow the government's cover-ups. Last summer a jury acquitted right-wing "survivalist" Randy Weaver of murder charges in the death of an FBI agent when the feds put him on trial after they murdered his wife and child. But they kept going after Weaver with trumped-up gun charges, seeking to enforce a state monopoly on arms. It is the BATF and FBI and their bosses in Washington who should be on trial for murder.

After the BATF's first attack on the Branch Davidians, the Spartacist League immediately came to the defense of this small religious group. Their only "crime," we pointed out, was to exercise their rights to practice their religion and to bear arms—both supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Only hours after the April 19 massacre, Spartacist supporters picketed outside the Federal Building in New York with signs saying, "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." We said then, and we say now: All the survivors of Clinton's holocaust must be freed immediately! ■

Oaemmrich/Sygma

Members of Branch Davidian religious commune who survived fiery government inferno last April 19 are now on trial as government seeks to silence them for life.

Balkan Wars and World Imperialism

TROTSKY

LENIN

With U.S. imperialism preparing to bomb Serbian forces in Bosnia, today's Balkan wars symbolize the "New World Disorder" unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13—territorial conflicts between the petty dynasties of the region encouraged and manipulated by the major European powers—were a prelude to the first imperialist world slaughter of 1914-18. As Leon Trotsky wrote at the time, the predatory and destructive forces of capitalism now threatened the future of civilization if not overthrown by the revolutionary proletariat

The War of 1914 is the most colossal breakdown in history of an economic system destroyed by its own inherent contradictions.

All the historical forces whose task it has been to guide the bourgeois society, to speak in its name and to exploit it, have declared their historical bankruptcy by the War. They defended capitalism as a system of human civilization, and the catastrophe born out of that system is primarily *their* catastrophe. The first wave of events raised the national governments and armies to unprecedented heights never attained before. For the moment the nations rallied around them. But the more terrible will be the crash of the governments when the people, deafened by the thunder of the cannon, realize the meaning of the events now taking place in all their truth and frightfulness....

Capitalism has created the material conditions of a new Socialist economic system. Imperialism has led the capitalist nations into historic chaos. The War of 1914 shows the way out of this chaos by violently urging the proletariat on to the path of Revolution.

For the economically backward countries of Europe the War brings to the fore problems of a far earlier historic origin—problems of democracy and national unity. This is in a large measure the case with the peoples of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan Peninsula. But these historically belated questions, which were bequeathed to the present epoch as a heritage from the past, do not alter the fundamental character of the events. It is not the national aspirations of the Serbs, Poles, Rumanians or Finns that has mobilized twenty-five million soldiers and placed them in the battlefields, but the imperialistic interests of the bourgeoisie of the Great Powers. It is imperialism that has upset completely the European *status quo*, maintained for forty five years, and raised again the old questions which the bourgeois revolution proved itself powerless to solve....

The Balkan question and the question of the overthrow of Czarism, propounded to us by the Europe of yesterday, can be solved only in a revolutionary way, in connection with the problem of the United Europe of tomorrow.

—Leon Trotsky, *The War and the International* (1915)

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PDC Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

D.A. to "Review" Black Panther Leader's Case

Free Geronimo Now!

For 23 years Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been locked in prison hells for a crime he did not commit. Eleven times he's been denied parole because he refuses to grovel before the jailers who demand he renounce his commitment to black freedom and confess to a murder committed by others. Court after court has refused to even hear the overwhelming proof of his innocence.

Now, after meeting with James McCloskey, a lay minister and investigator who has dedicated himself to the cases of innocent people sentenced to life or on death row, Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti announced on January 3 that his office will review Geronimo's case. McCloskey, who has won freedom for a dozen people across the country, created a stir in L.A. in 1992 when he helped win the release of Clarence Chance and Benny Powell, black men who spent 17 years in jail, framed by the very same LAPD as Geronimo.

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in San Quentin in 1985.

Geronimo rightly fears this is just "another big disappointment we're being set up for." While Chance and Powell were able to walk free after McCloskey exposed how the racist L.A. police manufactured evidence to pin an unsolved murder on them, Geronimo and his attorneys have already demolished the state's tissue of lies that has stolen 23 years of his life. He remains in prison today because, as the D.A.'s representative said at Geronimo's 1987 parole hearing, he's "still a revolutionary." We must not let Geronimo spend another day in jail. Mobilize now to free Geronimo!

Who Killed Caroline Olsen?

How Geronimo was framed for the 18 December 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen on a Santa Monica tennis court is well known: the surviving victim's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo was suppressed at the trial; wiretap logs of an Oakland Panther house, 400 miles from the shooting, which show that Geronimo had made a call from there to L.A. Panther headquarters two hours before the murder, "disappeared." Retired FBI agent Wesley Swearingen, who had seen the logs, noted this was the first time in his 25 years at the Bureau that wiretap logs were missing.

Julius Butler, an informant for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969, repeatedly lied on the witness stand, denying he worked for either agency. Three jurors interviewed by McCloskey in the course of his investigation said that, had they known Butler was a government fink, they would have voted to acquit. Juror Jeanne Hamilton stated, "If we had known about Mr. Butler being an informant, it would have said to us that this is a conspiracy here. They're trying to nail him."

In early January, Fox TV ran a three-part series which aired in Los Angeles. As Geronimo told Fox News, "Blind Lemon Jefferson can see that based on this evidence I didn't do this murder." Juror Hamilton told Fox, "I feel betrayed, by the government, the FBI, the Los Angeles Police Department, the District Attorney's office."

To the already overwhelming evidence of Geronimo's innocence, the McCloskey investigation adds specific details linking the murder to two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party—both of them associates of the fink Butler—who long ago died violent deaths, one shot while gambling, the other impaled by a steel rod when he fell during a burglary attempt.

The information came to light in a declaration of Tyrone Hutchinson, a former Panther who had been picked up by the cops in 1970 for questioning in connection to the Olsen murder. Hutchinson described how the two men, Larry Hatter and Herbert Swilly, "both said they had been present at the tennis court and they described details of the incident. Specifically, as I told the police, they described a man and a woman on the tennis court shaking in fear and crying just before they were shot.... When Larry Hatter and Herbert Swilly were describing what happened, they were laughing about it."

This too was completely—and illegally—kept from the defense and the court during the trial. In explaining his 20-year silence, Hutchinson related: "After I told the police about this conversation, they told me not to discuss this with anyone 'if I knew what was good for me.' I took this to be a threat on my life at the time and I still do."

The Fox TV series showed that photos of Swilly and Hatter uncovered by McCloskey bear a close resemblance to composite sketches of the killers prepared one day after the shooting.

COINTELPRO: Campaign of Racist State Terrorism

The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black youth who wanted to smash capitalism and make a revolution. For that reason the Panthers were targeted for destruction by the racist ruling class and its deadly political police. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover labeled the Panthers "the greatest threat to internal security."

To kill black activists, the FBI revived COINTELPRO—the counterintelligence program originally set up in 1956 against the Communist Party—and unleashed the most savage and systematic campaign of racist murder in modern American history. Some 233 out of 295 FBI COINTELPRO actions against black organizations were against the Panthers. At least 38 Panthers were murdered by agents of this racist capitalist state, and many of the survivors thrown behind prison walls.

Geronimo was at the top of their list. In early 1969, just after he became leader of the Los Angeles BPP, Geronimo was designated a "Key Black Extremist" by the FBI, targeted for "neutralization" and immediately elevated to "Priority I" status on the National Security Index of those deemed by the feds to pose a "threat" to the government. Behind these designations stands naked state terror.

Four days after Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the cops came for Geronimo in L.A. On 8 December 1969, L.A. Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops; thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired at it for five hours. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Geronimo was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed.

Failing to kill Geronimo, the feds set out to frame him for murder. An FBI document of June 1970 called for "utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing Pratt as an effective BPP functionary." FBI infiltrator Melvin Smith recalled FBI agent George Aiken giving him a list of possible murders to be pinned on Pratt. Smith also recalled Aiken offering $3,000-$5,000 for testimony to convict Geronimo of murder (see Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression* [South End Press, 1988]).

Fox TV photos

Los Angeles Fox TV series on Geronimo's trial end frame-up: Retired FBI agent Sweeringen said it was first time in 25 years wiretap logs ware "missing." Juror Hamilton said jury didn't know Geronimo's accuser Butler wes e govarnment informant.

A lineup of state and federal officials built their careers on the war against Geronimo and the Panthers in California. Among them is Richard Kalustian, the assistant D.A. who orchestrated the frame-up. For years Kalustian upheld Butler's lying testimony that he wasn't an informant. He acknowledged the fact to Fox News, but dismissed its significance by saying Butler was supplying "lightweight information." Kalustian is now a Los Angeles Superior Court judge.

And of course there's Julius Butler. As a reward for his dirty work for the racist capitalist state, Butler had his own criminal record cleaned up to allow him to be admitted to the California Bar in 1989. Now, as attorney for the First AME Church in South-Central L.A., Butler is hailed by the capitalist press as a spokesman for the black community reeling under the hammer blows of grinding poverty and brutal terror at the hands of Butler's paymasters in the LAPD.

The D.A.'s announcement of a review has given needed publicity to Geronimo's fight for freedom. In addition to the Fox News coverage, L.A. and Bay Area papers have carried articles on the frame-up. And a spotlight is finally being thrown on the notorious Julius

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

UPS Teamsters Struck, Defying Feds' Injunction

In defiance of a federal court order, some 90,000 Teamsters members at United Parcel Service carried out a one-day strike on February 7. UPS, long notorious for brutal working conditions and intense harassment, more than *doubled* its package weight limit to 150 pounds. In Atlanta, where picket lines were heavily integrated and there are many women workers, one striker told *WV* that the 150-pound limit would mean mass firings, as UPS routinely terminates injured workers.

After extracting an empty promise that Big Brown would negotiate in "good faith," Teamsters International president Ron Carey ordered workers back the next day. But the backlog of packages hadn't even been cleared before UPS filed a $50 million damages claim against the union on February 9 for violating the injunction.

The one-day action against UPS was concentrated in the East. Elsewhere, bureaucratic opponents of Carey scabbed on the strike. R.V. Durham, the head of Local 391 in Greensboro, North Carolina who opposed Carey for the presidency two years ago, groveled before the injunction, proclaiming "we're living in the land of laws" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 9 February) and ordering the 2,500 UPS workers in his local to go to work. The bosses' laws have subjected America's most powerful union to government control. Nationally, only 60 percent of the union struck.

Carey encouraged the company offensive when he kept the 165,000 Teamsters at UPS working without a contract for weeks last summer, despite a massive strike authorization vote. UPS, with revenues of over $17.5 billion in 1993, is the largest package delivery company in the world. It is also despised by anyone who has ever worked there—UPS would be a hugely popular target for a militant national strike. But it won't be led by Carey and those, like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, who have brought the capitalist government into the union.

Carey was installed as union head in December 1991 in a government-controlled election coming out of the "consent decree" between the feds and the venal bureaucrats running the IBT. The UPS shutdown took place just before a vote on a national dues increase this month. It also intersects a bitter fight inside the 1.4-million-member union, as Carey and his pro-government "reformers" confront the venal "old guard" who still head many locals and councils around the country.

Playing on the correct understanding of thousands of Teamsters that the bosses' government, their courts and cops are the *enemy* of the working class, this "old guard" issued flyers after the UPS strike: "When the smoke around the I.B.T.'s new 'activist' approach clears, it will be apparent to all that the Government and the employers got exactly what they wanted when Ron Carey was elected...'a weaker Teamsters union'" (*New York Times*, 10 February). But these same labor traitors, in order to save their own skins, signed the "consent decree" allowing the feds to run roughshod over the union.

The injunction and suit for $50 million in "damages" come on the eve of the expiration of the National Master Freight Agreement covering 110,000 over-the-road drivers. And the government just handed down regulations imposing "random" alcohol testing of over

WV Photo

Teamsters in Atlanta join one-day national strike against imposition of brutal working conditions by UPS.

seven million transportation workers, mostly commercial drivers. As it has for half a century, the capitalist government is pursuing its vendetta against the union because it wants to cripple the enormous power of the Teamsters union.

David Edelstein, the judge who is the government's overseer of the union, railed that "the IBT exercises vast power" which "must be reserved for legitimate use to achieve legitimate ends." For the capitalist government, "legitimate" doesn't include a national strike against UPS or the trucking bosses. At the time of the 1990 UPS contract, *WV* warned: "From drug testing witchhunts to government-supervised union elections to police scabherding—the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians are on the *other side of the class line*. Government hands off the unions!"

Canadian ILWU Tops Bow to Government Strikebreaking

VANCOUVER—For 13 days, 3,500 longshoremen demonstrated labor's power with a province-wide strike that shut down ports all along the British Columbia coast and on Vancouver Island. Grain, lumber, pulp, potash, sulphur and petrochemicals piled up as International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) members faced off against the B.C. Maritime Employers Association's (BCMEA) demands for concessions. But on February 8, the bosses' government weighed in. A strikebreaking back-to-work law was unanimously rushed through federal Parliament—including with the support of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)—threatening the union with $100,000-a-day fines and ordering compulsory arbitration.

The strike began on January 27 when Local 508 members in the Vancouver Island port of Chemainus learned the BCMEA was refusing to budge in negotiations, which had dragged on since before the last contract expired over a year ago. Some guys lost their temper and refused to work, one unionist told *WV*. That night the strike spread to other Vancouver Island ports and to Prince Rupert in the north. When the BCMEA announced a lockout, the key ILWU Local 500 shut down Vancouver, Canada's biggest port and the largest bulk port in North America, trapping ships at the berths, in the harbor and anchored close by.

Behind the strike was the BCMEA's drive to attack working conditions, including cutting the day shift lunch hour in half (the only break most get) while adding a half-hour to the afternoon shift. The BCMEA's demand for shift extensions and other concessions is part of a concerted campaign they have been waging against the ILWU for years.

Despite a vote against the lunch hour cut at a November Local 500 meeting, the ILWU leadership *agreed* to the givebacks, seeking to trade them for a few more cents an hour. Canadian-area ILWU president Gordie Westrand told the press that "longshoremen are prepared to make changes in work hours and other working conditions that represent the most significant opening of the contract since he joined the union 22 years ago," according to the *Vancouver Sun* (1 February).

From the start, the bureaucrats tried to scuttle the strike. Westrand told the BCMEA that "I was prepared to continue working on all other port areas and we'd try to get Chemainus back on line." Then Westrand begged to be allowed to have the ILWU load grain. Finally when the strikebreaking orders came down, the union tops pulled the pickets and sent ILWUers back to work.

Any struggle by the longshoremen, like all major battles between workers and bosses, immediately poses a *political* fight. On one side are the capitalists and their state, on the other the organized strength of the working class. These struggles can't be won with a "leadership" that is bound hand and foot to the bosses and their agents. And that is exactly the role of the NDP, which helped speed the Liberals' strikebreaking law through Parliament. The union bureaucrats and pseudo-socialists tout the NDP as "labor's political arm"—but what kind of arm is this that salutes the bosses and punches the workers in the face? From jailing postal strike leaders in Ontario to breaking teachers strikes in B.C., NDP provincial governments rule on behalf of the capitalists.

Longshoremen have the power to forge a powerful coalition of B.C. waterfront and transportation unions in a fight to smash the attacks of grain elevator operators and railroad bosses. From Los Angeles to Vancouver, ILWU members have fought sharp battles to defend their historic gains. Yet each time the union leadership has refused to launch powerful *coastwise strike action* that could quickly bring the bosses to their knees. On both sides of the border there is a sordid history of nationalist backstabbing, including in 1971-72 when Canadian ILWU members were ordered to unload cargo diverted from struck U.S. ports. This time over 8,000 containers were diverted to U.S. ports, but ILWU International president Dave Arian refused to "hot-cargo" the scab containers.

The ILWU needs a fighting *internationalist* leadership to unite transportation and waterfront workers on both sides of the border and to join in militant common struggle with Mexican workers. This must be the response to the capitalists' "free trade" rape of Mexico and their anti-labor offensive in Canada and the U.S. No to strikebreaking NDP social democrats and the labor traitors' support to the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S.! We need to build class-struggle workers parties fighting for workers rule. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 3)

Butler. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* (6 January) reported that "many worshippers" at the First AME Church "have questioned why a key figure in the Pratt conviction is now serving as legal counsel for the church." On January 23, the Partisan Defense Committee joined in a picket of 75 people outside the church, initiated by the African United Front to inform church members of the dangerous cop flunkey who is a leader in their church.

Thousands of individuals and organizations and trade unions representing over two million members have taken a stand in support of Geronimo. United-front rallies initiated by the PDC have brought together trade unionists and civil rights activists demanding Geronimo's freedom. In an ongoing lawsuit filed in 1989, the PDC is challenging prison officials' persistent persecution and harsh and vindictive treatment of Geronimo. Amnesty International has recognized Geronimo as a political prisoner. Congressman Ron Dellums has sponsored a bill calling for his release. The Oakland-based International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has publicized the case.

Geronimo's fate must not be left in the hands of L.A.'s top prosecutor, whose job is to keep blacks, Hispanics and unionists in line while making sure the main perpetrators of racist violence—the trigger-happy LAPD—carry out their terror and frame-ups with impunity. It will take an intensified campaign of publicity and protest to smash this frame-up once and for all.

* * * * *

As we go to press, legal action is being prepared to challenge the latest round of provocation and harassment of Geronimo by prison authorities. In early January, just days after Fox News' three-part series on Geronimo, he was transferred on one day's notice from San Diego to Mule Creek State Prison in Ione, 40 miles northeast of Stockton, California and a good distance from Geronimo's family and supporters.

Among the instances of harassment, Mule Creek officials have refused to grant the recommendation of a prison psychiatrist that Geronimo have his own cell, a necessity due to medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war wounds. In an outrageous move, officials recently opened Geronimo's cell door in the middle of the night, placing a prisoner in the cell with Geronimo without notice.

Fight the persecution of Geronimo! Free him now!

* * * * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy, send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Pentagon Continues Vendetta Against Black Sailors

Port Chicago, 1944: U.S. Navy's Racist Frame-Up

Percy Robinson

U.S. Navy

During WW II, Jim Crow Navy used black sailors for particularly dangerous jobs like unloading ammunition. Aftermath of 17 July 1944 explosion at Port Chicago (right), which killed 320 sailors.

Black History and the Class Struggle

17 July 1944: Two ships and a loading dock full of ammunition went up at the Navy's Port Chicago munitions base on San Francisco Bay. The blast, equivalent to about 5,000 tons of TNT, leveled much of the base, wrecked buildings in the nearby town of Port Chicago and killed 320 sailors—202 of them black ammunition loaders. Three weeks later, 258 black sailors refused to load ammunition in a protest against the hellish conditions which bred the disaster and the Navy's racist Jim Crow segregation policies. In the largest mass mutiny trial in U.S. naval history, a travesty built on manufactured evidence and open racism, 50 of the black strikers were later convicted and sentenced initially to 15 years in prison.

6 January 1994: 50 years later, the original verdict was upheld. According to a review undertaken at the request of four Bay Area Congressmen, "the Secretary of the Navy concluded that neither racial prejudice nor other improper factors tainted the original investigations or trials" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 January). This brazen lie and outrageous injustice is more than another slap in the face for black people from the racist Democratic Party administration of Bill Clinton. It is also a crude threat to the heavily minority ranks of today's U.S. military, as Clinton prepares to throw them into battle around the globe in pursuit of U.S. imperialist domination. Jim Crow laws may be off the books, but the bedrock racist foundation of American capitalism remains.

In his well-researched book *The Port Chicago Mutiny* (Amistad Press, 1993), black historian Robert L. Allen tells the gripping story of how the Navy's racism condemned black sailors to death in the greatest homefront disaster of World War II, and then railroaded those survivors who protested. The Port Chicago work stoppage was one of a series of rebellions by blacks in the U.S. military. The Spartacist pamphlet *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 4 devoted to "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" notes that "although many blacks deeply resented their exclusion from combat, a policy that lasted late into the war, there was little black enthusiasm for this 'war for democracy' abroad when they were brutally deprived of basic democratic rights at home." Unlike in World War I, blacks were no longer willing to "take it" for the duration. Buoyed by the class struggles of the 1930s which created the CIO, blacks for the first time had been incorporated into a powerful, integrated working-class movement.

Port Chicago, just where the Sacramento River goes into the northern arm of San Francisco Bay, was a main ammo supply depot for the Pacific fleet. More than 1,400 black enlisted men were driven by their white officers to work faster and faster in the backbreaking work of loading everything from machine-gun rounds to incendiary bombs to 5,000-pound "blockbusters" onto cargo ships. "We were a mule team," said one veteran interviewed by Allen. Another called it a "slave outfit," adding, "we were considered a cheap labor force from the beginning." This was Jim Crow with a vengeance: all of the men doing the dangerous work of physically handling ammunition and bombs were black, while all of the Navy officers and Marine guards supervising them were white.

"We were pushed," said Joe Small, a winch operator and ad hoc leader of the protest, singled out as a "ringleader" by the Navy brass in the mutiny trial. "The officers used to pit one division against the other, and the officers themselves used to bet on their division putting on more tonnage than the other division."

Captain Nelson Goss, who ran the Mare Island naval base of which Port Chicago was a sub-command, declared that black and Filipino workers "do not compare favorably with those of the white race." Captain Merrill Kinne, appointed to command Port Chicago in April 1944, spoke sneeringly of "the type of enlisted personnel assigned to Port Chicago." To the Navy brass, from top to bottom, the black sailors were expendable. And these racist bigots, with the full protection of Democratic president Roosevelt, set up the disaster by consciously undermining safety.

Amistad Press

Black sailors in wake of Port Chicago explosion refused deadly assignment of unloading ammo in unsafe conditions. White officers convicted 50 black enlisted men of "mutiny" after 80-minute "deliberation."

The West Coast longshore union, the ILWU, warned the Navy weeks before the explosion "that there would be a disaster if the Navy continued to use untrained seamen to load ammunition," writes Allen. "The union offered to send experienced longshoremen to train the Navy recruits in safe handling of ammunition, but this offer was apparently ignored by the Navy," which feared contact between the sailors and the militant, integrated union. Yet the Stalinist leadership of the ILWU went all-out for the imperialist "war effort," including signing the CIO no-strike pledge two days after Pearl Harbor. Union leader Harry Bridges stated: "unions today must become instruments of speed-up of the working people of America" (quoted in Howard Kimeldorf, *Reds or Rackets: The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront* [University of California Press, 1988]).

Allen writes that "Safety regulations were posted on the pier but not in the enlisted men's barracks, because Captain Kinne did not believe the black seamen were capable of comprehending the regulations." Joe Small told Allen: "I had told everybody in authority that I could get to that we were working dangerously, and one day that place would blow up." Small's lieutenant told him the bombs were "totally harmless" without the detonator installed. In fact, as Small and many of his coworkers realized, concussion—from being dropped or slammed against the side of a ship's hold—can blow the things up.

Not only were the real criminals let completely off the hook by the Navy's commission of inquiry, but those held responsible were *the black seamen who were the chief victims!* Although the specific cause of the explosion was never established, the judge advocate's report grotesquely declared that "the colored enlisted personnel are neither temperamentally or intellectually capable of handling high explosives"! Yet the surviving black loaders were to be put back on the

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Nazi-Like "Medical" Tests in Service of Cold War

U.S. Irradiated Thousands in Atomic Experiments

During the anti-Soviet Cold War, the United States government carried out a vast program of Nazi-like radiation experiments on poor and working-class people. Hundreds of unsuspecting victims were given massive doses of x-rays, injected with radioactive substances, made to eat carcinogenic fallout as scientists observed the deadly effects. Yet these grisly tests, some of which have recently been publicized, are only a small part of the U.S. rulers' deliberate subjection of humans to massive doses of radiation in order to study the impact of the bomb's radiation on the human body.

These "studies" came in the aftermath of the U.S.' monstrous incineration of over 200,000 defenseless Japanese civilians by dropping A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The bloody American bourgeoisie cynically poses as defenders of democracy and human rights, yet the U.S. is the only country to ever use atomic weapons in wartime. And that heinous crime was seen by the U.S. rulers as a prologue to what they had in store for the Soviet Union in their drive to "roll back" the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

As part of the massive effort to develop and test nuclear weapons *intended to be used* against the Soviet Union, literally *hundreds of thousands* of U.S. troops were sent into irradiated blast sites within minutes after atomic bombs were set off. In addition, many tens of thousands of atomic weapons industry workers were callously and routinely exposed to deadly radioactive materials as the U.S. sought to build up its nuclear arsenal. Despite all the talk of nuclear weapons simply acting as a "deterrent," Washington was actively pursuing plans for a thermonuclear "first strike" against the USSR. They intended to follow this up by sending in troops to subdue the survivors. *That* is why they urgently needed to know how much radiation their troops could stand.

Recently, U.S. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary flamboyantly proclaimed an "Openness Initiative," promising to declassify the files on human radiation experiments. After O'Leary gave the go-ahead, suddenly the papers are full of revelations. Many go back to a mid-1980s Congressional study which was ignored at the time, and once the lid was lifted on this horrific subject, more reports began to come in. Universities "discovered" radioactive skeletons in their closets. Thousands have called up government "hot lines" to report secret tests in which they were victims. Suddenly the glare of publicity is thrown onto footnotes in articles for prestigious technical journals detailing how scientists used human beings as guinea pigs for their macabre research.

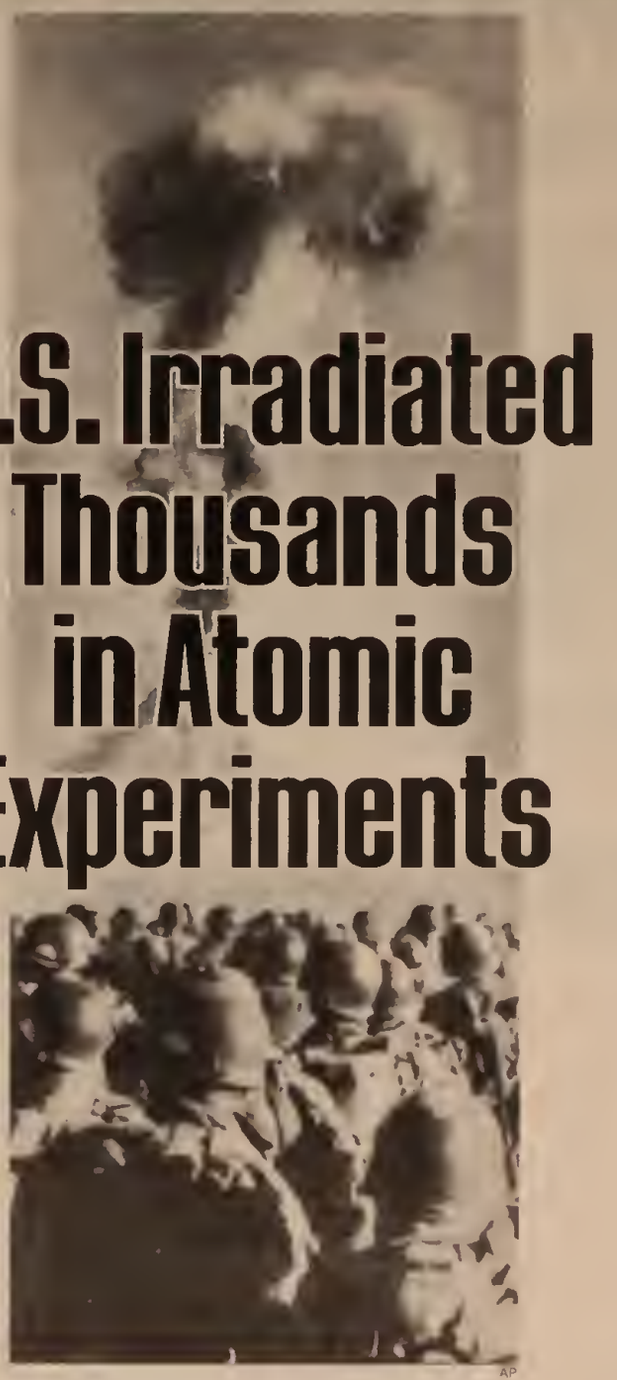
The inhuman torments practiced on the poor, the infirm, racial minorities, hospital patients, prisoners, and particularly the U.S.' colonial subjects, recall the Nazi "experiments" on the Jews, Gypsies and other inmates of the concentration camps. One of the U.S. researchers, commenting on his own plan to irradiate a group of "adult males past the age of 50," guiltily noted: "admittedly, this would have a little of the Buchenwald touch" (referring to the German concentration camp where hundreds were killed by being infected with typhoid fever). And then there were the effects of nuclear weapons tests. John Gofman, founder of the Biomedical Research Division at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, recalled how in the 1950s he was among those who declared that there was no danger from fallout:

> "I feel that at least several hundred scientists trained in the biomedical aspect of atomic energy—myself definitely included—are candidates for Nuremberg-type trials for crimes against humanity through our gross negligence and irresponsibility."
>
> —cited in Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, *Killing Our Own* (1982)

Yet today a major campaign is underway in the bourgeois press arguing that this hideous record must be "understood" as an unfortunate "excess." After all, proclaims the "free but responsible" press, only a few hundred people were supposedly involved, medical "ethicists" say that standards at the time were not worked out, the long-term consequences of radiation exposure were "not fully understood," etc. *Newsweek* contributing editor Gregg Easterbrook, writing in the *Los Angeles Times* (9 January), declared that "the instant-doomsday aspects of the scandal appear largely hyperbole" because supposedly "hardly any actual harm was done," and besides, "a significant number of Americans exhibit an almost clinical paranoia in believing themselves victims of secret government tests." The *Washington Post* (9 January) counseled its readers "to temper our judgments; to consider the nature and purpose of the experiments (e.g., understanding the effects of nuclear war) as well as the times in which they were conducted."

They were conducted in the times of the Cold War, and the scope of the experimentation exposing humans to radioactive substances is far, far greater than the few cases initially reported. The government and its kept media want to sweep under the rug how the U.S. Army kept people penned up unprotected in the vicinity of blast sites to "study" the deadly effects of the heat and radiation. They don't want you to know that their mapping showed fallout from nuclear tests spreading over most of the country. They try to hide the fact that the gruesome experiments preferentially used racial minorities as their subjects, and even deliberately targeted black people. Press reports don't say how U.S. scientists repeated some of the very same tests performed by Nazi scientists at Auschwitz, nor that Washington protected these fascist experimenters in order to get their data. And they want to bury the fact that all these experiments were necessary for their plans to *launch nuclear war against the Soviet Union*.

All that we report below is from published sources. But when you put it together you have the evidence of crimes against humanity that rival those for which Nazi war criminals were tried at Nuremberg. These experiments were approved at the highest levels of the U.S. government, and the officials who ordered them, the scientists who carried them out and the bureaucrats who covered them up were perfectly conscious of what they were doing. Now, as the result of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, Washington would like to turn the page on this chilling legacy of the Cold War. But the racist cruelty, class hatred and utter contempt for the weak and the vulnerable which motivated these "experiments" provide a sinister view of the behind-the-scenes horrors as the bourgeoisie arms itself to defend its class interests.



AP

From 1946 to 1962, Pentagon forced hundreds of thousands of soldiers to participate in nuclear tests as human guinea pigs.

Exposé and Cover-Up

U.S. Cold War radiation "experiments" became a full-blown scandal late last year when the *Albuquerque Tribune* (15-17 November 1993) published a superb 45-page investigative report by Eileen Welsome on 18 hospital patients who, between 1945 and 1947, were injected with radioactive plutonium, one of the most carcinogenic substances known. The victims were given doses ranging from 1.6 to *98 times* the level considered at the time as the occupational limit. Referring to a victim who survived a "whopping dose" of plutonium, a former government radiation specialist commented: "They were surprised a Black man who had been scheduled to die had walked out of the hospital."

One of the experimenters' subjects was Elmer Allen, a 36-year-old black railroad porter, who had been hospitalized with a broken leg (it had to be amputated three days after it was injected with plutonium). When Allen informed his family doctor that he had been the subject of a government experiment, he was diagnosed as a "paranoid schizophrenic." As with all the other victims, researchers never explained what they had done to him. "He knew he had been a guinea pig, but he wasn't sure exactly how," his daughter later declared. "And for 40 years, he sat around waiting to die."

U.S. Army officials, perfectly aware of the consequences of their actions, tried to engineer a massive cover-up of their grisly experimentation on humans. The *Albuquerque Tribune* quoted from a letter the Army wrote to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1947: "It is desired that no document be released which refers to experiments with humans and might have adverse effect on public opinion or result in legal suits. Documents covering such work should be classified 'secret'."

President Clinton cynically seized on the radiation "experiments" as "a political boon" and "a sure-fire way to expose the wrongs of past administrations," as the *Los Angeles Times* (10 January) put it. In early January, Clinton set up a "task force" including the departments of Energy, Health and Human Services, Justice, Defense and Veterans' Affairs, as well as NASA, the National Security Council, and the Office of Management and Budget. The panel is supposedly going to bring to light all radiation "experiments" and assess the injuries suffered by the victims. But despite all the talk of "openness," today, more than two months after O'Leary's initial announcement, practically no files have been released while Energy Department personnel reportedly comb them *to delete any clues to the victims' identities*. The reason is obvious: legal suits for damages would run into the billions.

These atrocities were the product of the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. O'Leary herself drove the point home

at a San Francisco meeting with researchers from the University of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. O'Leary hailed "the science and the technology that built the bomb, that tested the bomb, that kept the bomb available to us" and declared, "I stand in support of that work and know that it was a good thing" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 January).

Meanwhile, O'Leary has carefully steered away from the question of the massive radiation exposure in the nuclear weapons industry. Workers in these government-owned plants handle highly radioactive metals like uranium and plutonium, often with no more protection against radiation than if they worked in a steel plant. Plutonium wastes, which are both highly radioactive and extremely poisonous, are buried around these plants in unlined pits—often simply packed in cardboard boxes—and *hundreds of tons* of radioactive uranium dust has been released into the surrounding air and water. As one radiation specialist said of these installations: "The clinical study of the personnel is one vast experiment. Never before has so large a collection of individuals been exposed to so much irradiation" (quoted in Barton Hacker, *The Dragon's Tail* [1987]).

O'Leary initially promised "compensation" to the victims of radiation experiments, which she grossly underestimated to be 800 people, but the White House quickly stepped in, saying that this was "premature." The U.S. government actually pays all the legal fees ($47 million over a three-year period) for government contractors running nuclear weapons plants as they fight law suits by workers and neighboring residents. A federal program to compensate uranium miners and people living downwind from nuclear test sites has paid meager sums—often not even enough to cover medical bills—to only about 600 victims. And fewer than 500 soldiers who were exposed to atomic bomb tests have been able to get disability benefits for radiation-induced illness.

The victims of these Cold War horrors must receive proper medical care and finally be compensated for their injuries; they ought to be awarded punitive damages from the criminal government which caused their suffering, which no amount of money can undo. The government's massive files on the nuclear weapons program must be opened immediately—including giving workers in nuclear installations access to their now-classified medical records—before they are all censored or destroyed!

How They Got Their "Unique Data"

In justifying the unjustifiable, government "radiation specialists" tout the "critical, sometimes unique, data" the tests provided (*New York Times*, 1 January). In reality, these "medical experiments" were "critical" in order to scientifically plan *mass murder*. After unsuccessful attempts in the 1950s to simulate human radiation burns by placing animals near atomic bomb blasts (they dressed platoons of pigs in army uniforms, but their skin was too resistant; dogs were ruled out because of concern for the ASPCA), an Army doctor declared: "We decided it would be much better to start simulating these nuclear combat questions in laboratories, or to use human subjects when possible" (quoted in Roger Rapoport, *The Great American Bomb Machine* [1971]).

The macabre uses to which this "unique" data was to be put are reflected in the U.S. Army's *Handbook for Medical Service Personnel*, which provides a guide for field commanders ordering troops into the blast area of an atomic bomb. It assures commanders that they will have "ample time to evaluate unit effectiveness as individuals become sick." The handbook counsels that, for example, at 200 rads of radiation, half the troops will experience nausea and vomiting, but "combat effectiveness" will remain 100 percent. At 600 rads (well over the lethal dose), troops will experience hemorrhage, and combat effectiveness will be cut to 50 percent. And at 1,000 rads, troops will experience convulsions and "progressive incapacitation" despite an "early capability for intermittent heroic response."

Most of the revelations now appearing in the press have been known for years. For example, a 1986 report by Representative Edward Markey's (Democrat, Massachusetts) House Subcommittee on Energy, Conservation and Power, titled "American Nuclear Guinea Pigs: Three Decades of Radiation Experiments on U.S. Citizens," detailed 31 tests involving almost 700 people. But the report, coming in the middle of Reagan's Star Wars military buildup against the Soviet Union, was given short shrift in the bourgeois press. The following are among the radiation experiments which have become public:

- In the late 1940s, doctors fed radioactive iron—at doses 30 times higher than normal environmental radiation—to more than 800 pregnant women who sought free health care at the Vanderbilt University Medical Center. Their children were later found to suffer a high rate of cancer.
- In December 1949, a huge cloud of radiation was deliberately released from the Hanford reactor in Washington, blanketing the Pacific Northwest with perhaps thousands of times more radiation than the 1979 Three Mile Island accident. The purpose was to test instruments designed to monitor the fallout from Soviet atomic bomb tests.
- From 1946 to 1956, Harvard and MIT scientists fed breakfast cereal laced with radioactive calcium or iron—some doses were equivalent to 50 chest x-rays—to more than 120 adolescents at a school for the mentally retarded. Children were told they were joining a "science club" and got a free watch, while parents were assured the children would receive an improved "special diet."
- In 1957, U.S. Army doctors injected Eskimos and Athabascans of northern Alaska with radioactive iodine. A few years later, scientists spread radioactive debris, brought from the Nevada atomic bomb test site, on the tundra where the Native Americans hunted, causing many of them to die of cancer.
- From 1961 to 1963, over 100 people at the University of Chicago and Argonne National Laboratory were fed fallout from the Nevada test site or "simulated" fallout containing radioactive strontium, barium and cesium.
- Over a period of five years starting in 1961, researchers at MIT injected 20 people with radioactive radium and thorium. The victims were retired MIT employees and other "apparently healthy men and women" drawn from the Age Center of New England, a group of Boston elderly who agreed to participate in a variety of "research projects on aging."

UPI

While GIs were ordered to carry out maneuvers under the deadly mushroom cloud, U.S. brought observers to within seven miles of ground zero.

Der Spiegel photos

Josef Mengele (above), chief doctor at Auschwitz death camp. Right: Luftwaffe doctors perform barbaric "hypothermia" experiments on Dachau prisoners.

Center for Disease Control, Atlanta

In the racist Tuskegee experiment, 400 black men diagnosed with syphilis were not told they had it and were deliberately denied treatment for over 30 years while doctors studied the reveges of the diseese.

Human "Experiments" at Ground Zero

In addition to its Nazi-like medical "experiments," the U.S. government exposed *hundreds of thousands* of soldiers to atomic bomb blasts to test whether they could—or would—follow orders to carry out "mopping up" operations after a nuclear blast. Entire infantry units, armored convoys and even paratroop batallions were used in these "war games" between 1946 and 1962. As they inhaled the toxic radioactive dust, the soldiers would quickly show symptoms of radiation sickness—nausea, vomiting, dizziness—while Army medical personnel jotted down their reactions. Today, these veterans suffer epidemic rates of cancer, musculoskeletal deterioration, nervous disorders and other consequences of their massive exposure to radiation. And as was noted by Oscar Rosen, commander of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, "Most of the atomic test survivors are working class people, poor people, who have nothing. They were used!" (*People's Weekly World*, 22 January).

Last fall, the media raised a hue and cry that in 1954 the Soviet Union carried out an atomic bomb test "near 45,000 Red Army troops" (*New York Times*, 7 November 1993). But the number of U.S. servicemen exposed to radiation from nuclear explosions was *more than ten times that number*. Even the U.S. government's Defense Nuclear Agency was forced to acknowledge in the mid-1980s that some 200,000 U.S. servicemen were used in nuclear bomb tests. Veterans' groups have estimated that the number of troops exposed to the blasts was probably closer to 250,000. In addition, another 240,000 U.S. troops were sent in to occupy Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortly after those cities were reduced to irradiated rubble by the savage U.S. atomic bombing. And these figures do not include the untold numbers of Japanese who were killed by nuclear blasts or later died from exposure to the radiation.

The Defense Department's claim that only a tiny percentage were exposed to high dosages of radiation is patently absurd when compared to the stories related by the troops involved. Former Marine Fred Warehime (who later lost a lung to cancer) described a bomb test in 1953:

> "The fireball was right straight up above our heads, I mean *right* over our heads. We had to be in the stem of it.
> "We were only 300 yards from ground zero. I told my men to get out of the trench and move out.... Then we got a sunburn, and the guys all started throwing up in the truck going back. The guys in that bunker in front of us were sick as dogs, all of them."
>
> —quoted in Carole Gallagher, *American Ground Zero* (1993)

There is also convincing evidence that during nuclear bomb tests U.S. officials deliberately incinerated human beings by forcibly exposing them to the bomb's searing blast. Marine sergeant Israel

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Experiments...

(continued from page 7)

Torres recalled his participation in the 1957 explosion of an H-bomb:

> "We'd only gone a short way when one of my men said, 'Jesus Christ, look at that!' I looked at where he was pointing, and what I saw horrified me. There were people in a stockade—a chain-link fence with barbed wire on top of it. .. Their hair was falling out and their skin seemed to be peeling off. They were wearing blue denim trousers but no shirts. When we passed those people—there were ten or twelve—they tried to cover their faces with their hands.... Good God, it was scary."
>
> —Thomas Saffer and Orville Kelly, *Countdown Zero* (1982)

When Torres told this to nurses at the hospital where he was treated for radiation sickness, he was turned over to military psychiatrists and intimidated into keeping silent. Torres' testimony was extensively quoted in a legal brief by attorney William Fletcher published in the *Washington Law Review* (April 1990). And Carole Gallagher, in *American Ground Zero*, reports that in her interviews with victims of the nuclear tests she "came across the same story again and again" from men who participated in that test. They reported seeing animals burned to a crisp, humans handcuffed to fences. "When soldiers spoke of seeing the burned and shackled remains of humans on the nuclear battleground, they were submitted to the same psychiatric 'deprogramming'."

Another group of human guinea pigs who were deliberately exposed to radiation were the "downwinders," residents of the towns downwind from the Nevada test site. Reassured by the government that they faced no danger, families had backyard picnics to watch the explosions, and children playfully shook the deadly fallout from the trees like snow. Entire families in these regions have been almost wiped out by leukemia and other cancers. It has been estimated that the fallout from nuclear testing will ultimately kill almost one million people worldwide from lung cancer alone.

Worst hit by the radiation from nuclear testing were the U.S.' colonial subjects of the Marshall Islands, who were blasted with 66 nuclear test explosions—including all the most powerful hydrogen bomb tests. As a result, the Marshall Islanders have been ravaged by cancer and much of their islands rendered virtually uninhabitable. After a 1954 explosion, the deadly fallout was so thick that inhabitants of Rongelap Atoll, some 250 miles downwind from the blast, were severely burned by the radiation, and almost all the children later got thyroid tumors.

Racism and Nazi-Style Experiments

In their blatant racism and cruelty, the radiation experiments recall—on a wider scale—the infamous Tuskegee experiment in which 400 Southern black men with syphilis were left untreated. The men, who were not even told they had the disease, were "watched" for over 30 years to see what effect the untreated disease had on their mortality rate—and on their children. The hideous "medical experiment" was only stopped in 1972 when exposed by the press.

Robert Del Tredici

Workers in nuclear weapons plants are routinely exposed to enormous levels of radiation. Woman with almost no protective gear drills test sample out of radioactive uranium metal.

Many of the radiation experiments on human beings took place at the very moment that the U.S. and its allies were condemning Nazi doctors at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal for killing hundreds of concentration camp prisoners with chemical and germ warfare "experiments." Yet the American bourgeoisie which coldly incinerated over a million defenseless German and Japanese civilians in the World War II firebombings of Dresden, Tokyo and other cities, in addition to dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was certainly in no position to pass judgment on the Nazi butchers (see "The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing," *WV* No. 521, 1 March 1991).

In one case, U.S. doctors actually *repeated* an "experiment" which SS doctors had performed in the Auschwitz death camp, namely, irradiating prisoners' genitals with massive doses of x-rays to determine the level that causes sterility. American researchers performed this test on 131 inmates at Oregon state and Washington state prisons from 1963 to 1971. According to the researchers' report, the victims had to agree in advance to undergo vasectomies after the "experiment" in order "to avoid any possibility of contaminating the general population with irradiation-induced mutants."

U.S. leaders viewed the results of German experiments in chemical, biological and atomic warfare as prized war booty. A specialized strike force, the Alsos commandos, was formed to hunt down German laboratories, scientists and their data. Only 23 Nazi doctors and scientists were brought to trial for war crimes, and seven were acquitted of all charges—including one who had experimented on internees at Dachau. The fiendish "Angel of Death" Josef Mengele, the head doctor of Auschwitz, lived tranquilly—and openly—in the U.S. occupied zone of Germany until 1950, when public indignation forced him to move to Latin America.

Similarly, all the members of the Japanese 731st Regiment—which killed thousands (mainly Chinese and Koreans) in ghoulish biological warfare experiments using bubonic plague, anthrax and other diseases—were granted immunity from prosecution for war crimes by the U.S. occupation authorities in exchange for turning over their data. A spokesman for Fort Detrick, Maryland, the center of the U.S. biological warfare program, recently explained: "We wanted to keep this information out of the hands of the Russians. Any war crimes trials would have exposed our own program" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 January).

In capitalist society, racial minorities, colonial and semicolonial slaves and the helpless—hospital patients, the mentally ill and retarded, the elderly—have always been the prime, often unwitting, subjects for medical experiments. In the early 20th century, treatments for beriberi and the plague were tested on poor peasants in the Philippines (this was cited by the Nazi doctors at Nuremberg).

As in the Nazi death camp experiments, the U.S. government radiation research was carried out on those the racist ruling class considers "inferior" or "expendable." At the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, at least 90 terminal cancer patients—mostly poor, mostly black—were given lethal and near-lethal doses of full-body radiation in the 1960s and 1970s. As they collapsed in vomiting and dizziness from the radiation sickness, the tormented victims were made to take psychological tests. The stated purpose of this horrifying torture was "to provide knowledge of combat effectiveness of troops" in a nuclear war.

U.S. capitalism is so profoundly racist that the military has even sought to develop chemical and germ warfare agents which selectively target black people. A lead article entitled "Ethnic Weapons" in the U.S. Army Command's monthly *Military Review* (November 1970), citing the greater susceptibility of Central African people and their descendants to sickle-cell anemia, revealed that research was underway to uncover "innate differences in vulnerability to chemical agents between different populations."

The U.S. government is known to have carried out tests of germ warfare agents against black people. In 1955 the CIA released whooping cough virus in Palmetto, Florida, killing a dozen people, to test its effectiveness as an "ethnic weapon" against blacks. In 1960, the Army released infection-bearing mosquitoes in Carver Village, an exclusively black town, causing outbreaks of typhoid, encephalitis, stillbirths and mysterious deaths. And in 1951 the U.S. Navy released a biological warfare agent at its Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania supply depot, which was chosen because "there are employed large numbers of laborers, including many Negroes." The organism used to infect the workers (*Aspergillus fumigatus*) was intended to simulate the fungus which causes valley fever, a disease which is ten times more fatal for blacks than whites.

Meanwhile, the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico has been a testing ground for countless experimental products, such as the cancer-causing Agent Orange "defoliant" which the U.S. used in Vietnam. In a vast "population control" experiment, over *one-third* of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age, practically denied other means of contraception, were driven to accept "voluntary" sterilization! When Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos declared that he had been subjected to radiation while locked up in San Juan's La Princesa prison in 1950, a government psychiatrist declared him "insane" despite photographic evidence of horrible burns on his back and feet. Today the U.S. government still keeps its files on Albizu Campos under lock and key.

Nuclear First Strike Against the USSR

From the moment they acquired the atomic bomb, U.S. rulers were straining at the bit to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. This is stated in virtually all of the secret U.S. military plans of the late 1940s and 1950s. For example, an April 1950 document by the National Security Council reiterates that U.S. strategy was to "strike with our full weight...before the Soviet blow is actually delivered" (cited by David Rosenberg, "The Origins of Overkill," *International Security*, Spring 1983). An Air Force history states the main targets for nuclear attack were "urban industrial concentrations" which were "selected with the primary objective of the annihilation of population."

El Diario-La Prensa

Puerto Rican nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos shows burns caused in 1950 when U.S. colonial authorities subjected him to radiation in prison.

U.S. rulers even formulated an elaborate plan for guerrilla warfare following a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. The core of the special forces, which were to knock out any remaining centers of government and seize control of the country, was composed of the remnants of the army of the turncoat Russian general Andrei Vlasov, who had gone over

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to the Nazis during World War II, along with kill-crazed fascists of the former SS *Einsatzgruppen* (death squads). The idea of building an anti-Soviet invasion force around the former Vlasov army was the brainchild of the liberal George Kennan. In the early 1950s, these killers were integrated into the U.S. Army as the nucleus of the present-day Green Berets.

What stayed the hand of the imperialists was not a commitment to "peace" as the liberals would have it, but rather, as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Omar Bradley declared in November 1950: "We might be in danger of losing" (Marc Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* [1991]). An NSC document in the same year noted that U.S. forces were "not now capable of conducting immediately a general military offensive against the USSR." U.S. military officials had estimated the previous year that even if their entire arsenal of 133 atomic bombs was dropped on target it would leave 70 percent of the Soviet Union's industrial base intact, and the Red Army in Europe could retaliate by marching all the way to the Pyrenees.

Consequently, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that the U.S. "*delay* a general war with Russia until we have achieved the necessary degree of military and industrial mobilization." The National Security Council placed "A-Day" (the date when the U.S. would be ready to launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union) in 1954. And in that year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff presented President Eisenhower with a secret document

World Publishing

Russian turncoat general Andrei Vlasov went over to Nazis during World War II. Washington recruited Vlasov army to carry out mopping up operations in the Soviet Union after a projected nuclear first strike by U.S.

which reportedly called for "deliberately precipitating war with the U.S.S.R. in the near future." A summary of the plan stated that with some 700 nuclear bombs, "virtually all of Russia would be nothing but a smoking, radiating ruin at the end of two hours" (Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod, *To Win a Nuclear War* [1987]). However, in the meanwhile the Soviet Union had, in 1949, developed its own atomic bomb. And in 1954 the Soviet Union perfected intercontinental bombers which could reach the American mainland.

The mad war drive of the U.S. ruling class is explained by the fact that the Soviet Union remained, until the decisive victory of Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution, a workers state—albeit a degenerated one since the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1920s. The imperialist rulers in Washington were determined to destroy the basic gains of the Russian Revolution: the expropriation of the capitalists and the planned economy. Yet the conservative-minded Stalinist bureaucrats looked not to the power of the international proletariat to defend the workers' gains but rather fantasized about "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalists. We Trotskyists stood unconditionally against the imperialist Cold War mobilization against the Soviet Union, from Afghanistan to Poland, while calling for Soviet workers to throw out the Stalinist usurpers through a proletarian political revolution.

Historically, the rise of capitalism was accompanied by the development of modern science and led to a tremendous development of the productive forces. But in the epoch of imperialism, the capitalist system in decline produces economic depression, world wars and famine on the scale of continents. Today science, technology and even medicine have been transformed from tools of production and healing into instruments of destruction, torment and slaughter on a vast scale. The nuclear-armed madmen who rule over the decaying capitalist system are a clear and present danger to life on the entire planet.

U.S. imperialism has repeatedly demonstrated its savagery: three million Koreans and Chinese slain in the Korean War; two million Vietnamese massacred in the unsuccessful attempt to crush the Vietnamese Revolution; tens of thousands of Iraqis murdered in the ruthless slaughter of the Persian Gulf War, and over 100,000 dead as a consequence of the starvation blockade and destruction of infrastructure. It's up to the working class—above all in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—to put an end to this barbaric system of racism, oppression and mass murder by carrying out a victorious workers revolution. This is the task of a Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution, forged in the traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks. ■

Port Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

job within three weeks, under the same racist officers and unsafe conditions as before.

Furthermore, a Congressional bill to pay $5,000 to families of victims was cut to $3,000 when Mississippi Dixiecrat John Rankin objected that most of the beneficiaries would be black. And unlike white servicemen, the surviving black seamen were not offered the customary 30-day "survivors' leave." This was too much. On August 9, as Joe Small's division was marched out to load ammunition at Mare Island, "everybody stopped dead, boom, just like that." Two more divisions also balked. This work stoppage over a manifestly deadly threat was treated by the Navy as a mutiny, and 258 of the 328 men were imprisoned on a barge.

Two days later, after the men were threatened with a firing squad by Admiral Wright, 44 heroically stood fast, the core of the 50 who went on trial for mutiny on September 14. (The remaining 208 who went back to work under duress were given summary courts-martial for "disobeying orders" and dishonorably discharged.) Chief prosecutor was one James F. Coakley, who had been assistant Alameda County district attorney under Earl Warren. Later, as Alameda County D.A. in the 1960s, Coakley was notorious as the hardline racist prosecutor of Black Panthers and antiwar activists, including Huey Newton and the Oakland Seven.

The mutiny trial was a blatant frame-up and a farce from beginning to end. Prosecution witnesses couldn't even prove that the men charged had been given a direct order to work. The defense established that the men had insisted that they were ready to follow all other orders, but were afraid to handle ammunition. One of the defendants had never been allowed to do the job, since he weighed only 104 pounds; now he was on trial for mutiny.

Written statements were "taken" from the 258 men—sometimes in the presence of armed guards—by interviewing officers who admitted they rewrote them and left out what they considered "irrelevant." One of the defendants revealed that prosecutor Coakley threatened to have him shot during an interrogation. The seven white officers acting as judge and jury allowed these "statements" to be used as evidence. And on the basis of this and other hearsay "evidence," on October 24 the officers took a total of 80 minutes—including their lunch break—to find the 50 sailors guilty of a mutinous conspiracy.

Thurgood Marshall, then chief counsel of the NAACP, charged that the defendants were on trial "solely because of their race and color," and called it "one of the worst 'frame-ups' we have come across in a long time. It was deliberately planned and staged by certain officers to discredit Negro seamen." Marshall tried unsuccessfully to get the Roosevelt administration to overturn the verdict, while an outcry was raised in the black press and the NAACP published a pamphlet on the case. In January 1946, most were released from prison and given general discharges.

U.S. Trotskyists, then organized in the Socialist Workers Party, fought to mobilize militant struggle against Jim Crow racism throughout World War II. This was an essential part of our revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war, a war of plunder between different gangs of robbers who mobilized the proletariat to do the fighting and dying: the main enemy was at home. In the heroic struggle of the Soviet Red Army against Hitler's Nazi invasion, the workers had a side: to defend the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, which had eliminated capitalist exploitation, despite subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration. But defense of the USSR meant a determined fight against U.S. capitalism, mortal enemies of workers everywhere.

Following the Port Chicago frame-up trial verdict, the SWP wrote:

> "Many young Negroes, believing this a 'war for democracy,' hoped that by joining the armed forces they could win some for themselves. Their experience has proved otherwise. All the conflicts in society are reproduced in the army and navy with intensified force.
> "This trial...bids fair to become the Negro cause célèbre of the war. Resentment is piling up. The imposition of sentences will touch off movements of protest by colored workers all over the country. Their demand will be 'Free the fifty sailors'."
>
> —*Militant*, 11 November 1944, reproduced in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (Monad Press, 1980)

The SWP's revolutionary program contrasted sharply with the despicable role of the Stalinist Communist Party, which embraced the imperialist war and the Roosevelt government, and that meant openly taking the side of racists and capitalists against workers and blacks. CP leader Benjamin Davis Jr. declared in 1945: "The U.S. general staff has on many occasions...proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out" (quoted in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party*).

The men who were framed up at Port Chicago do not want a pardon, as Joe Small told the *Chronicle* after the Pentagon "review." A pardon, he said, "means you're guilty but we forgive you. We want the decisions set aside and reimbursement of all lost pay." That is the least they deserve. It is both fitting and revealing that today the Clinton administration declares its continuity with the Jim Crow imperialist army of the Port Chicago travesty. Workers and blacks: break from the racist, capitalist Democratic Party! Only an integrated, revolutionary workers party can finish the job of black liberation the Civil War started and lead to victory the socialist revolution in the U.S. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Eyewitness Reports from Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois

Stop the KKK! For a Workers America!

Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche, member of ATU Local 308
Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 19, 7:30 p.m.
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Speaker: Thomas Downing, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 26, 2 p.m.
Room 201, Student Center
Roxbury Community College
(Columbus Ave., near Roxbury Crossing stop on the Orange Line)
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Speakers: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League
Frank Hicks, Partisan Defense Committee

Tuesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m.
Room 702, Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(IRT 1/9 trains to 116th & B'way)

NEW YORK CITY For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Black History Month Video/Discussion Series

Next class: Mon., Feb. 28, 12 noon
The Black Panther Party
Room 3517, Ackerman Union, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

First class: Thurs., Feb. 24, 7 p.m.
For Revolutionary Integrationism: Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
West Madrone Room, ASUC Building
University of California
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, and the imperialists have been carrying out an act of war against the rump Yugoslavia for over a year, with an embargo aimed at starving Belgrade into submission.

Liberals and reformists push sanctions as a supposedly "humanitarian" alternative to terror bombing. But in Iraq, economic warfare has killed far more people, especially young children and the elderly, than did the U.S.-led "Desert Slaughter," and the already impoverished population of Haiti teeters on the brink of death. While Serbia has thus far managed to avert widespread starvation and disease, the imperialist embargo has wreaked untold suffering on the population, driving millions into destitution and depriving hospitals of everything from gauze and cotton to x-ray film, antibiotics and other life-saving drugs.

The West's feigned concern for the besieged Muslim population of Sarajevo conspicuously fails to extend to the Muslim Azeris, who have been driven from their homes in the hundreds of thousands in an "ethnic cleansing" crusade by Christian Armenians—with the West's tacit approval. And how about the Muslim Palestinians subjugated by the "iron fist" of Israeli terror?

The Western press recently played up a visit to Sarajevo by Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto and Turkey's Tansu Ciller, who waxed rhetorical that, "Rarely in the annals of human history has a nation been subjected to such merciless savagery." The Baluchis and other national minorities in Pakistan's prison house of peoples might have cause to differ, not to mention the millions of Kurds being subjected to a genocidal war of terror by Ciller's regime.

The outgunned Bosnian Muslims have long seen direct imperialist military intervention as their only hope. In the past year, "poor little Bosnia" has built up an army of 200,000, launching a military offensive which has driven the Croats out of much of the area of central Bosnia formerly under their control and forcing Tudjman to send in Croatian regulars. While the Western press focuses almost exclusively on Serbian atrocities, the Muslim forces are no less adept at "ethnic cleansing" when they have the upper hand militarily. As the *Washington Post* (12 September 1993) reported, "the Bosnian army has systematically pushed the Croat population out of many ethnically mixed towns such as Fojnica all across the industrial heartland of Bosnia." Bosnian Serbs fear that a partial withdrawal from around Sarajevo will encourage the Muslims to sweep into the breach, cutting off Serb headquarters in the town of Pale.

Nor is Bosnia the only flash point for uncontrollable nationalist fratricide in the Balkans. Kosovo is a potential cockpit for war between Serbia and Albania, while Albania, Greece and Bulgaria all have designs on Macedonia. Meanwhile, a conference of Islamic states meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia on February 10 offered to send 10,000 troops to Bosnia, raising the spectre of an Islamic "holy war." Mujahedin volunteers are already serving with the Bosnian forces, which are heavily supported by Saudi Arabia, among other countries.

For all the hue and cry over the Sarajevo regime's "self-determination," Bosnia was never more than simply an administrative subdivision of Yugoslavia. When Izetbegovic declared independence out of fear of being swallowed up by Milosevic's ambitious drive for a "Greater Serbia" and similar designs by Croatia's Tudjman, that in turn impelled Bosnia's Serbs and Croats to rebel against the prospect of being subordinated to Muslim domination.

The American media denounce the Serbs as "aggressors" who have seized nearly two-thirds of the country's territory while comprising only one-third of its population. But the current territorial division is largely a reflection of the country's demographics; while the Muslims primarily lived in the cities, the Serb population is concentrated in rural areas, which have now been compacted under Serbian control.

What is ravaging the Yugoslav peoples today is capitalist nation-building in the manner it has been practiced for centuries—through war and forced population transfer (see "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars," *WV* Nos. 580 and 581, 16 and 30 July 1993). The fratricidal wars which have ripped apart Yugoslavia were part and parcel of capitalist *counterrevolution*. It is bitterly ironic that one of the "confrontation points" in Sarajevo is the Brotherhood and Unity Bridge, named by Tito to commemorate the multinational character of the country. Although bureaucratically deformed, the workers state erected by Tito's Communist Partisans in the wake of the Nazi defeat offered a future for all of Yugoslavia's deeply interpenetrated peoples. This was particularly symbolized by the relatively harmonious coexistence of Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia.

Hatey/Sipa

Der Spiegel

Bosnian militia today (right). During WW II, Bosnian SS forces (below) were puppets of the Third Reich.

The Balkan Wars, Then and Now

Once before, the Balkan peninsula served as a trip wire for interimperialist world war. Commenting on the impact of the first Balkan War, Leon Trotsky wrote in March 1913:

> "But the Balkan War has not only destroyed the old frontiers in the Balkans, and not only fanned to white heat the mutual hatred and envy between the Balkan states, it has also lastingly disturbed the equilibrium between the capitalist states of Europe....
>
> "Such are the results of the work being carried out by the capitalist governments, bourgeois parties, and professional diplomats: growth of the already unbearable burden of militarism, holding back of cultural development, increase in chauvinist bitterness, and—to crown everything—constant danger of a bloody free-for-all breaking out among the peoples of Europe in the near future!"
>
> —*The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky: The Balkan Wars 1912-13* (1980)

Little more than a year later, all of Europe was ablaze in war, triggered by the assassination of an Austrian archduke in Sarajevo.

The NATO "allies" are hardly about to go to war with each other in the foreseeable future. But the bloodletting in the former Yugoslavia is a harbinger of what is to come in the "New World *Dis*-order" which reigns since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The newly formed German Fourth Reich first flexed its muscles by pushing hard in early 1991 for the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, traditional German client states in the Balkans. Germany has traditionally lusted for control of Yugoslavia as a source of vital industrial minerals, including bauxite and copper.

U.S. imperialism originally favored preserving Yugoslavia as a loose federation, then decided to champion the Bosnian Muslims as a battering ram against Milosevic. Britain and France—the traditional Western allies of Serbia—occasionally clashed with Bonn and Washington by advocating a softer line toward Belgrade.

The new Balkan wars have also disrupted Western imperialist, especially U.S., plans to transform post-Soviet Russia into a pliant client state. Russia is the historic protector of its "Slavic little brothers," the Serbs, and Western moves against Serbia have fueled the nationalist opposition to the pro-American Yeltsin regime. Last month, the Russian parliament voted 280 to 2 to demand an end to the imperialist embargo of Serbia. NATO's threat to bomb the Serbs has been denounced not only by the fascist Zhirinovsky, but even by such slavish lackeys of the U.S. as "shock treatment" architect Yegor Gaidar, while the Yeltsin regime initially demanded an emergency session of the Security Council to debate the issue. Yeltsin quickly capitulated to his masters in Washington, however, and acquiesced to the current NATO *diktat*.

While the Russians see Clinton's decision in favor of air strikes as a slap in the face, the masters of the German Fourth Reich are jubilant. One German official commented, "the Americans are doing exactly what we asked for." The German secretary general of NATO, Manfred Wörner, crowed: "This is a historic moment, a decisive moment in the life of our alliance." In reality, the current agreement among the NATO powers represents an ephemeral coincidence of interests in the context of widely divergent and conflicting imperialist appetites in the region.

The situation in the Balkans today underscores the urgency of forging an authentic internationalist communist vanguard which can lead the world's workers in ripping power out of the hands of the imperialists before they blow us all up. The democratic and national rights of *all* peoples in that blood-drenched region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. But the bloody machinations of Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic pale in comparison to the horrors which imperialism unleashes against the peoples of this planet. *Down with the starvation embargo! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack! From Sarajevo to Somalia, U.S. hands off the world!* ■

LAPD

(continued from page 12)

her over the issue of a $22 gas bill. While the Police Department is "investigating" to see if the Taylor shooting meets its infamous license-to-kill "guidelines" (all LAPD shootings seem to), the killers are receiving full pay while being transferred to desk duty to relieve "stress."

The arrogant, bonapartist LAPD has refused to hand over internal documents to the district attorney for his own "routine" investigation, forcing him to convene a grand jury to try to get them. The cops are also going after the Valley Newspapers' coverage as "reckless and reprehensible," although editor Hope Frazier says she is standing by every word they wrote.

The LAPD has been attempting to use the government- and media-created furor over "crime" to beef up its army of racist terror. They went on full tactical alert after last month's earthquake. Governor Wilson's "crime summit," a fist-pounding circus at a Hollywood church on February 7-8, served as another green light for racist cop terror. So was the February 7 L.A. county decision not to prosecute two of the cops who last April ambushed and killed a young black man, Darrell Harts, who was scheduled to testify against them in a police brutality case.

Then last week, two drunken cops who had just come off the night shift a few hours before were emboldened to shoot up the Harbor Freeway, emptying their weapons out the windows of a pickup truck in a spree of random terror.

A further provocation was made against black people last week when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco declared that carrying out the death penalty by hanging in the state of Washington does not violate "contemporary standards of decency." Tell that to the relatives of the countless victims of the KKK lynch rope! Neither does capitalist justice, it seems, consider police shootings of defenseless black women to be a violation of "decency." But we declare that the cop killings of Eulia Love and Sonji Taylor will be avenged by workers revolution that will put the kill-crazy LAPD out of business for good! ■

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Giuliani to Homeless: Freeze, Starve, Die!

Amid ear-splitting metallic squeals and the hostile rumble of the NYC subway system, a few words occasionally penetrate through the incomprehensible squawks over the loudspeakers: "smoke condition...delay in service due to...lawbreakers...illegal ...charity." Say what? MTA (Metropolitan Transportation Authority) leaflets and posters underground translate the message: in the coldest, cruelest winter in at least 20 years, NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani has decreed that homeless people asking for money on the subways will be thrown out into the cold and arrested if they persist.

Giuliani's police commissioner William J. Bratton, who's also vowed to go after the "squeegee people" above ground, kicked off his new regime by personally kicking a panhandler out of a subway car. The MTA's handout "printed on recycled paper" (how p.c.) says: "Giving money to panhandlers is no way to help the homeless and the needy." Straphangers are ominously warned over loudspeakers: "Panhandling on board trains is against the law. Don't give to lawbreakers on the subway." Is Big Brother watching? Meanwhile, a ubiquitous MTA poster of a cartoon "thought balloon" (see illustration) whines:

> "*Uh*, oh. *Come on*, not me, NOT ME. *Oh Pleeeeeze don't* come stand in FRONT of me ASKING for money.... Look. I feel bad. I really *do*. But HEY, it's MY MONEY."

This creepy hysteria against the poor drew angry responses. The militant AIDS activist group ACT UP produced balloons (designed to fit over the MTA ones) talking of the need for apartments, jobs and health care. Another subway rider sent a reply balloon to *Newsday* (3 February):

> "*Uh*, oh.... *Pleeeeeze look* me in the EYE. I'm a HUMAN being, too, you know. GREAT. A cop. Freezing *COLD* outside and he's gonna TELL me to get my ass *OUT on the STREET*.... *I* really feel *BAD*. You would, *too*, if you'd lost your home.... You know **who gives**? Mostly it's poor people."

That's because poor people and working people understand how thin and slippery the line is between having a home or job and disaster, which is all too often just one layoff, or one accident, away. But Giuliani's "target audience," as evidenced by the MTA's stream-of-consciousness rant, is clearly the arrogant, racist yuppie denizens of Wall Street arbitrage houses.

In *Ghouli*ani's 1994 "Newspeak," the thugs in charge of evicting the poor from the subways are officially known as the "Transit Police Quality of Life Task Force." This is a grotesque euphemism for driving homeless people out to starve and freeze to death. There are certainly many "quality of life" issues which deserve our attention. The Staten Island Ferry, used overwhelmingly by working people, really has been heavily infested by cockroaches. And the NYC subway system continues to breed large rats, who are a health hazard to those who work on the tracks and the many homeless surviving in the tunnels under Grand Central and Penn Station.

MTA's grotesque poster attacks poor and homeless.

Meanwhile, Rudolph the Ripper's city budget continues to slash mass transit, including cutting 50 upgrades in lighting and halting "rehabilitation" of at least 28 stations. It's clear enough that our biggest "quality of life" problem lies upstairs. We urgently need to get rid of the rats and blood-sucking parasites in City Hall and Wall Street, so a rational society can start providing homes and jobs and health care to everyone who needs them.

Frazier...

(continued from page 12)

was dead on arrival. What happened after this near-fatal attack showed more of the deep racism that permeates the forces of capitalist "law and order."

Later that week, as Frazier was recovering from surgery, his mother received a phone call from a hospital worker at Kings County asking that a family member hurry to the hospital because "the policeman who is guarding him up here is beating him up." Other patients in Frazier's room told Mrs. Frazier that the cops declared, "From now on your name will be Jimboy—we'll fix it so your family never sees you again." This attempted lynching was stopped only by the intervention of courageous hospital staff who sat by James day-in and day-out to prevent further assaults.

Four times in the last two months, union militants and other opponents of racist oppression have gathered at the courthouse, standing in solidarity with Frazier when he was called to the bench. At the first hearing on January 5, more than 30 supporters turned out in solidarity. Among them were Local 100 TWU members wearing their union jackets and buttons, including members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU—which is fighting to mobilize the union in Frazier's defense—as well as other unionists, students from City College and Columbia University, and the Partisan Defense Committee. Similar numbers turned out for the subsequent hearings.

This support has not gone unnoticed. "I see you've brought your jury again," said the judge on February 2. Last week, Frazier appeared on WBAI's labor program "Building Bridges" to appeal for support. United Farm Workers president Arturo S. Rodriguez wrote Brooklyn D.A. Charles Hynes demanding that charges be dropped. The real crime, he wrote, was "the terrorizing and attempted murder of Mr. Frazier by two New York City police officers."

The staff rep and vice chairman of the TWU track division, where Frazier works, posted flyers calling on workers to turn out for court. But shamefully, the Local 100 tops have refused to come to Frazier's aid, cringing before the state's racist persecution of this union brother. They repeatedly declared they would do nothing to fight for his job until the racist injustice system was done with Frazier. This was despite motions passed at track and motormen's division meetings in December calling for the union to use its full resources to demand that all charges be dropped and Frazier be reinstated immediately.

The Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (15 January) covered the case, but like the TWU misleaders, it didn't even demand that the D.A. drop the charges!

In a leaflet distributed at transit barns and college campuses, the New York Labor Black League called for workers and youth to rally at the court on February 14:

> "Minorities in New York City today are seething over wanton cop violence against blacks, Hispanics and immigrants. David Dinkins, who ran New York for Wall Street, put thousands more cops on the payroll while slashing city jobs and social services. Now the cops' candidate Giuliani has signaled 'open season' on the ghettos and barrios with his raid on the Nation of Islam mosque in Harlem and the police murder in Brooklyn of unarmed 17-year-old Shuaib Latif, the son of the head of New York's Islamic Leadership Council. It's also open season on labor, the poor and the homeless as Giuliani threatens to ax 18,000 city jobs by cutting schools, hospitals and all social services, and he says he will rip up the unions to do it!
>
> "Mass layoffs, rampant cop terror, imperialist war: this is what the capitalists and their two parties, Republicans and Democrats, have in store for workers and the poor. The only way working people can achieve any measure of justice is through mobilizing the strength of the integrated labor movement in defense of all the oppressed, up to and including shutting down this city to protest racist cop terror!" ■

Racist Rulers Stick It to New York

Last week, Rudolph Giuliani's deputy mayor, John S. Dyson, got caught writing down the kind of racist remark the ruling class usually utters only in the privacy of their exclusive clubs and dinner parties. Dyson proclaimed the divine right of a privileged minority to lord it over the nonwhite majority of New York City's population.

In December, the *Daily News* ran a flattering profile of Giuliani and his lifetime pal Peter Powers, also a deputy mayor, describing them as "two white men with no City Hall experience who must hold an increasingly diverse immigrant city together." Dyson fired off a memo to Rudy, saying: "Do not worry. Two white guys have been running this city of immigrants for over 200 years."

Confronted by questions over Dyson's remarks, Giuliani stomped out of a City Hall press conference. Spokesmen for immigrant groups are incensed. *El Diario/La Prensa* is up in arms. Most black people understand that they, too, are considered "immigrants"—that is to say, without rights—by the racist rulers.

Dyson's memo aimed at throwing everyone receiving welfare payments into forced labor. He said that Democratic Senator Moynihan secretly supported Giuliani's election, though he formally endorsed black Democrat Dinkins. Not surprising, since Moynihan has had the same racist line on welfare since he was a Nixon bureaucrat, blaming the "black family" for the social problems produced by mass poverty.

That's also *Bill Clinton's line* on welfare. When Reagan was in the White House, black Democratic mayors carried out his racist, anti-working-class cutbacks in the nation's big cities. Now the Democrats control Washington, and white Republican backlash mayors carry out Clinton's racist, anti-working-class "reforms." Either way, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, the poor and working people lose.

John Dyson was certainly expressing Giuliani's line. Back in 1989, an Auschwitz death camp survivor complained that when Giuliani was Reagan's U.S. attorney in New York he had a blackboard in his office with the German words "*Arbeit macht frei*" (Work shall set you free) scrawled on it. This was the Nazi slogan over the gates of the Auschwitz concentration camp.

But the deputy mayor didn't get it quite right—not surprising since his boss Giuliani was elected as the racist revenge of the white ethnic enclaves and Upper East Side yuppies. Actually, in this center of international finance capital the shots are called by something like 200 white men down on Wall Street. The couple of white guys in City Hall do their bidding; so did black Democrat Dinkins.

It will be that way until we get rid of the capitalist system that they all serve.

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Transit Worker Was Victim of Racist Cop Attack

Stop the Persecution of James Frazier!

TWU Members Demand: D.A. Hands Off Frazier! T.A. Reinstate Him Now!

WV Photo

Transit worker James Frazier (standing, third from left) with supporters outside Brooklyn courthouse, February 14.

FEBRUARY 15—Forty supporters of transit worker James Frazier came out to defend him at the Brooklyn courthouse yesterday. Frazier was framed up after surviving a deadly racist attack by New York City cops last October. Among those present at the court were members of his union, Transit Workers (TWU) Local 100, city workers, students and others.

In the courtroom, the district attorney requested that the charge of gun possession against Frazier be dismissed "without prejudice," which the judge granted. This means that Frazier can be dragged back into court on the same trumped-up charges. Today, Brooklyn D.A. Charles Hynes' office stated to *Workers Vanguard* that Frazier's case has been brought before a grand jury and an indictment can still be filed.

After the court hearing, Frazier's supporters marched with him to the Transit Authority (TA) labor relations office several blocks away to demand he get his job back *now*. Despite his perfect attendance record and glowing job evaluation, the TA, in racist solidarity with the cops, fired Frazier while he was recovering in the hospital. As Frazier told *WV* in a recent interview: "What am I guilty of—being shot? A cop shot me and took my left eye. That's the reason I lost my job in transit."

This union brother was nearly killed by the trigger-happy NYPD, lost his eye, had his job taken away, and now this monstrous torture is continuing in the capitalist injustice system. *We must redouble our efforts to stop the racist persecution of James Frazier!*

At a gathering at a nearby restaurant, Frazier thanked all who have come out in his defense, especially his coworkers. Pointing out that the court and the D.A. noticed it was workers who turned out, he said, "New York City is based on its workers, without the workers the city wouldn't operate."

A transit worker supporter of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which has played a key role in building support for Frazier, stressed that the mobilization of workers is key. He pointed to Springfield, Illinois where hundreds of blacks, unionists, students and socialists came out against the KKK: "We know where the power is."

Frazier's defense is particularly important coming against a backdrop of escalating cop terror in New York City. On October 24, as Frazier was driving to Kings County Hospital to visit a friend, a cop shot him in the head from behind, blowing out his left eye. When the ambulance carrying Frazier arrived at the hospital, the cops claimed that he

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Sonji Taylor, Another Victim of the LAPD

LOS ANGELES—As her three-year-old son Jeremy watched in confused horror, Sonji Taylor, a 27-year-old black woman, was cut down in a hail of bullets by the LAPD on the rooftop of St. Vincent's Medical Center on December 16. After dousing her with pepper gas spray, allegedly to force her to release her child, killer cops Michael Long and Craig Liedahl viciously pumped at least nine rounds into her body. Then they handcuffed her as she lay bleeding to death on the ground.

Now a coroner's report released on January 31 has revealed that out of ten bullet wounds, seven shots hit Sonji Taylor in the back! Furthermore, the San Gabriel Valley Newspapers, which publishes the *Pasadena Star News* and *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, reports forensic experts' analysis that the presence of flattened, or "mushroomed", bullets suggests that Sonji might have been shot as many as four times while lying face down. A Valley Newspapers report said that four slugs were found underneath her body, which the cops are vehemently trying to deny.

L.A. Times

Sonji Taylor with her son Jeremy. Racist LAPD killers shot mother to death in front of her son on December 16.

Sonji's mother, Geri Dixon, angrily contested the cops' "fishy" claim that her daughter, a Fresno State graduate, could have been a threat to either her son or to her killers: "She loved Jeremy like nobody else. They can't make me believe that she was threatening." Dixon said the police "told me she had a knife and charged. They said that Jeremy was in her arms and that they got him out of her arms.... If they could get [her son] out of her arms, why didn't they just shoot her in the leg or something?... Why did they have to kill her?"

Hospital security guards at the downtown hospital complex had called the police, who claim Ms. Taylor exhibited bizarre behavior and was threatening her child with a butcher knife. The cops claim that she lunged at them with a knife in her left hand—but Sonji Taylor was right-handed. "It is unclear why Taylor was at St. Vincent Medical Center," wrote the *Los Angeles Times* (2 February), "but she apparently had been Christmas shopping that day. Shoppers sometimes park at the center while in nearby stores." Sonji was carrying a shopping bag with two knives and a sharpener which could have been a present. The family was preparing for a Christmas celebration at the Bay Area home of Sonji's uncle, Tim McDonald, a safety for the San Francisco 49ers.

Sonji Taylor's family say that nothing foreshadowed her horrible death. The young woman had recently passed the entrance exam to become a state prison employee. She had taken acting classes and had some bit parts in movies. She was a former homecoming queen and cheerleader, and a devout Pentecostal Christian. The white cops say they thought Ms. Taylor was on drugs or having a mental breakdown because she was yelling, "For the Blood of Jesus!" as they approached with guns drawn. But her mother says Sonji had been taught since childhood to recite this for protection when she was afraid.

Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., attorney for the Taylor family, has compared the shooting to the notorious 1979 LAPD execution of Eulia Love, a young black mother of three. As she stood on her lawn, cops fired eight bullets into

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 595 | 4 March 1994

Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!

Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe

FEBRUARY 28—This morning, U.S. F-16 fighter jets under NATO command shot down over central Bosnia what the Pentagon claims were four Bosnian Serb planes. The imperialist alliance has gone beyond its starvation blockade against Belgrade under United Nations auspices and the fig leaf of "peacekeeping," and is now directly carrying out acts of war against Serbia. While the Western media are filled with propaganda supporting "poor little Bosnia" and denouncing Serbian "ethnic cleansing"—conveniently ignoring the same murderous tactics carried out by Croatians and Bosnian Muslims in the three-sided nationalist civil war in the former Yugoslavia—class-conscious workers the world over must come to the defense of the Serbs against the attack by the imperialists who are the blood-drenched enemy of all mankind.

The "New World Order" is quickly getting a lot more *disorderly*. Moscow's dispatch of troops last week to the environs of Sarajevo foiled Washington's plans to bomb Serb positions in the surrounding mountains and then "negotiate." Clinton's claims to the contrary, today's jet strikes were undoubtedly a

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Brian Palmer

Aircraft carrier USS *America* plies Adriatic Sea as launching pad for U.S. imperialist air strikes against the Serbs.

Genocidal Zionist Massacre

Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

MARCH 1—Last Friday's horrendous slaughter of Palestinian Muslims worshipping in a mosque in the West Bank town of Hebron was a chilling statement of intent by extreme Zionists. These messianic killers are prepared to drown the Palestinian Arab people in a genocidal bloodbath rather than give up so much as an inch of "Greater Israel." This is their answer to the "peace" agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As Zionist "ultra" Baruch Goldstein fired away during the early morning prayer service in the Muslim holy site, the walls and floors of the mosque were drenched with blood. This was calculated mass murder. Goldstein, a settler dressed in his reserve officer's uniform, loaded one 35-round clip after another into his army-issued Galil automatic rifle. As many as 60 or more Palestinians were killed, perhaps 200 more wounded.

As outraged protests swept the Occupied Territories, the Israeli rulers poured in massive troop reinforcements. Six people were gunned down immediately, as soldiers fired into a crowd of anguished relatives and neighbors outside a hospital in Hebron. Twenty Palestinians were killed just in the first two days after the Hebron massacre. One young Palestinian hospital volunteer remarked bitterly: "This is the Israelis' peace."

Seeking to salvage the anti-Palestinian accord with the PLO, a spokesman for Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin insisted: "It was a one-man show—no question about it." But while Clinton and the American press echo the Israeli government's line, the Hebrew-language press in Israel acknowledges that the Israeli army was complicit in the slaughter.

Goldstein was allowed to enter the mosque during prayer services at the height of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan without even the normal peremptory weapons check. When horrified worshippers tried to flee to safety, Israeli soldiers opened fire on the crowds,

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AP

Wounded Palestinian child, one of nearly 200 wounded and some 60 killed February 25 in a murderous rampage by an ultranationalist Israeli settler during mosque services in West Bank city of Hebron.

Down with Israel/PLO Anti-Palestinian Accord!

Protest Birmingham Cop Assault on Black Students!

On January 15, the anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, a demonstration of 40 black youth in Birmingham, Alabama was savagely attacked by cops. The scene was chillingly reminiscent of Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor's stormtropers unleashing dogs and firehoses on civil rights workers in the 1960s—only today racist cop attacks on protesters are carried out in a city where the mayor, the police chief and the majority of the city council are black!

The demonstrators were protesting the planned construction of a waste transfer station, to be built by Browning-Ferris Industries (BFI) in the black Titusville section of the city. As they arrived at City Hall, over 100 cops converged and waded in, swinging billy clubs and spraying mace. Fourteen youth, some as young as 12 years old, were brutally beaten and then arrested. They were charged with incitement to riot, resisting arrest and assault on a police officer.

To protest this vicious cop brutality, the march organizers—the Malcolm X Grass-Roots Movement, the Ujima Youth Organization of Atlanta, and the Southern Organizing Committee (SOC) Youth Task Force—have called a "Back to Birmingham Unity March" to be held in Kelly Ingram Park at 3 p.m. on March 4, marking the 29th anniversary of the civil rights march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama. The protesters are also calling for the dismissal of several cops.

The racist cop riot in Birmingham coincided with Ku Klux Klan provocations against Martin Luther King Day carried out in eight state capitals. In Austin, Texas some 2,000 people took to the streets to drown out the racist filth spewed forth by 33 KKKers. The focal point of the battle against the Klan nightriders was Springfield, Illinois, where a struggle to mobilize the social power of organized labor and the black community against the fascists was spearheaded by the Partisan Defense Committee, associated with the Spartacist League.

AP

Black youth were clubbed and maced by 100 Birmingham cops last January during march to City Hall on anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday.

On January 15, Birmingham's Democratic mayor, Richard Arrington, reportedly supported the demonstrators and assigned an escort of black police officers to accompany them. But as the demonstration neared City Hall, a police car driven by a white cop pulled in front of the line of march to force it onto the sidewalk. Cops tried to grab the bullhorn held by a march leader and confiscated a red, black and green black nationalist flag.

One cop radioed the lie that there was an "officer down." This incited a swift, massive police presence. Aware they were being videotaped, the cops dragged people into City Hall where they were beaten and arrested. "Police tore locks from the head of one young man, leaving the hair on City Hall steps. A handicapped man driving with the march was ordered from his car by other police and knocked to the ground" (*Baton Rouge Post*, 10 February).

The racist cops went berserk, even landing their blows on other cops. The police later used the absence of a permit to "justify" their actions. Black police chief Johnnie Johnson cynically declared that his cops "showed enormous restraint" (*Birmingham Post-Herald*, 17 January). We demand: Drop the charges against the anti-racist protesters!

In the early '60s, as the Klan rained bloody terror on civil rights marchers, Birmingham was known as "Bombingham." This is where the KKK carried out the September 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, killing four young black girls. Today, in front of the rebuilt church, Mayor Arrington has built a multimillion-dollar museum, celebrating the battles of the civil rights movement.

Arrington was first elected in 1979, amid widespread anger over police terror against black Birmingham. Now he has called for hearings over the racist assault on Martin Luther King Day in order to head off outrage over this attack. SOC issued a statement declaring that the assault on black demonstrators "was not the work of all Birmingham police" and that the racist cops were "throwbacks to the past in Birmingham."

But no monuments or hearings can disguise that the past lives on in the present in Birmingham. Black faces in high places do not stop racist cop terror, as the police act as judge, jury and executioner. Dominated by Martin Luther King's liberal pacifism and reliance on the Democratic Party, the civil rights movement was incapable of fighting the root causes of racial oppression, which is in the economic and social structure of capitalist society.

To effectively fight racist oppression and smash the instruments of racist terror like the KKK, it is necessary to mobilize

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The Bolsheviks Abolished Laws Against Homosexuality

TROTSKY

LENIN

As we commemorate International Women's Day, March 8, women's rights are under reactionary assault around the globe: abortion doctors are gunned down and clinics attacked in the U.S., while counterrevolution in the Soviet-bloc deformed workers states has targeted women's gains from childcare to free abortion. The 1917 October Revolution, which gave rise to the Soviet Union, for the first time laid the basis for real equality for women and eliminated all laws against homosexuality. As laid out by Dr. Grigorii Batkis, the director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, the early Soviet republic held that the state should stay out of sexual matters as long as there was effective consent. These emancipatory principles were later reversed as the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy sought to entrench itself in part by reinforcing the family and traditional social values.

The present sexual legislation in the Soviet Union is the work of the October Revolution. This revolution is important not only as a political phenomenon, which secures the political rule of the working class. But also for the revolutions which emanating from it reach out into all areas of life....

The social legislation of the Russian communist revolution does not intend to be a product of pure theoretical knowledge, but rather represents the outcome of experience. After the successful revolution, after the triumph of practice over theory, people first strove for new, firm regulations along economic lines. Along with this were created models governing family life and forms of sexual relations responding to the needs and natural demands of the people....

The revolution let nothing remain of the old despotic and infinitely unscientific laws; it did not tread the path of reformist bourgeois legislation which, with juristic subtlety, still hangs on to the concept of property in the sexual sphere, and ultimately demands that the double standard hold sway over sexual life....

Now by taking into account all these aspects of the transition period, Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle:

"*It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured, and no one's interests are encroached upon.*" (Emphasis in original.)...

Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters. Only when there's use of force or duress, as in general when there's an injury or encroachment upon the rights of another person, is there a question of criminal prosecution."

—Grigorii Batkis, *Die Sexualrevolution in Russland* (1925), excerpts translated in John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (1974)

Daniel Eggers 1976–1994

Spartakist

Our comrade Daniel Eggers of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) died on January 6 in Hamburg. He was only 17 years old. Daniel died of meningitis complicated by pneumonia and kidney failure. Three days after his death, when 100,000 Berliners filed past the Memorial to the Socialists dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the SpAD laid a wreath there in honor of Daniel. On January 15, he was buried in his hometown of Winsen in the presence of many relatives, friends, coworkers and comrades.

Daniel was an apprentice in a nursing home, a profession traditionally reserved for women. He chose that field out of his desire to work with people, helping in physical therapy for the aged. Politically, he came out of the "autonome" milieu, won to Trotskyism by our opposition to the capitalist reunification of Germany. His application for membership in the SpAD was titled, "Especially Convinced of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Daniel Eggers represented the best of the thousands of young anti-fascist fighters in Germany and Europe today. In November 1992, he initiated the defense of an immigrant hostel against Nazis in Niedersachsen, and later participated in the defense of an immigrant residence in East Berlin on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking power. He joined our ranks because he was convinced that only workers revolution could root out the fascist plague. He eagerly traveled to the Ruhr to sell *Spartakist* to striking steel workers.

Daniel was so young, with so much potential. A new generation of revolutionary youth will find inspiration, as we do, in his all too brief life.

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Ach/Newsday

Giuliani Declares War on NYC Labor and Poor

It is New York City's most brutal winter in decades. And for the poor, the homeless and those still holding onto a union job, it got a lot more brutal after the former federal prosecutor, now mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, delivered the opening charges in his indictment against city workers. Giuliani says he is going to eliminate at least 15,000 jobs this year, with severance packages for older workers paid for by looting union pension funds. This is the opening shot in a full-scale racist union-busting war against the workers, poor people and minorities who are the majority of the NYC population.

Giuliani is particularly targeting homeless shelters, senior centers, children's aid, jobs for youth, public hospitals—the programs that are the literal line between life and death for the poorest of the poor. Police, of course, are exempted from the cuts, as are teachers and firemen. But while more cops are hired and more jails are built, as welfare recipients are fingerprinted and hospitals devastated, Giuliani is gearing up, as he vowed during his election campaign, to wipe out 35,000 of the 100,000 "non-exempt" city employees.

Giuliani's list of the first 5,000 jobs to go includes 1,484 sanitation jobs, 994 social service jobs, 463 health care workers and 282 pink slips to homeless services workers. In the second wave of cuts, announced last week, fully *half* of the jobs eliminated are from the Department of Social Services, totaling 20 percent of the entire staff (4,600 out of 23,600).

The budget ax came down just days after the mayor and the cops' calculated provocations against blacks in Harlem and Brooklyn in the guise of enforcing "law and order." There was the cop assault on a Nation of Islam mosque in Harlem followed by the killing of the son of a black Muslim leader in Brooklyn. On Martin Luther King Day, when he was booed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Giuliani lectured black elected officials who dared criticize him that "they're going to have to learn how to discipline themselves in the way in which they speak." Even the *New York Times* (18 January) called this racist display "condescending" and "chilling."

In February, the mayor announced he was stopping new construction at Kings County Hospital, the grossly understaffed, overcrowded complex serving central Brooklyn, where hundreds of thousands of black people, Caribbean immigrants and other ethnic minorities are concentrated. When the board of the Health and Hospitals Corporation objected, Giuliani reacted like a tinpot dictator, threatening to fire the board. And when his Latino front man Ruben Diaz denounced this summer's Gay Games as a breeding ground for AIDS, the mayor defended this openly anti-homosexual bigot.

Giuliani has managed in short order to infuriate virtually every sector of the population outside of white ethnics and Hasidic Jews. But that could point to his downfall. This Reagan Republican mayor owes his election to the racist backlash voters of Staten Island. This is an administration with a very narrow base, headed by a brittle "law and order" freak with an Elliot Ness complex, trying to run roughshod over a city of immigrants and minorities. Giuliani may think he's untouchable, but he can be brought down and politically defeated. But to defeat the bourgeoisie's vicious program to build jails and close hospitals, which Giuliani is carrying out, requires a break with the Democrats and forging a workers party to focus the felt hatred of the working masses and the oppressed in a struggle against the bankers, brokers and real estate interests the mayor represents.

WV Photo

Angry AFSCME hospital workers in February 3 protest against mayor's layoff plans to cripple health care for New York City poor and working people. But Local 420 president James Butler relies on Democrats, refusing to mobilize workers to strike against Giuliani's war on the unions and minorities.

Killer Cuts and Killer Cops

Giuliani was the cops' candidate, and New York police know they have gotten the green light to beat and kill in the city's ghettos and barrios. Recently, the mayor's new NYPD commissioner, William Bratton, announced that all city cops, not just transit cops, will be getting 9mm pistols, and instead of the former ten-shot limit they will get magazines with 15 cartridges. Giuliani plans to add thousands more police to the ranks that David Dinkins swelled by 6,000. And just to drive the point home that the cops have carte blanche, Bratton wants to set up a police unit to investigate those who file complaints against the cops!

No doubt the city's rulers figure they may need many more of these heavily armed professional strikebreakers and racist thugs-in-blue as they assault the livelihoods of tens of thousands of city workers and the vital services they provide, from garbage removal to health

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San Francisco Women's Clinic Attacked by Anti-Abortion Thugs

SAN FRANCISCO—Thugs from the anti-abortion outfit "Operation Rescue" (O.R.) stormed SF's Pregnancy Consultation Center early on the morning of February 19. Unlike previous actions seeking the limelight of publicity, this was a guerrilla raid meant to wreak violence and do real damage. Some 70 O.R. bullies surrounded and mauled women entering the clinic. The *Bay Area Reporter* (24 February) said, "Clients were punched and kicked, children were terrorized, and at least two defenders sustained minor injuries in the most brutal attack on a San Francisco clinic in years."

A handful of clinic defenders from the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) were there, mobilized on short notice following the previous night's O.R. raid on a San Jose abortion clinic, where patients were turned away. Though BACORR was outnumbered, they successfully defended the clinic, got all the women in and kept O.R. out. One defender told *WV*, "You'll be proud to know we got some good licks in." The BACORR defenders locked the doors of the SF clinic in time to prevent an occupation by the O.R. terrorists.

The police were called, but not surprisingly the capitalists' lawmen merely stood by, threatening to arrest the clinic defenders. The frustrated O.R. mob then split and drove off toward a doctor's home in West Portal, in line with Operation Rescue honcho Randall Terry's directive to target doctors as the supposed "weak link" in clinic defense. In another confrontation in a church parking lot, BACORR cars kept O.R. cars from leaving.

O.R.'s "intention last Saturday was to use violence against women, pure and simple," a BACORR activist told *WV*. They had "no P.R., no outreach, no media—they were a goon squad, a strike force." She said she expected that "since Dr. Gunn was killed, the 'grass roots' façade of O.R. would split and what we would be looking at would be multiple small groups of terrorists. What we saw on Saturday in San Francisco was 'field exercises' for O.R.'s new look."

"There's a perception out there that with a so-called 'pro-choice' president and the RICO laws, everything's okay," clinic escort Bob Kay told the *Reporter*. "This was a wake-up call—It's not okay!" In the past the Christian fundamentalist bigots have poked at the fringes of liberal cities like San Francisco, but now, sensing the rightward political shift exemplified by Mayor Jordan's "Matrix" war on the homeless, they are emboldened to raid the city itself.

Meanwhile the fake "left" is paralyzed, bound to Clinton's Democratic Party, which is carrying out the capitalists' austerity program combined with increased police repression. The cops, the Democrats, the bourgeois feminists who preach "respectability" and reliance on the ruling class won't defend women's rights. We call on labor and all supporters of abortion rights to defend the clinics and stop the O.R. thugs in their tracks! ■

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Defend Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

"payback" against Russia's intervention in Bosnia. Now the U.S. is trying to cobble together a deal that will make the Balkan wars even bloodier than they already are. The latest proposal is for a "united" Croatian-Muslim state in Bosnia confederated to a "Greater Croatia" dominated by Germany. While the State Department is pretending to be the godfather, summoning the parties to Washington, the plan was hammered out in a meeting near Bonn which was arranged by German foreign minister Kinkel and Russian foreign minister Kozyrev.

The Hamburg news magazine *Der Spiegel* (28 February) asks if reunited Germany will return to the Balkans as a "Patron for Peace?" It declares that there are "detailed blueprints in Bonn drawers" for the Croatian/Bosnian Muslim "economic union"...which include massive dispatch of Bundeswehr medical personnel and construction troops, technicians and administrative advisers, and even German police. The Fourth Reich of German imperialism wants to obtain through economic and political means what Hitler's Third Reich failed to achieve: a protectorate over the south Slavs as part of its neocolonial encroachment on East Europe. "If it goes the way Chancellor Kohl and Russian president Yeltsin want," the article states, "a summit should seal the peace—and simultaneously Germany's new role in foreign policy," *Spiegel* asks pointedly, "A new axis?"

But the latest imperialist proposal amounts to a German-protected Greater Croatian federation in which there are large Serb enclaves which will not willingly accept incorporation into a state dominated by the Croats. The Croatian regime would then be beefed up militarily and economically by Western imperialism, in the first instance against the Serb minorities. This plan is an incredible provocation, which would lay the basis for massacres and massive forced population transfers. It was precisely the prospect of forcible incorporation of the Serbs into Croatia which fueled the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia beginning in mid-1991, leading to the Serb minorities consolidating enclaves in both Croatia and Bosnia. Washington's scheme would never be accepted peacefully. If the U.S./UN attempts to impose such a plan by force, it would require an imperialist onslaught, laying the basis for years of bloody irredentist fighting.

Two weeks ago, Clinton thought he had everything down pat. The U.S. and its NATO "allies" would launch UN-authorized air strikes in order to teach recalcitrant Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic a bloody lesson in obedience. Then they would lean on the Muslim-led Bosnian forces to accept an earlier plan, which had been on the table for months, dividing Bosnia into three entities (Muslim, Croatian and Serb). Clinton dusted off the "War Powers Act" to formally notify Congress of his readiness to order an attack, while in speech after speech he vowed to "exact a heavy price" from the Serbs. "The blood lust is up in Washington," commented one NATO diplomat.

But then Yeltsin made his dramatic move to defend Russian interests. Opposition to direct Western military intervention in its Balkan backyard has united all wings of Russia's fractious capitalist ruling circles, from the ultranationalist fascist Zhirinovsky to Western bankers' toady Yegor Gaidar. Yeltsin aide Vitaly Churkin warned that NATO bombing would mean "all-out war." Even as he grudgingly acquiesced to Washington's *diktat*, Yeltsin himself intoned: "Some people are trying to resolve the Bosnian question without the participation of Russia."

So days before NATO's February 21 deadline for air strikes if Serb forces did not withdraw their artillery from around the Bosnian capital, Churkin held a joint press conference with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to announce that Russia would send in 400 "peacekeeping" troops to police a Serb withdrawal. Now any Western military action against the Serbs would also be an attack on Russian forces. As Russian soldiers drove through Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo last week, they were enthusiastically greeted by crowds giving the Orthodox Christian three-finger salute, offering bottles of plum brandy, while Serbian demonstrators shouted, "Hooray Mother Russia! Hooray Yeltsin! Hooray Zhirinovsky!"

AP

Russian troops welcomed by Bosnian Serbs with three-finger Orthodox Christian salute.

A miffed White House mumbled a few words of "gratitude" that the Russian deal had averted the need for air strikes, while complaining that the first they heard of it was on CNN. A *Wall Street Journal* (22 February) commentary acerbically noted that the interplay between Russia and the West over Bosnia "looked more like confrontation" than "cooperation." Meanwhile Yeltsin press secretary Kostikov crowed that Russia had "won an important battle for its world status." Foreign minister Kozyrev declared, "In the future, our foreign policy will continue to defend Russia's vital interests, even in those cases where it is contrary to the interests of the West." In case there was any ambiguity, he added: "Russia will not listen to the West's lessons and lectures" (*Economist*, 26 February). The subsequent meeting outside Bonn served to underline differences between Russia and NATO and among the Western imperialists.

As we noted last issue: "Despite the current veneer of imperialist consensus, war-torn ex-Yugoslavia is a cauldron for imperialist intrigue and conflict." Liberals and reformists hailed the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War as opening up a new vista for international peace. In fact, the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state as a military counterweight to U.S. imperialism has made the world a far more dangerous place, sharply exacerbating the threat of trade wars and armed conflicts among the major imperialist powers and their regional allies. The clash of conflicting nationalist and imperialist interests in the Balkans is a prime example.

While the Clinton White House wants to pose as a "peacekeeper," Yugoslav journalist Misha Glenny finds "much evidence to support" the view of "one of the highest-ranking officers of the Bosnian Army" who says: "We have no illusions about American intentions in this region. The U.S. wishes to establish a military presence in the Balkans." In mid-February, the U.S. decided to grant recognition to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, where it already has 300 American soldiers under UN auspices. Greece, which is in a nationalist uproar over Macedonia's independence, effectively levied an embargo against the landlocked country, cutting off its access to the port of Salonika, where much of its imports and two-thirds of its oil supply come in.

At the same time, Russian foreign minister Kozyrev stopped off for discussions with Greece (where he met with his German counterpart Kinkel) before embarking on a tour of Prague, Budapest and Warsaw, where he warned the former East European client states to toe the line on Russia's intervention in Bosnia. Prime Minister John Major of Britain, a traditional imperialist patron of pre-Titoist Yugoslavia, announced that he had known of—indeed encouraged—Yeltsin's plan to intervene but had withheld this "confidence" from his NATO "allies." And President François Mitterrand of France, another historic patron of Serbia, proposed putting Sarajevo under United Nations administration in order to piece off the Serbs as part of a settlement. The reaction of the Clinton administration was "less than enthusiastic."

Asserting its claim to be world gendarme, Washington now wants to host meetings between the warring factions in the former Yugoslavia as well as between the Israeli Zionist butchers and their Palestinian victims. But dreams of a Pax Americana are increasingly turning into nightmares of ever-widening wars. Clinton's support for a shotgun marriage between Bosnian Croats and Muslims under the roof of the fascistic Tudjman regime in Zagreb is a provocation to Serbia and an aid to Germany, which engineered the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia by pushing "independence" for its Croatian and Slovenian client states three years ago.

Serbs well remember the atrocities carried out during World War II by Croatian and Bosnian Muslim nationalists fighting under the swastika of the Third Reich. Even the *New York Times* (22 February) confessed that "there seems to be little reason for the Serbs to accept such an agreement." Indeed, there is every reason to see this as an invitation to foment another round of fratricidal bloodletting.

Today, "heroic Sarajevo" has become a battle cry for those who seek "humanitarian" imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslim regime which, wherever it has the military wherewithal to do so, has pursued "ethnic cleansing" with no less a vengeance than its Croatian and Serb opponents. But under Tito's deformed workers state, multiethnic Sarajevo symbolized the possibility of harmonious relations among the south Slavs. Under capitalism Yugoslavia can only be a cauldron of nationalist feuding, as it was between the world wars. What is needed is workers revolution throughout the region, creating a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans.

The Balkans once before served as a cockpit for interimperialist slaughter, as the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 set the stage for the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Today, the trip wires are being put in place for imperialist world war, only this time all sides will be armed with nuclear weapons. We say: *Down with the UN starvation blockade! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack! U.S./NATO out of the Balkans, now!* ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

plants and keep out the scabs" (*WV* No. 572, 26 March 1993). Now the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that clinics can use the federal RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) law against blockaders. The January 24 opinion written by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, on a suit brought by the bourgeois feminist National Organization for Women (NOW) eight years ago, means blockaders can be prosecuted for a "pattern of racketeering."

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARRAL), claimed the decision was a powerful weapon. It is, but in the service of the ruling class. The sweeping and vague RICO "conspiracy" law enacted in 1970 is a dragnet catch-all whose provisions allow for multiple prosecutions, special heavy sentences, and stripping the victim of any financial assets. RICO has become the government's first-strike weapon to go after leftists and unions. It has been used in the past to railroad radical activists like the Ohio 7 and purge union officials in the Teamsters.

In another ominous blow against women's rights, on February 7 Supreme Court Justice David Souter upheld Pennsylvania's reactionary "Abortion Control Act." The law requires a 24-hour waiting period for every woman seeking an abortion, while unmarried women under 18 must get parental consent or approval from a county judge to have an abortion. The day the act took effect, amid massive confusion at least 190 women at ten clinics in Pennsylvania were denied abortions. A temporary injunction delaying the law's enforcement has been issued. Abortion rights activists now say they are thinking of resurrecting the "Overground Railroad" for teenagers seeking out-of-state abortions. They had dismantled it in high hopes when Clinton was elected.

In the service of the Clinton White House, bourgeois feminists like NOW have repeatedly sabotaged the mass defense of clinics that's necessary to smash anti-woman terror. The "power feminists" may get off on the idea that they can now wheel and deal in the corridors of Congress, just like Democratic BEOs (black elected officials) talk of "empowerment" while the ghettos are devastated. But working women, poor women, black and Latino women will never have power under capitalism. The capitalist cops and courts are not neutral arbiters, but the main defenders of this capitalist system of misery for most of us and privilege for the few. We fight for the labor movement, minorities and youth to organize real clinic defense. For free, safe abortion on demand, available to all women, as part of a program of free, quality medical care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Giuliani...

(continued from page 3)

care. Those signs in the subways telling straphangers not to give to the homeless are not just a cruel joke by a bunch of selfish creeps, but a warning that it's now a crime to be poor. What Dinkins started by bulldozing homeless encampments, Giuliani wants to escalate by locking up "squeegee men" and the homeless as he swells their ranks with city workers.

The Giuliani budget calls for a huge 29 percent cut in the housing program over the next four years. Public hospitals are being told to make do with hundreds of millions of dollars less. Ultimately, the City Hall privatizers want to sell off all the public hospitals, the sole source of medical care for New York's working poor, to the highest bidder. Not only is construction stopped at Kings County Hospital, but the Burn and Radiation Therapy Unit at Harlem Hospital, which is the only such facility in all of Harlem, is slated to be closed. Another ghoulish scheme that's being proposed is to release terminally ill prisoners from jail and hope that Medicaid picks up their health care bills.

Targeting the Unions

In an article headlined "Taking on the Unions," the *New York Times* (3 February) noted that Giuliani "has signaled in many ways that he would stand up to a confrontation. He often cites Philadelphia's Mayor, Edward G. Rendell, as a model. And Mr. Rendell is best known for staring down his once powerful unions and winning concessions despite a brief strike." (Actually, we best know Rendell as the D.A. who set up the 1985 Mother's Day massacre of the black MOVE commune.) At the same time, they worried that Giuliani could provoke a losing confrontation with labor, warning that sanitation workers have been working without a contract since October 1991, and "it is also not clear how long New Yorkers would endure, say, a garbage strike without blaming the Mayor."

For Giuliani to carry out his program of enriching the wealthy with tax cuts and privatization of public services, while keeping interest payments on the city debt flowing into the bank coffers, he must decimate the unions. In the face of this onslaught, labor is worse than disarmed—it is bound through a tame and toothless labor bureaucracy to the racist Democrats. In an article titled "With No Clear Leader or Strategy, Unions Prepare to Face Giuliani," the *Times* (21 February) wrote:

> "For decades, New York's mayors shared the public stage with a well-known cast of irascible, flamboyant leaders of municipal labor. There were the titans who could welcome a new mayor into office with a strike on Inauguration Day, and later the labor statesmen who worked with the city in the fiscal crisis of the 1970's. Now the last of the union leaders who catapulted to prominence in the fiscal crisis has left the stage, clearing the way for less visible, less bombastic, and, in some cases, less tested successors."

We are far from the days of Mike Quill, the feisty leader of the transit workers who went to jail in 1966 for defying an anti-strike injunction, declaring, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike!" During the 1970s "fiscal crisis," labor "statesmen" like former AFSCME District Council 37 head Victor Gotbaum *literally* played ball with the bosses—he was a regular tennis partner of Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) financier Felix Rohatyn. Labor fakers muttered about strikes while pouring billions in union pension funds down the Big MAC rathole and allowing the slashing of city services from libraries and hospitals to firehouses and bridge maintenance.

For decades, labor's power in the Big Apple has been held in check by the labor traitors. This pro-capitalist union bureaucracy was a product of the Cold War witchhunt that drove the reds out of the unions. And they've trained their replacements who have never even seen a strike to sell out—all they know is giveback. *Newsday* (2 February) referred to Gotbaum's successor as head of the 140,000-member District Council 37, Stanley Hill, as "a mild-mannered conciliator." That's putting it mildly. The municipal labor coalition is in tatters, as the United Federation of Teachers and now the Transport Workers Union tops have pulled out to make their own giveback deals.

When Giuliani unveiled his cutback plans, the top city AFSCME officers were in Orlando, vacationing at Disney World in $185-a-night rooms. Hill's major complaint was that Giuliani won't "sit down" and talk about it. Far from fighting the cutbacks, Hill wrote in the union newspaper, "It's not that the mayor's plan is all bad...we are ready to sit down with the city and work out a plan that shares the pain equally. We don't fear change, but business must do its part" (*Public Employee Press*, 11 February).

WV Photo

1980 New York City transit workers strike shook citadel of world finance capital, but simple trade unionism wasn't enough to overcome Democratic Party strikebreaking.

James Butler, head of hospital workers Local 420, has held rallies protesting plans to lay off janitors, nurses and technicians and the closing of the Harlem Hospital burn unit. But Butler's rallies are mainly to vent the anger among his ranks. The word "strike" is never uttered. Instead of organizing the union's strength, Butler relies on the city's Democratic establishment—from Ruth Messinger to David Patterson and Charles Rangel—the capitalist politicians who have long presided over New York's descent into hell. Under Democrat Dinkins, the city's unemployment rate soared past 10 percent and much higher among minorities. Central Harlem residents are dying at a 50 percent higher rate than the overall U.S. population. And this in a city which trains 10 percent of the nation's doctors in its teaching hospitals.

Dinkins and the Democrats paved the way for Giuliani, as the hopes of the black and Hispanic population for improvements under a black mayor were soon reduced to apathy and despair. Dinkins promised the ruling class during his 1989 election campaign that the unions "will take it from me," and they certainly did—though not enough to satisfy Wall Street. Giuliani got elected as the first Republican mayor of New York City in nearly three decades by promising to attack minorities and the unions with a vengeance.

In 1975, Gerald Ford told New York to "drop dead," in the words of the famous *Daily News* headline, as the capitalist class, from the White House to the Albany state house, declared war on municipal unions and the minority poor. In the midst of economic recession, this war was waged to reverse the '60s decade of struggle, when city unions grew in numbers and confidence and a shaken ruling class anxiously doled out "poverty programs" and government services to buy off black Democrats and cool out the black inner cities which had gone up in flames of rebellion.

Where racist right-wingers like Barry Goldwater earlier called to slice New York off from America and float it out to sea, "progressive" bankers like Felix Rohatyn now talked of "blacktopping" the South Bronx and turning it into a giant parking lot. This marked a shift as the ruling class, which had treated blacks as a reserve army of labor, wrote off an entire generation of black youth to lumpen destitution. *Hundreds of thousands* of black workers were driven out of strategic heavy industry (steel, auto) as American capitalism "rationalized" production, forcing a massive plunge in the standard of living of the entire working class, to make itself "competitive" with other imperialist centers like Germany and Japan. Across the country, the rulers were successful in enforcing massive cutbacks, union-busting and social misery *because the pro-capitalist labor leaders collaborated in this vast betrayal.*

Today, a generation later, life for blacks in America has gotten a lot worse. Prior to the '70s, "homelessness" as a mass phenomenon was something that happened in India. Now the most recent study says that during the 1980s *seven million* were homeless in the U.S. But the will to struggle has not been broken. The explosion of unrest that swept through South-Central Los Angeles in 1991 resonated in multiracial protests across the country, and left the ruling class deeply worried. From Los Angeles mayor Riordan to New York's Giuliani and the death-penalty Democrats in the White House, the ruling class is determined to drive up its rate of profit by driving down the costs of maintaining services in the cities and the people who live there. "Illegal" immigrants, who were earlier attracted as sweatshop labor to keep wages down, are now scapegoats for everything from "welfare fraud" to earthquake relief.

Rather than backstabbing, go-it-alone attempts to deal with Giuliani, who will only play one sector off against another, it is necessary to mobilize city labor at the head of all the oppressed in a class-struggle fight against the racist rulers. The tens of thousands of NYC transit workers can bring the center of world capitalist finance to a screeching halt. But as the experience of the 1980 TWU strike showed, such a struggle won't be won through simple trade unionism, but must be waged politically. The present fight by militants in the transit union to defend black track worker James Frazier—who was shot and nearly killed by the NYPD, then fired by the Transit Authority, and whose only "crime" was having survived to tell his harrowing story—could serve to galvanize this powerhouse of labor.

At the height of the '70s fiscal crisis, we wrote:

> "The layoffs will mean drastic cutbacks in education, hospitals, fire protection, sanitation, welfare case-handling, child-care centers and many other already grossly inadequate services, with the worst cuts being made in ghetto areas. The entire working-class and poor population of New York City will be the losers unless the municipal unions launch a city-wide general strike to stop all layoffs and cutbacks, to cancel the city debt and expropriate the banks without compensation. But the city labor leaders have betrayed the workers every step of the way and are the chief agency preventing such a mobilization, allowing the ruling circles to accomplish their despicable aims."
>
> —*WV* No. 72, 4 July 1975

Amid student protests, wildcat strikes and fierce anger over the cutbacks, the Spartacist League put forth a program of transitional demands to mobilize labor against Wall Street and the bank-induced "crisis." We marched under banners demanding, "For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs! Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks! For a Workers Party and a Workers Government." Today, such a program for sharp class struggle is just as valid, and twice as desperately necessary. This is the road to bringing down race-baiting labor-hater Giuliani. ■

International Women's Day
Spartacist Events

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forum

The "Date Rape" Issue:
Feminist Hysteria and Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Speaker: Marie Hayes, TL Central Committee

Saturday, March 12, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. West (1 block west of Spadina)

TORONTO For more information: (416) 593-4138

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

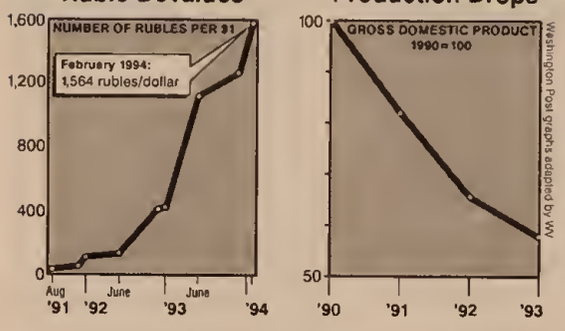
Next class:
Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.
The Fight for Women's Liberation
Room 317, Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(take the #1 or 9 train to 116th and B'way)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

Next class:
Wednesday, March 9, 7 p.m.
Right-Wing Bigots/Liberal Feminists Whip Up Anti-Sex Hysteria, Target Women, Gays, Youth
West Madrone Room, ASUC Building
University of California
For more information: (510) 839-0851
BERKELEY

Post-Soviet Russia: Immiseration and Chaos

Reisinger/Black Star

Der Spiegel



From Siberian coal mines to metal foundries of European Russia, capitalist counterrevolution means devestation for working class of former Soviet Union.

Just a few months ago, as army tanks shelled the Russian parliament, the American ruling class thought they finally had Russia in the bag. At Washington's prodding, Boris Yeltsin had spiked the nationalist opposition grouped around the parliamentary leaders. A new constitution, designed to legitimize the capitalist counterrevolution, had set up a virtual presidential dictatorship. Would-be czar Boris looked to be in a strong position to push through the economic "shock treatment"—wholesale closure of industrial plants, mass unemployment—demanded by the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Elections in December were supposed to produce a new, tame parliament dominated by pro-Western "democrats" like the IMF's main man Yegor Gaidar. Instead there was a huge protest vote whose main beneficiary was the fascist demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovsky. Zhirinovsky, who called for a purge of American influence in Russia, did especially well in the military—a third of officers and enlisted men reportedly voted for him. He also did well among workers in heavy industry, who would be the main immediate victims of a monetarist "shock treatment."

The Stalinist "patriots" in the Communist and Agrarian parties also made a good showing in the elections, polling over 20 percent of the vote. With the support of Zhirinovsky's party, an old Stalinist apparatchik, now with the Agrarians, was elected speaker of the lower house of parliament, the Duma, named after the last tsar's advisory body. Now this recalcitrant Duma has voted to amnesty Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov, the imprisoned leaders of the parliament Yeltsin dissolved by tank gunfire, as well as the "gang of eight" leaders of the botched August 1991 putsch, whose failure led to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary ascendancy. And on February 26 almost two dozen of Yeltsin's jailed opponents were freed.

The "democrats" are humiliated, their Western imperialist sponsors distressed. Yeltsin, seeing which way the wind was blowing, changed tack and has adopted a more nationalist posture in both economic and foreign policy. His prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, who ran the natural gas industry under Gorbachev, declared: "The mechanical transfer of Western economic methods to Russian soil has done more harm than good." In response, the two leading "free-market reformers" in the Yeltsin regime—Gaidar and Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov—resigned from the government, which they contend is now firmly in the hands of Soviet-era apparatchiks from the industrial-military complex.

Meanwhile, the continuing cataclysmic decline of the Russian economy has provoked a wave of strikes and strike threats in the aftermath of the elections. The business daily *Commersant* warned that the country is on the verge of "one huge strike." On February 10, TV screens across the country went blank as communications workers walked off the job to demand billions of rubles in back pay. The government caved in within hours. Vorkuta miners also went on strike, occupying pits over unpaid back wages. No sooner had Prime Minister Chernomyrdin agreed to meet their demands than miners at two pits in the Kuzbass began a hunger strike. Now the head of the Independent Miners Union threatens nationwide action beginning March 1 if the government fails to meet its promises again.

Yeltsin's foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev—known as a fawning "friend of the West"—now proclaims that Moscow will "toughly uphold the interests of the Russian-speaking population" in the other former Soviet republics and stand up "for the interests of Russia." Venturing beyond the "near abroad," the Kremlin has also recently emphatically reasserted Russia's traditional role as a patron of its Serb "little brothers" in the Balkans, unilaterally negotiating a deal to circumvent threatened NATO air strikes and deploying 400 "peacekeeping" troops in the Bosnian Serb headquarters of Pale. Amid acute discomfort over the Russian move in Bosnia, Washington staged a table-thumping flap over the discovery of a Russian "mole" in the CIA.

In place of triumphalism in American ruling circles over the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, there are beginning to be dark warnings of a revanchist and nationalist Russia as a new threat to the West. Cold War academic Angela Stent of Georgetown University—a favorite CIA-sponsored think tank—projects that "Russia, striving to be a great power, could become a serious rival to the United States. Its nuclear arsenal is still aimed at us" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1993).

Reuters

Struggling to survive, an elderly Russian pensioner offers her heir for sale.

Russian "Reformers" In Disarray, Washington In Quandary

Russia's pro-Western "democrats" and their imperialist controllers are engaged

in bitter recriminations over who is responsible for the rise of Zhirinovsky and the more assertively nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime. Gaidar blames Yeltsin for not actively campaigning for him in the December elections and instead adopting an above-the-battle posture. Ex-finance minister Fyodorov charged that Strobe Talbott, the main U.S. envoy to the former Soviet Union, stabbed "reformers" in the back by calling for "less shock and more therapy" in the immediate aftermath of the elections.

Harvard's man in Moscow, economist Jeffrey Sachs—who had previously designed the electrodes for "shock treatments" in Bolivia and Poland—resigned from his position as economic adviser to Yeltsin and denounced the IMF for withholding money from the Russian government promised by Western capitals. In turn, haughty IMF head Michel Camdessus (who normally speaks only to god) contended his agency was being made a scapegoat and condemned the Yeltsin regime for not carrying out the policies to which it had committed itself.

There is doubtless an element of diplomatic calculation in Yeltsin's new Russia-first posture: since trying to accommodate the IMF gained nothing but the growing hostility of the masses, perhaps the spectre of a more nationalist Russia, with Zhirinovsky waiting in the wings, might pressure Western capitals to cough up more money. And so it might. A 15 January editorial in the *New York Times*—that influential mouthpiece of the American ruling class—argued that if the U.S. wants to call the tune in Russia it has to pay the piper, and pay something before the tune is played:

> "America has pledged its share of aid to Russia, but it has yet to deliver many dollars. It cannot let the opportunity slip away once more. The aid must be delivered even before Russia tightens its budget by shrinking subsidies to unproductive factories....
> "Russia needs a new social safety net not tied to the factory. To get one started, it needs outside help."

All this talk about providing Russia with a "social safety net" is bunk: the cost of unemployment insurance and job retraining for the *millions* of workers being thrown out of work is far greater than *any* conceivable amount of Western aid. The real purpose of the few billions being doled out to Moscow is to *buy off the elite of post-Soviet Russia*: industrial managers, government officials, military commanders.

The IMF honcho in Moscow justified his agency's stinginess by arguing that money given to the Russian government would largely be spent on luxury imports (Mercedes, BMWs) or be siphoned abroad. But that is just the point of such "aid": to pay for pliant agents in a Russian client state. As it is, Russia's new rich have already smuggled abroad *more than the $22 billion* promised (but not delivered) by the West and Japan. Last year alone, one-third of Russia's export revenues, some $15.5 billion out of a total of $48 billion, was kept overseas.

Chernomyrdin now blames the economic collapse in post-Soviet Russia on "market romanticism." Gaidar & Co. contend it's the continuing heavy state subsidies to the industrial-military complex. But the real and fundamental reason is the capitalist counterrevolution. Whatever faction of the restorationists comes out on top in Moscow, whatever the policies and ideological posture of the government, the destruction of the planned, collectivized economy of the Soviet Union means the impoverishment and degradation of workers and collective farmers in Russia, the Ukraine, Central Asia and the other former Soviet republics.

Over the past two years, Russia's would-be capitalist exploiters have been bitterly divided between pro-IMF monetarists like Gaidar and a nationalist-corporatist wing centered on the old factory managers and represented by industrialist spokesman Arkady Volsky. Where Gaidar & Co. propose a wholesale shutdown of "bankrupt" enterprises and turning Russia into a neocolonial supplier of raw materials to the West, the corporatists argue for maintaining a core of the country's heavy industrial complex by continuing to pump subsidies in and ceding ownership to the managerial bureaucracy.

To do this, a corporatist regime would have to reimpose effective state control over exports and capital outflow, moving not only to discipline the working class but to tame the "wild capitalism" of corruption, racketeering and speculation. But that would antagonize the imperialist powers, and scare off potential investors, and that is something none of the fledgling capitalist factions dare risk. Under present conditions, Volsky's program cannot be carried out without an imperialist sponsor, such as the German Fourth Reich.

It is no accident that last fall, facing a solid front of imperialist hostility to Yeltsin's parliamentary opponents, Volsky & Co. in the end supported the bloody crackdown on parliament. A proletarian vanguard would have sought to mobilize the working masses against Yeltsin's bonapartist moves, including a military bloc with the forces around Rutskoi/Khasbulatov during the fighting. In this confrontation the workers, seeing neither side as fighting for their interests, remained passive.

Without massive infusions of capital from the West, neither monetarism nor corporatism has a hope of pulling Russia out of its morass in the next period. The Ukraine, which has been run by Volsky types since 1991, is today an economic basket case, aggravated by its extreme reliance on Russian energy and industrial parts.

Meanwhile, in Russia runaway inflation, capital flight, managerial looting and sheer economic chaos have already caused industrial production to fall by *60 percent* in the past three years. Ruthless IMF-dictated monetarism would have the (intended) effect of permanently shutting down the vast majority of Russia's industrial enterprises. Chernomyrdin and the layer of industrial managers are seeking to keep a significant percentage of industry going. But even if they keep the upper hand, there will still be massive unemployment and economic misery for millions of workers.

In the Soviet era, industrial enterprises provided their workers not only with a wage but also basic social benefits: free medical and childcare facilities, often low-rent housing. Thus for a worker in Russia to be laid off or have his enterprise go bankrupt means not only the loss of income but immediate and total pauperization. Hence the sense of desperation which expressed itself in the vote for Zhirinovsky.

Liberal British journalist Jonathan Steele observed that this fascist demagogue's main source of popular appeal did *not* lie in "Russian expansionism" but rather that "the Zhirinovsky factor was a protest over economic pain, the emergence of a flamboyant class of new rich, and the rise in crime" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 January).

However, the increasing influence of Russian nationalism among the masses—even if presented in the guise of economic populism—will *prevent* working people from struggling against the economic pain wrought by the counterrevolution and its greedy new rich. The working class in Russia—shaped by the integrated, collectivized economy of the Soviet Union—is still heavily *multinational*. Even defensive economic struggles against plant closures and wage cuts can be organized only on a multinational basis.

The 19th-century German workers leader August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools." Today, we are seeing in Russia "the socialism of fools" on a massive scale. All the Russian nationalist forces—the Yeltsinites, Zhirinovsky's fascists, the Stalinist "patriots"—are seeking to *divert* the desperate anger over economic immiseration into hatred of Jews, Caucasians, Central Asians and other non-Russian peoples.

Thus the Yeltsinite city government in Moscow launched a brutal campaign driving thousands of Caucasians—called "blacks" by Russian racists because of their dark complexions—out of the Russian capital. The Caucasians are an easy target for popular hostility because many are small tradesmen blamed for charging extortionate prices. However, the money made by Georgian and Chechen vegetable or clothing vendors is peanuts compared to the sums looted by industrial managers who claim to stand for "the interests of Russia."

One need only look at the fratricidal slaughterhouse of ex-Yugoslavia to see where the drive of Russia's counterrevolutionary nationalists—whether grouped around the Yeltsin regime or the "red-brown" (Stalinist/fascist) coalition—to dominate the former USSR will lead. There are over 100 nationalities in Russia. Seven million Ukrainians live in Russia, over 10 million ethnic Russians live in the Ukraine. Or take the case of the Crimea, which is territorially part of the Ukraine, but whose population is heavily ethnically Russian. When a Russian nationalist won the presidential election there last month, the Ukrainian government threatened to take "decisive action" to defend "Ukraine's territorial integrity." A territorial war between Russia and the Ukraine would produce unspeakable horrors and destroy any possibility of effective working-class struggle against the capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union for years.

The older generation of working people in Russia, the Ukraine and other former Soviet republics look back on the Brezhnev era of the 1960s and '70s as a golden age. Even with the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state, workers and collective farmers retained real and valuable social gains of the 1917 October Revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, was made in the name of proletarian internationalism through implacable political struggle against all forms of Great Russian chauvinism. Today, a new Bolshevik party must be forged in struggle against all the forces of the counterrevolution, both the pro-Western "democrats" and the Russian nationalist demagogues.

Der Spiegel Reuters Quan/NY Times

Fat cats and capitalist bureaucrats starve Russian masses: (from left) former deputy prime minister Yegor Gaidar; former finance minister Boris Fyodorov; former Yeltsin economic adviser, Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs.

AP

Russian parliament building burning last October after Yeltsin ordered army assault in presidential coup backed by Washington.

Capitalist Counterrevolution= Economic Devastation

Russian nationalists of all stripes, and also Western liberals and social democrats, blame the immiseration in the former Soviet bloc solely on monetarist "shock treatments" prescribed by the IMF. As if it were possible to replace a planned, collectivized economy with capitalism while maintaining full employment, living standards and industrial production! Every country in East Europe and the ex-USSR has experienced economic collapse and mass unemployment, whether the restorationist regimes were run by right-wing anti-Communists (Poland, Hungary) or by former Stalinist leaders (the Ukraine, Romania) or both successively (Lithuania).

The employment of labor clearly demonstrates the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and a collectivized economy, even one subject to pervasive bureaucratic mismanagement and parasitism as was the former Soviet bloc. The aim of a capitalist firm is to maximize the return on the money invested in that particular company. Managers therefore seek to maximize output (if it can be sold) while minimizing the cost and employment of labor. Hence, you can see in North America and West Europe mass unemployment coexisting with brutal speedup for those workers fortunate enough to have jobs. Some people are forced to beg in the streets while others are forced to work 10-12 hours a day.

The aim of a collectivized economy is to maximize the output of society as a whole by utilizing *all* available resources, both labor and the means of production. Moreover, Soviet-bloc governments prevented unemployment by not laying off workers even if their additional contribution to production was less than the wage paid them. That was far better than having them live on welfare or beg in the streets, risking unrest.

continued on page 8

Russia...

(continued from page 7)

As a result, industrial enterprises in East Europe and the ex-USSR were grossly overmanned by the standards of capitalist profitability.

For example, the Wartburg auto plant in Eisenach, East Germany employed 14,000 workers. After capitalist reunification, it was taken over and rebuilt by the GM subsidiary Opel, which now operates the plant with 2,000 workers—*one-seventh* of its original labor force. While this is an extreme case, there are few major industrial enterprises in the former Soviet bloc, from East Berlin to Vladivostok, which could operate profitably in the world capitalist market without sharply slashing their labor force.

The Western media is now touting the Czech Republic as the "success story" of capitalist restoration in East Europe. Yet in the past two years the labor force in the Pilzen Skoda works—a core element of Czech heavy industry—has been cut from 32,000 to 20,000. At the same time, the real wage of the country's industrial workers has fallen by 25 percent! And the Czechs still have it better than the rest of East Europe.

In addition to the costs of preserving full employment, productivity in Soviet industrial plants suffered due to the imperialist pressures of the Cold War. In order to maintain military parity with the NATO powers *without reducing living standards*, during the 1970s the Brezhnev regime sharply cut back industrial investment. As a consequence, many branches of manufacturing in the USSR became increasingly obsolete by world market standards. However, the monopoly of foreign trade in the hands of the Soviet state—an essential element of a collectivized economy—protected the home market from the world market, preventing industrial enterprises from being bankrupted by a flood of cheap imports from the West and Japan. But now with the capitalist counterrevolution, production costs in post-Soviet Russia are being driven into line with those on the world market through a massive contraction of industrial capacity and an even greater slashing of the industrial labor force.

Defending themselves against the charge that their economic policies ruined Russia, Gaidar, Fyodorov & Co. contend there has been no "shock therapy." Unemployment, they claim, is a mere 1 percent and no major enterprises have gone bankrupt. The unemployment figures are phony and bankruptcy status meaningless. The Russian State Committee on Statistics estimates that, including concealed unemployment, up to *13 million* workers are jobless, on unpaid or little-paid leave, or working a short week. Moreover, many plants whose gates are open and through which workers enter every morning are not producing anything for lack of supplies, and many which are producing goods cannot sell them. The *Washington Post* (18 February) summed it up in a headline: "Russia's Industrial Collapse Has Begun."

Today Russia is in a state of counterrevolutionary chaos. At the base, real power in the economy has passed into the hands of what is popularly called "the mafia"—a mélange of corrupt managers or officials, fly-by-night businessmen and criminal gangs. The thousands of new private businesses which have sprung up in the past few years routinely turn over 10 to 20 percent of their revenue as "protection money" to criminal gangs. At the same time, enterprise managers and petty entrepreneurs pay little if any taxes to the government, and much of the tax money that is collected never makes it into the central government coffers.

The fascist Zhirinovsky skillfully exploited popular hatred and contempt for the newly rich wheeler-dealers, fear nf criminal violence, and more generally a longing for the restoration of social order. The Yeltsin regime, too, is using anti-mafia demagogy in an effort to rebuild a strong state apparatus. In his address to parliament, Yeltsin played on the rise in crime to argue that "a strong and powerful Russian state is the most reliable and real guarantor of stability" (*New York Times*, 25 February).

Claiming that the old police organizations are irremediably corrupt, the government is proposing to set up an elite paramilitary formation, answerable only to the president, with special powers such as the right to make preventive arrests. Members of this new super police force would be paid $250-$300 a month—several times the average wage in today's impoverished Russia. These would be the pampered shock troops of the counterrevolution, whose main target will not be the mafia but the workers movement, trade-union militants and leftist activists.

The working class *must oppose and resist* all moves to strengthen the repressive power of the state, whether made in the name of fighting crime and corruption or defending "the interests of Russia."

The restoration of social order in Russia can benefit the working people only if it is based on *their own, multinational class organizations*—trade unions, factory councils, committees of state and collective farmers, soviets. A reborn workers movement must organize its own military formations in the first place to defend strikes and protests against the cops, fascist thugs and criminal gangs. Workers defense guards must also protect Jews, Caucasians and other ethnic and national minorities against attacks by Russian chauvinists.

For Proletarian Struggle Against Great Russian Chauvinism!

Russia's nascent bourgeoisie has inherited imperial ambitions from the tsarist autocracy. They want to rule a great power recognized and allied with one or another of the major imperialist powers. Zhirinovsky's call for an "eternal alliance" between Russia and Germany to dominate the Eurasian continent only expresses this vision in a particularly extreme form. More "moderately," Adranik Migranyan, a member of Yeltsin's presidential advisory council, declared that "all geo-political space in the former USSR is Russia's sphere of interest" (London *Independent*, 13 January).

However, aspirations for a modern capitalist version of the tsarist empire confront the economic devastation of Russia wrought by the counterrevolution. Pre-1917 Russia combined a vast, backward, peasant-based agriculture—retaining strong elements of feudalism—with a large, relatively modern industry financed, directly or indirectly, by Western capital. Today, however, U.S. imperialism is bent on tearing down, not building up, Russian industry. Whereas Tsar Nicholas II could easily float large loans in European financial markets, the IMF treats Yeltsin like a naughty boy whose allowance is withheld for bad behavior.

Immediately after the December elections, Washington voiced a somewhat softer line on Russian economic "reform." Talbott made his widely publicized "less shock and more therapy" speech. And Vice President Al Gore while in Moscow sharply criticized the IMF for giving the Yeltsin regime less than $2 billion of the $14 billion which the Group of Seven imperialist powers had pledged to Russia.

But talk is cheap. U.S. Treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen intervened hard to ensure that soft talk on Russia was not backed up by soft loans and aid. A senior White House official told the *Washington Post* (23 December 1993): "We've not gotten into the business of setting up social safety nets, and we won't now." By the time Clinton made his first state visit to Russia in mid-January, he was back to preaching the IMF line of "reforms" first, money later. Since U.S. aid to Russia last year was a piddling $1.5 billion—less than that given to either Israel or Egypt—Yeltsin was little inclined to heed the American president.

Reuters

American imperialist chief Clinton meeting with Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk. Destruction of Soviet Union has unleashed rampant nationalist conflicts.

Zhirinovsky's electoral success and the more nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime has brought to the surface divisions among the Western imperialists over how to deal with the conflicting nationalisms unleashed by the destruction of the Soviet Union. The main current of the American ruling class is willing to support the restoration of a strong Russian state dominating the territory of the former USSR *if*—a very big if—Washington can retain ultimate control over the Kremlin. Both the Bush and Clinton administrations have put great pressure on the Ukraine to scrap the nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union, which would thereby give Yeltsin's Russia a monopoly on nuclear war-fighting capacity in the region. And Washington has turned a blind eye toward Moscow's military interventions in the communalist civil wars in Moldova and Georgia.

Right before the December elections, the London *Economist* (4 December 1993) observed:

> "America might even think its interests were being served if Russia acted as a neighborhood cop, preventing disorder spilling out from Central Asia into the Middle East or south Asia. To European countries, however, a Russian intervention in Ukraine, Azerbaijan or the Baltic states would look much more threatening."

Substantial elements in American ruling circles, too, believe that Russia cannot be maneuvered into acting as a pliant instrument of U.S. policy. Like the West Europeans, they advocate playing off anti-Russian nationalism in Poland, the Ukraine, the Baltic states, etc. against Moscow. These policy differences underlie the recent dispute in NATO over expanding the military alliance to East Europe. Clinton vetoed this move for the time being, piecing off the East European regimes with a meaningless "Partnership for Peace."

However, such diplomatic formulas and maneuvers cannot disguise the reality that the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Snviet Union threatens ever more extensive nationalist/communalist wars, such as the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave which exploded in 1988, unleashing a bloody and continuing war in the Caucasus and signaling the beginning of the disintegration of the USSR.

Zhirinovsky's electoral success and the more nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime indicates that the forces of counterrevolution are driving to set up a strong Russian state, appealing to popular support on the basis of chauvinist demagogy. Unless that drive is derailed through class struggle against the new capitalist rulers, the workers and collective farmers of the former Soviet Union will face—in addition to the current economic immiseration—murderous repression and fratricidal bloodletting. As we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (*WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992):

> "To free itself of its would-be exploiters and oppressors, the working class must also assert itself as a 'tribune of the people,' opposing every manifestation of anti-Semitism and anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry, rising to the defense of all those—including African and Asian students, and the Central Asian peoples in Russia—who are increasingly exposed to violent racist terror. What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat." ■

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Kronstadt and Counterrevolution Then and Now

Yeltsin Sings an Old Anti-Communist Tune

Der Spiegel

Boris Yeltsin being sworn in as prasident in June 1991 by Russian Orthodox patriarch of counterrevolution.

While memories of Stalin's terror remain vivid, Lenin continues to be a well-regarded figure among the masses of post-Soviet Russia. From its own anti-Communist perspective, the *New York Times* (11 January) noted: "Though Lenin's myth has been badly tarnished in recent years, the Government has generally avoided direct strikes at his memory, evidently for fear of offending the millions raised in the legend of the infallible leader who died too early to prevent Stalin's terror." One of Yeltsin's first moves after his bloody October coup was to shut down the Lenin Museum in Moscow.

On the eve of Clinton's January visit to Russia, Yeltsin launched a new campaign specifically targeting Lenin's popular stature, by once again raising the March 1921 Kronstadt mutiny—a stock item of anti-Bolshevik propaganda for the past 70 years. A 46-page report, released at a Kremlin news conference on January 10, "rehabilitated" the sailors who had insurrected against the government of Lenin and Trotsky. Pointing to the suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny, the new head of Russian television, Aleksandr Yakovlev, a longstanding "friend" of Western imperialism, declared that Stalin was "just the Great Continuator of Lenin's Task." Yeltsin spokesmen sought to discredit the rather tame Stalinist parliamentary opposition—which *supports* the capitalist restoration, proposing only that it be less harsh—by screeching at them, "look at the bloody trail you left."

The use of the suppression of the Kronstadt revolt as an ideological cudgel against the Bolsheviks has a long and sordid history. In particular, in the late 1930s at the time of the Moscow purge trials, petty-bourgeois liberals picked up an ongoing anarchist refrain over Kronstadt in order to associate Trotskyism, the upholder of the Bolshevik traditions and program, with Stalin's terror regime. Trotsky skewered the liberal/anarchist charges at the time in several articles, including "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt" (January 1938).

Ever since 1921, the anarchists have claimed the Kronstadt mutineers as their own. The American anarchist Alexander Berkman called them "the purest of the pure." Berkman is best known for his failed attempt to assassinate the robber baron Henry Frick, who ordered the massacre of the Homestead steel strikers in 1892. How is it that the Kronstadt mutiny is hailed both by anarchists, who claim to be intransigent enemies of capitalist exploitation, and by Boris Yeltsin, the accredited agent of Wall Street in Russia today? Because Kronstadt marked the historic point of intersection between anarchist and bourgeois reactionary anti-Communism.

Kronstadt was a naval base on an island in the Baltic near the former Russian capital of Petrograd. In 1917 the sailors, among them many pro-Bolshevik anarchist militants, played an important and heroic role in the October Revolution. However, over the next few years these original Kronstadters were sent to the various military fronts in the Civil War against the counterrevolutionary White armies, which were directly aided by Western and Japanese imperialist expeditionary forces. They were replaced in Kronstadt by politically raw youth, largely of rural peasant background.

By the winter of 1920-21, seven years of imperialist war and civil war had reduced Soviet Russia to an economic wasteland, leading to widespread peasant unrest against "War Communism," the requisition of grain by the Bolshevik government needed to defend the workers state against the White armies. There were a number of peasant revolts, often marked by anti-Semitic pogroms against the local Jewish communities.

The Kronstadt mutiny was a revolt of the sons of peasants in uniform against the harsh conditions of proletarian power in a Soviet Russia besieged by world imperialism. The sailors' main economic demand was "free trade" in grain and other foodstuffs for the peasantry. Given the leftist, especially anarchist, traditions of Kronstadt, the mutineers sought to give their anti-Communist revolt a "revolutionary" coloration. The Bolshevik leaders understood that whatever the confused attitudes among the rebellious sailors, the uprising served the powerful forces of White Guardist counterrevolution. Kronstadt was extremely exposed, as the point closest to Europe and on the doorstep of Petrograd. To the north was Finland under tsarist general Mannerheim. And as Trotsky said in a July 1921 speech to the Communist Youth International, Kronstadt "was about to pass into the hands of French and English imperialism. Two or three days more and the Baltic Sea would have been ice-free and the war vessels of the foreign imperialists could have entered the ports of Kronstadt and Petrograd."

Leftist defenders of the Kronstadt mutiny maintain that the sailors only wanted to carry out an anarchist "third Russian revolution." However, Victor Serge, a supporter of the October Revolution who came from the anarchist movement in West Europe, understood, as he wrote in his *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941*: "If the Bolshevik dictatorship fell, it was only a short step to chaos, and through chaos to a peasant uprising, the massacre of the Communists, the return of the émigrés, and in the end, through the sheer force of events, another dictatorship, this time anti-proletarian."

The Yeltsin report now claims that there was no evidence of participation in the Kronstadt revolt "by any counterrevolutionary organization." But while the bulk of the sailors—like the peasants who took up arms against the Soviet government at the end of the Civil War—certainly did not desire a return of the landlords, their leaders had extensive contacts with counterrevolutionary forces. This has been well documented in Paul Avrich's study *Kronstadt 1921* (1970). The evidence is all the more convincing given the author's sympathy for the Russian anarchist cause. Avrich contests that the slogan "Soviets without Communists" was raised by the Kronstadt mutineers. But as we noted in our two-part review of his book, "Kronstadt and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April 1978), whether or not this specific slogan was used by the Kronstadters, "and émigré circles which were in touch with them claimed that it was—*it is perfectly clear that their aim was to bring down Bolshevik rule.*"

The principal leader of the mutiny was Stepan Petrichenko, the son of Ukrainian peasants, who a few months before the revolt attempted to join the Whites but was supposedly turned down. Avrich discovered that two weeks before the insurrection an agent of the counterrevolutionary National Center stationed in nearby Finland reported to his headquarters that a group of sailors had been recruited to play an active part in the coming uprising. Petrichenko played a key role in turning a mass protest meeting into a decisive break with the Soviet government. During the mutiny he and the other leaders set up a supply link with the Russian Red Cross office in Finland, a known front for the National Center. After the Bolsheviks suppressed the uprising, Petrichenko and his followers volunteered to join the White general Baron Wrangel.

Anti-communists of all stripes scream about the executions of the captured Kronstadt mutineers by the Cheka, the political police of the Bolshevik government. But it must be understood that the Bolsheviks were fighting to maintain proletarian rule. They only had to look at the savage anti-red terror which had inundated Mannerheim's Finland and those parts of Russia which had been temporarily controlled by White Guard generals.

Anarchists and other anti-communist "leftists" have tried to paint Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, as the "butcher of Kronstadt" in order to discredit the leader of the revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. While in fact Trotsky was not personally involved in the suppression, he supported it. In later years he justified this necessary measure, explaining:

> "All the reactionary elements, in Russia as well as abroad, immediately seized upon this uprising. The white emigres demanded aid for the insurrectionists. The victory of this uprising could bring nothing but a victory of counterrevolution, entirely independent of the ideas the sailors had in their heads. But the ideas themselves were deeply reactionary. They reflected the hostility of the backward peasantry to the worker, the conceit of the soldier or sailor in relation to 'civilian' Petersburg, the hatred of the petty bourgeois for revolutionary discipline. The movement therefore had a counterrevolutionary character and since the insurgents took possession of the arms in the forts they could only be crushed with the aid of arms."
>
> —"The Questions of Wendelin Thomas" (July 1937)

Today, the spiritual heirs of the White Guardists, headed by Boris Yeltsin, are once again seeking to utilize the Kronstadt mutiny, this time to legitimize the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. ■

L Y Leonidov

Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky standing at center with delegates to March 1921 Tenth Party Congress who mobilized to suppress anti-Communist Kronstadt mutiny.

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Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

killing at least ten of the victims.

Moreover, autopsies reveal that, contrary to government and Western press accounts, grenades were also used in the massacre. Reporters were not allowed in until after fire engine hoses had swept the mosque clean of evidence. The *New York Times* (25 February) inadvertently let the truth slip out in an initial report, quoting an Israeli soldier outside the mosque telling journalists: "Go away. We've killed 30 Arabs."

One survivor recalled: "There were others.... They were all in soldiers' uniforms. We didn't know if they were settlers or army. What is the difference?" For the besieged Palestinian masses, who have seen some 1,400 of their youth killed in the six years since the start of the *Intifada* uprising, there is no difference between the bullets of soldiers and settler fanatics.

The Israeli government immediately announced a curfew in Hebron, as well as against Goldstein's settlement of Qiryat Arba, which sits like a heavily armed fortress on a hill overlooking the town. But while troops terrorized Palestinian residents, gangs of marauding settlers continued to strut undisturbed through the streets of Hebron fingering their Galils and Uzis and openly rejoicing over the massacre.

Meanwhile, militant demonstrations have also erupted in Arab neighborhoods and villages inside Israel itself—from Jaffa to Nazareth—even among the Bedouins who have generally tended to accept the Zionist regime. After the Israelis shot down a Bedouin youth, reportedly the first ever killed in "political violence," a mourner at his burial declared, "It said to me that I was a Palestinian, that I was not an Israeli, or even someone who the Israelis could parade to the world as a good Arab."

Urging Arabs not to "overreact," Clinton invited Israel and the PLO to Washington to resume the "peace talks." PLO leader Yasir Arafat called on Israel to disarm the settlers and appealed to the U.S. for "international protection" for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. His demands were instantly rebuffed by the Israelis though Rabin finally agreed to token "international monitors."

Amid a rampage of army and settler terror in the Occupied Territories in December, we wrote that the "bitter fruit" of the PLO's capitulation to Israel "is being harvested in the blood of the Palestinian people." Today, Arafat is almost as reviled among the Palestinian masses as is Rabin. In one Palestinian demonstration after another in the wake of the Hebron massacre, the cry has resounded: "Death to Arafat!" PLO spokesman Faisal Husseini was pelted with rocks and driven off when he appeared before angry protesters outside Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the scene of a bloody massacre perpetrated by Israeli troops in 1990.

Rabin still wants a deal with the PLO, but on Israel's terms: continued subjugation of the Palestinian masses—to be policed by Israeli troops and a PLO auxiliary. As negotiations over a partial withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho dragged on since the September signing of the accord, Rabin gloated: "Let them sweat a bit." But while Arafat sweats, his compatriots continue to die. Now the PLO leader may have nothing left to deliver. We say: Down with the ignominious Israel-PLO deal for a Palestinian ghetto! *All* Israeli troops and settlers out of *all* of the Occupied Territories now!

Settlers: Spearhead of Zionist Reaction

Reportedly even within the almost seamlessly Zionist Israeli society, there is widespread shock over this wanton genocidal bloodbath. One elderly Israeli compared it to the pogroms carried out against Jews in tsarist Russia.

The mass killer Goldstein was not an aberration in the highly charged nationalist climate of the Zionist garrison-state. Goldstein was a longtime member of the fascist Kach party of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, and managed Kahane's election campaign for the Israeli parliament. Like his assassinated leader, this Brooklyn-born Jew was driven by a deep racist hatred of blacks and Arabs to emigrate to Israel. We noted shortly after Kahane founded his Jewish Defense League in Brooklyn as an anti-black vigilante gang that there is no place in the U.S. for a Jewish fascist movement. Kahane and his followers instead set up a pipeline to Israel, where they have become the shock troops of the "settler" movement.

And Hebron is its murderous heart, the headquarters not only for Kach and its Kahane Chai ("Kahane Lives") splinter, but for the ultra-Zionist Gush Emunim of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, which spearheaded the settler movement.

WV Photo

Spartacists join demonstration outside Israeli consulate in San Francisco hours after the Hebron massacre.

Months after the 1967 war, Hebron became the site of the first Zionist settlement on the occupied West Bank, as Levinger and his followers were allowed to move into the military government headquarters by the army and then prime minister Rabin. Particularly since the signing of the accord last September, settler thugs have repeatedly rampaged through the streets of Hebron, shooting and throwing rocks at Arab homes and randomly firing at people.

Rabin and his mainstream Zionist "Labor" party are today regarded as traitors by the right wing for even talking with the PLO. Rabin has occasionally mouthed off against the settlers in recent months, while his "leftist" Meretz coalition partners even call for them to be disarmed. But Rabin is no "dove"—he is the author of the "iron fist" policy of "force, might, beatings" to suppress the Palestinian *Intifada* uprising which began in December 1987.

All wings of the Israeli ruling class want the settlements in the Occupied Territories. It was the Labor Party which ushered in the settlements: of the existing 140 or so, *90* were founded in the ten years of Labor governments after the 1967 occupation. Expropriations of Arab land have *escalated* since the signing of the "peace" accord. Government-financed building continues apace in the settlements around "Greater Jerusalem," which encompasses 30 percent of the West Bank's total area.

Indeed, between settlements, transport networks, "nature reserves" and the like, *fully 70 percent* of the West Bank is now off limits to its Arab residents! Like his predecessors, Rabin has been busily "creating facts" on the ground, so that by the time of an eventual Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories the Arab areas will have been reduced to small, isolated slivers of "cantons," i.e., ghettos.

In a typical whitewash, the *New York Times* (27 February) claimed that "most of the 130,000 settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are not ideologues; they are commuters." This may be true of some number of yuppies who are drawn to high-rise apartments in the "bedroom suburbs" of Jerusalem by government housing subsidies, but the core of the settler movement—a quarter of it, even by the estimates of the Shin Beth secret police—are extreme racist nationalists *who serve as an armed auxiliary to the occupation army.*

Collusion between the settlers—many of whom are active duty soldiers—and the army at the highest levels is widespread and widely known. Last fall, Israeli TV viewers saw settlers gunning down three Arab residents of Hebron as soldiers watched. General Bar Kochba, who recently died, regularly "leaked" information from the general staff to the settlers. Following the signing of the accord, high-ranking army commanders warned Rabin that he could not "take for granted" that orders regarding withdrawal would be carried out.

The fascist mentality of nutfits like Kach is revealed in their violent hatred nnt only for Arabs but for Jews deemed to be "Arab-lovers." Recently, Zionist right-wingers planted bombs outside the New York offices of Peace Now. And in a 1981 letter to the *New York Times*, when he was still in the U.S., Goldstein demanded the forcible expulsion of all Arabs from Israeli-held territory, while repeating the right-wing Zionist nostrum that "Israelis will soon have to choose between a Jewish state and a democratic one."

But the rabidly racist settlers and fascist outfits like Kach are just the most extreme wing of Zionist nationalism. A Jerusalem rabbi eulogized Goldstein, ranting that "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail." This was the logical extension of the general Zionist outlook that Arabs are at best second-class citizens, if not "animals" or worse. The Israeli parliament recently increased the punishment for animal abuse to three years' imprisonment; yet when Gush Emunim leader Levinger was convicted of murdering a Palestinian shopkeeper in 1986—in one of the few cases of anti-Arab terrorism ever brought to court—he was sentenced to *six months* in jail.

With their slogan, "a land without people for a people without land," the Zionist founding fathers from the outset viewed the Arabs of Palestine as "non-people." The *New York Times* (27 February) grotesquely pontificated about "a violent symmetry" between Jewish and Arab "extremists." A box titled "Decades of Violence" in the previous day's issue listed the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre as the sole Zionist atrocity, followed by a long string of Palestinian terrorist attacks. But Deir Yassin was only one of *scores* of Zionist bloodbaths deliberately aimed at driving the Arabs off their land. This was what David Ben-Gurion called "the cleaning up of the Arab settlements."

Genocide has always been the implicit logic of nationalism. "The only good one is a dead one" is the watchword for extreme nationalism everywhere, from the slaughter of Native American Indians to Hitler's Holocaust to the West Bank settlers. In a recent book on Yugoslavia, where nationalist bloodletting has run rampant, Aleksa Djilas cited John Stuart Mill's condemnation of the nationalist "feelings which make men reckless of, or at least indifferent to, the rights and interests of any portion of the human species, save that which is called by the same name and speaks the same language as themselves." Djilas pointed out that in the Ottoman Empire, Muslims had full equality while Christians were second-class subjects, "prohibited, for example, from riding horses, carrying weapons, and wearing certain types of clothing" (*The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953* [1991]).

In Israel, while Jewish settlers are armed to the teeth, any Palestinian seen with a weapon is shot down without question. Meanwhile, today in the U.S., the rulers want to make everyone second-class citizens by taking away the right to bear arms. And while the Zionist apologists of the *New York Times* seek to disarm black and working people in this country, they dismiss "Palestinian demands for an immediate disarming of all Jewish settlers in the territories" as "unrealistic."

The Bankruptcy of Palestinian Nationalism

As we noted in our article "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993): "This deal carries to a conclusion the impotent logic of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism, which counseled reliance first on the Arab bourgeoisies of the region and then on the 'good offices' of U.S. imperialism." The evident bankruptcy of Arafat's capitulatory policies has already produced a groundswell of support to "rejectionist" groups like the "radical" nationalist PFLP and DFLP and, more particularly, Hamas. The Hamas fundamentalists are sinister reactionaries who terrorize secular Palestinians and murder Jews at random.

Now Palestinian fundamentalists vow revenge for Hebron with the cry, "A tooth for a tnoth." Although it is understandable, Marxists reject the sentiment for revenge killings. Indiscriminate terror would simply worsen the already poisonous relations between Jews and Arabs in the Near East. And it thereby decisively undercuts the cause of liberation of the Palestinian masses.

Revolutionaries side militarily even with fundamentalists like Hamas in armed conflicts with Israeli troops and settlers. But the nuclear-armed Zionist state has an overwhelming monopoly of firepower in its grasp. Palestinian emancipation requires the destruction of the Zionist garrison-state *from within*, through the revolutionary mobilization of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers.

Proletarian Marxists seek to break the Hebrew workers from their Zionist stranglehold and win them to a defense of the Palestinian people as part of the struggle for socialist revolution against their common exploiters, the Israeli bourgeoisie. A sharp rupture in the Zionist consensus would likely require cataclysmic historic events. But this is what revolutionary internationalists must look to, while standing foursquare with the Palestinians against every Zionist atrocity.

However, rather than fighting to build an independent Marxist vanguard, what passes for Trotskyism in Israel, the followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), has for decades pursued a "program" of chasing after non-proletarian forces. Historically the Mandelite Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) tailed behind one wing or another of Palestinian nationalism, while in recent years cozying up to the left-Zionist "Peace Now" movement. Today, RCL leader Michel Warshawsky scandalously gives "critical support" to the Israel-PLO "peace" accord, insisting that "our job is not to denounce the agreement" (*International Viewpoint*, January 1994).

This brazen acceptance of a neocolonial "robbers peace" has led to an open division among the Mandelites in the pages of *International Viewpoint*. USec

Right-Wing Provocation Routed

Thousands at Randy Shilts Memorial

SAN FRANCISCO—Acclaimed gay author Randy Shilts recently died of AIDS at the age of 42. A reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Randy Shilts was best known for his groundbreaking 1987 book *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*. He finished his most recent book, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Military*, published last year, in a hospital bed.

On February 22, an overflow crowd of thousands came out for a funeral service for Randy Shilts at San Francisco's Glide Memorial Church. Following Shilts' death, one Reverend Fred Phelps, a right-wing bigot from Topeka, Kansas, threatened to disrupt the memorial. But when Phelps and his clot of would-be anti-gay terrorists showed up, they were sent packing in about 30 seconds by hundreds of angry protesters.

One of the speakers at the memorial was Dr. Selma Dritz, retired assistant director of the San Francisco Health Department, who figured prominently in Shilts' book as a dedicated early fighter against the lethal epidemic. Dritz noted that Shilts began writing about AIDS before it even had a name, and fewer would have died if more people had taken heed.

Despite our differing political outlooks, we respected Randy Shilts. Shortly after *And the Band Played On* appeared in 1987, we called it "the most compelling portrait of the utter devastation wrought by this disease and the accompanying epidemic of fear and bigotry." We added:

> "Whatever its other failings, this powerful book lays bare the truth about medicine in capitalist America: the criminal negligence and outright obstructionism of the Reagan administration, the apathy of the media, and the complacency, glory mongering and money grubbing of the medical establishment. The U.S. has dealt with this epidemic about as badly as it was possible for an economically developed country to do."
>
> —*Women and Revolution*
> No. 35, Summer 1988

Shilts' book also made us rethink and change our initial blanket opposition to closing down gay bathhouses in San Francisco in 1982. His exhaustive research revealed that their timely closing could indeed have slowed down the exponential spread of AIDS. At least it could have served as a fast way to get out the message to those gay men who were most at risk, who remained largely uninformed or dismissive of the facts, that they were in danger of contracting a fatal disease. Shilts was widely condemned in the gay community for his position on closing the baths and called a gay "Uncle Tom" by many activists.

Although the book was written from the limited perspective of the gay movement, largely ignoring the grim realities of IV drug users (predominantly black and Hispanic), their sexual partners and babies, *And the Band Played On* broke new ground. Our disagreement with Shilts centered on his belief that the struggle for gay liberation was largely a question of achieving bourgeois respectability. The oppression of homosexuals is not due to rampant backward ideas but is rooted in the stultifying institution of the family in class society.

Shilts' conclusion was that anti-gay bigotry could be successfully countered by organizing the gay community within the framework of Democratic Party coalition politics—particularly in San Francisco, where petty-bourgeois gays have political clout in City Hall through the Democrats. But this is a dangerous dead end.

In the San Francisco "gay mecca," Democratic mayor Frank Jordan (roundly booed and jeered when he arrived at the funeral) has slashed public health funding, forcing many AIDS patients along with the poor and uninsured to rely on overloaded San Francisco General Hospital, whose emergency room patients overflow into the street. Thousands of homeless and poor, among whom the AIDS epidemic is raging, are brutally harassed by Jordan's cops under his "Operation Matrix." Meanwhile, the Clinton White House is working to "reform" health care in the interests of big business and to "end welfare as we know it."

WV Photo

Randy Shilts

Forden/L.A. Times

Spartacist contingent outside SF's Glide Memorial Church joined in routing anti-gay bigots who tried to disrupt February 22 memorial for Randy Shilts.

Gay-Bashing Bigots Spiked

Outside Shilts' memorial on February 22 the crowd swelled to over a thousand, counting the overflow from the service and angry protesters itching to give Rev. Phelps a well-deserved "welcome." Right-wing bigot Fred Phelps has made a career of inciting gay-bashing as he travels across the country targeting memorial services of prominent gay activists. In San Francisco he put out a press release featuring a photo of Shilts under the headline, "filthy face of fag evil."

No sooner had Phelps and his filthy handful of followers surfaced than they were bombarded with eggs and rocks. The bigots ran for cover like cockroaches exposed to light. Within two minutes they were back in their van, hightailing it nonstop to the airport. Had they delayed a moment longer, even the massive contingent of riot-clad cops sent to protect them probably would not have been able to help.

This vile provocation came in the context of a rising offensive by right-wing, bible-thumping bigots. That same weekend, a year after the assassination of Dr. David Gunn by an anti-abortion terrorist, Operation Rescue carried out two violent assaults on Bay Area abortion clinics and their clients (see article on page 3).

This is no parlor discussion crowd—these are terrorist shock troops seeking to drive women back into the home and to exterminate gays. The power of the working class must be mobilized to stop this offensive. A contingent of Spartacist League supporters who helped send Phelps packing carried placards declaring: "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights for Gays!" and "Capitalist 'Medicine for Profit' Impedes AIDS Research! For International Socialist Revolution!"

As Trotskyists we seek to build the revolutionary workers party that will lead the fight for a socialist revolution to sweep away fascistic terrorists like Phelps once and for all. Then we can build a socialist society that mobilizes massive resources in research and medical care to combat epidemics and disease with scientific knowledge and compassion. ■

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spokesman Salah Jaber denounced the accord as "among the most unjust and humiliating in the history of capitulations." But Jaber simply echoes the laments of pseudo-Marxist nationalists like Hawatmeh's DFLP. So in the face of this historic test, these fake-Trotskyists are paralyzed, dividing between those who follow in the wake of left-Zionism and those tailing after Palestinian left nationalism, which in turn tails after the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas.

Petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalism—in all its stripes—has always been a dead end, today with bloodier consequences than ever. Meanwhile, Hamas offers a "future" of reactionary obscurantism, threatening secular Palestinian women with violence if they refuse to observe Islamic law.

What is needed is a binational Trotskyist party, seeking to lead the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking working people in *internationalist class struggle* alongside all the workers of the region. Particularly given the interpenetration of the Hebrew and Arab peoples—and the division of the Palestinian people between Israeli and Jordanian rule (along with large concentrations in the refugee camps of Lebanon and Syria)—there can be no equitable democratic solution to the national question *without the overthrow of capitalism* throughout the region. This alone, a socialist federation of the Near East, could open the possibility of cooperative development of all the myriad peoples. Only workers revolution can avenge the horror of Hebron and the countless other atrocities which the Palestinian people have suffered. ■

Birmingham...

(continued from page 2)

the social power of the workers—black and white. Last year, during the long and bitter Trinity Industries strike in Bessemer, the integrated Steelworkers Local 9226 faced down the scabherding cops. And in a months-long Steelworkers strike in Columbiana, just a few miles from Birmingham, a scab ran down and killed two strikers.

The workers in the steel mills, railroads, rubber plants and mines of the Birmingham area—this "Pittsburgh of the South"—have a rich tradition of integrated class struggle. Led by black and white Communists, steel workers used sitdown strikes to win a dramatic CIO victory in Birmingham in 1936. But after championing cases like the Scottsboro Boys in the early '30s, the Communist Party derailed and betrayed the struggle for black freedom and working-class revolution through its support for the Democratic Party, which in the Deep South meant support for the Jim Crow Dixiecrats.

Today, the liberals and nationalists who echo Clinton's campaign on "black on black crime" and "community violence" are fueling the war on black America. As with the "war on drugs" and the bipartisan "crime" bill, the twin parties of capitalism are beefing up the police apparatus against blacks, while targeting workers' gains and seeking to gut the unions. This country desperately needs a multiracial revolutionary workers party which can lead all the oppressed in a fight against the capitalist system of racism and oppression. ■

Waco Verdict...

(continued from page 12)

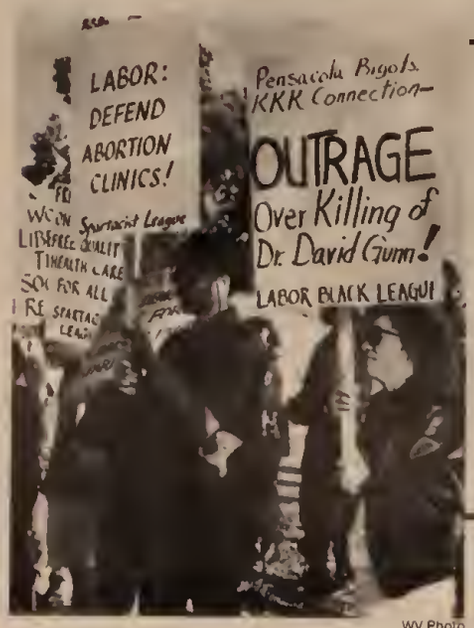
League. We tell the truth, that this state, the deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed, is hell-bent on enforcing a monopoly of armed force in order to further oppress defenseless subjects. When the rulers call for "gun control" in the name of "stopping violence," just remember the flames leaping from the Mount Carmel commune.

Today, all that remains of the Davidians' Mount Carmel commune are some blackened foundations surrounded by barbed wire. In the Waco morgue, 40 charred bodies still remain to be claimed. The Waco holocaust is the bloody signature of the Clinton regime, as the 1985 MOVE massacre in Philadelphia was for Reagan. The immolation of the Branch Davidians, a quirky religious group that only sought to be left alone to practice their religion, and to exercise their right to bear arms, cries out for justice. We will not forget. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

How Reno, RICO and O.R. Bigots Threaten Women's Rights

Defend Abortion Clinics!



WV Photo

Fremont, California—Spartacists and Labor Black League protest "Operation Rescue" meeting, 11 June 1993 (left).

Honor Dr. David Gunn

Miller/Montgomery Advertiser

One year ago a heroic defender of women's rights, Dr. David Gunn, was murdered by an anti-abortion assassin in Florida. No isolated act, this shocking crime focused national attention on the escalating deadly terror by "pro-life" reactionaries. On 10 March 1993, Dr. Gunn arrived at the Pensacola Women's Medical Services Clinic, one of the stops on his 1,000-mile "circuit riding" weekly schedule performing abortions in places where no other doctor could be found. Outside the clinic, he was met by "Rescue America" anti-abortion bigots harassing staff and patients. As he stepped out of his car, one of the "right to life" thugs opened fire, drilling three bullets from a .38 into his back.

Now Dr. Gunn's cowardly killer, Michael Griffin, is on trial, charged with first-degree murder. One of his likely defenses, according to the *New York Times* (22 February), is that Griffin was "compelled to act by John Burt, the regional director of the Operation Rescue anti-abortion crusade," who "inundated Mr. Griffin with hate literature and graphic videos." Burt's done a hell of a lot more than that. Burt is a "former" Ku Klux Klansman who was involved in lynch mob violence against school integration in St. Augustine in the 1960s. Burt has also admitted he was the "spiritual adviser" to two men arrested for 1984 Pensacola abortion clinic bombings, just as he "advised" Griffin.

The terrorist bombers of women's abortion clinics, like the racist nightriders of the KKK, are stepping up their deadly attacks. In most of the country, clinics are increasingly few and far between. Beleaguered abortion doctors, who now routinely wear bulletproof vests, are becoming an endangered species. Six months after Dr. Gunn was murdered, Dr. George Tiller was wounded in the arm by an anti-abortion fanatic outside his clinic in Wichita, Kansas. Because he is one of the few doctors who will perform late-term abortions, Dr. Tiller was one of the main targets of the 1991 "Operation Rescue" summer offensive. For six weeks, the O.R. fanatics blockaded his Wichita clinic; over 2,000 were arrested. A survey of 281 clinics by the Feminist Majority Foundation reported that in the first seven months of 1993 *half* were attacked by vandalism, death threats, stalking, assault and battery, and attempted murder.

The bloody terror against women continues, even as mainstream feminists hail the ascension of the "Billary" Democratic White House. After three terms of Reagan/Bush reaction, bourgeois feminists saw their chance to get some clout, and looked to the Democrats to reverse a decade of anti-woman, anti-abortion assaults. But "power feminist" Hillary, imperialist commander in chief Bill and their super-macho attorney general Janet Reno, the butcher of Waco, are no friends of working women.

When Dr. Gunn was murdered last year, we noted that some feminists were pushing for a federal law against blocking clinic access. We warned, "It is obvious that such 'no blocking' laws will be used against strikers who try to shut down

continued on page 4

Waco Verdict

Jury Didn't Buy Feds' Conspiracy Frame-Up

Almost one year after launching the deadly raid on the Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas which ultimately produced the fiery inferno in which some 86 people were incinerated, the U.S. government of mass murderers Bill Clinton and Janet Reno failed in its vindictive attempt to convict the survivors of the massacre on murder and conspiracy charges.

On February 26, all eleven surviving Branch Davidians on trial were acquitted by a San Antonio jury of murder and murder conspiracy, and four were acquitted of all charges. As in the Randy Weaver case, of an Idaho right-wing "survivalist" accused of murder after the FBI killed his wife and son, the jury didn't buy the feds' frame-up. However, five survivors convicted of voluntary manslaughter and two others convicted on trumped-up weapons charges could face up to ten years in jail. "We're free, but we're not free," said 63-year-old Woodrow Kendrick sadly; he lost his daughter, son-in-law and three grandchildren in the blaze.

Clinton, Reno, FBI/BATF Are Mass Murderers!

There *was* a conspiracy to commit murder in Waco, and the blood is all on the hands of Clinton, Reno and their agents, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and FBI, who planned and executed the mass murder of the racially integrated group for the "crime" of self-defense against an armed invasion of their home. After the verdict, Attorney General Reno made it clear what it was all about. No more talk about "child abuse" (she killed the kids in order to "save" them): four government agents died in the raid, and the victims had to pay.

The government's lies about being "ambushed" are exposed on their own tape, which records the Davidians' frantic call to the police 911 emergency number during the February 28 BATF raid: "There's 75 men around our building and they're shooting at us! Tell 'em there's women and children in here and to call it off!" At least *25 times* on the recordings, the Davidians' pleas to the BATF to stop firing are heard.

Debunking the government's claim that the raid was necessary, a defense witness testified that eight months before the raid BATF agents refused a chance to talk to David Koresh, the Davidians' leader, when he invited them to inspect the compound's weapons. Clearly the BATF, fending off attempts by the FBI to absorb it, sought to pull off a dramatic raid to justify its existence; any innocent lives snuffed out in the process were simply "collateral damage."

Free All the Survivors!

Within hours of the April 19 massacre, the Spartacist League initiated an emergency protest at the Federal Building in New York, raising a cry of outrage against the bloodthirsty U.S. rulers. Two days later, we picketed FBI headquarters in Washington, with placards denouncing "FBI Baby Killers" and demanding the immediate release of the survivors of Clinton's holocaust. We seek to sear the memory of this horrendous slaughter into the consciousness of the international working class.

While the bourgeois press sought to blame the Waco inferno on the victims, they were echoed by liberals and leftists from the *Nation* to the Communist Party to the misnamed Revolutionary Workers

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 596

18 March 1994

Peasant Unrest, Strikes, Protests Against Salinas Regime

Mexico Rocked by Chiapas Revolt

On January 1, a dramatic piece of news burst upon the world like a bombshell: an insurrection of Mayan Indian peasants had broken out in the southernmost Mexican state of Chiapas. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) declared war on the U.S.-backed government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which went into effect that day. The Mexican army, caught off guard, responded with an indiscriminate bloodbath that slaughtered several hundred, mainly peasant non-combatants. Then, just as suddenly, the fighting stopped after only 12 days as Salinas confined the army to barracks in Chiapas and offered peace talks with the rebels.

But while the "dialogue" went on in the colonial city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, a wave of rebellion spread through the peasantry of Chiapas and southern Mexico, extending to urban workers as well. After 100,000 marched in the capital in early January demanding "Stop the massacre," groups of strikers began to raise slogans linking their struggles to that of the "Zapatista" rebels.

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Mendoza/Imagenlatina

Zapatista peasant rebels rise up on New Year's Day. Their cry of rebellion has echoed around the world.

Massacre Fuels Palestinian Outrage Against Arafat Sellout

Israeli Army Terror Escalates

MARCH 14—As the Zionist regime conducts a whitewashing "commission of inquiry" into the February 25 massacre of scores of Muslim worshippers in the West Bank town of Hebron (Al-Khalil in Arabic), Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin has brought down on the Palestinian Arab people the "iron fist" of murderous repression for which he is notorious. As outraged protests continue to sweep the Occupied Territories, the army has killed dozens of Palestinians and wounded hundreds more in the past two weeks. Round-the-clock starvation curfews have been imposed on Arab towns and villages, while heavily armed ultra-Zionist settlers continue to roam the streets of Hebron and other Arab areas unchecked. Clearly singling out secular leftist militants, on International Women's Day troops brutally charged into a demonstration of Palestinian women in East Jerusalem.

The Pax Americana "peace" deal between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasir Arafat lies in tatters. The famous Arafat-Rabin handshake on the White House lawn has become a symbol of murderous perfidy to Palestinians everywhere. Rabin rebuffed his own cabinet when half the ministers called for removing the several hundred settlers from Hebron as a cosmetic concession. Instead, he has invited Rafael Eitan, a virulently anti-Arab racist who denounces Palestinians as "cockroaches," to join his government as police minister. Eitan demonstratively met with a

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AP

Israeli police attack Palestinian women demonstrating on International Women's Day, March 8.

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Secretly Held in Zionist Prison for 11 Years

Free Israeli Scientist Marcus Klingberg!

For more than seven years, courageous nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu has been locked up in solitary confinement in a six-by-nine-foot cell in Israel's high-security Ashkelon prison, kidnapped and tortured by the Zionist state for exposing to the world the scope of its vast nuclear arsenal. Now articles in the French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* (6 January) and the daily *Le Monde* (8 January) reveal that another cell in this dungeon has been occupied for the last eleven years by high-ranking scientist Marcus Klingberg. Klingberg was secretly tried and sentenced to 20 years on charges of spying for the Soviet Union. He had intimate knowledge of Israel's other secret arsenal of mega-death, its stockpile of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

An internationally prominent researcher who had published scores of works on epidemiology and other medical sciences, Marcus Klingberg seemingly disappeared from the face of the earth in January 1983. Until recently, his fate remained unknown to coworkers, friends and all but his immediate family. The only record in the Tel Aviv court where he was tried is a reference to the case of "State of Israel vs. X." When British journalist Peter Pringle tried to investigate Klingberg's fate in 1985, Israeli police broke into his car and stole his files. Even Klingberg's prison guards knew him only as "Greenberg," the name given him by the Shin Beth secret police.

What brought the wrath of the Zionist state down on Marcus Klingberg? He sought to assist, as best he could, the Soviet Union which had saved his life—and the lives of countless other Jews—and defeated the Nazi scourge. For years, Klingberg moved comfortably in elite Zionist intellectual and political circles, despite his leftist views and openly pro-Soviet sympathies. When his daughter Sylvia, who was a far-left activist and anti-Zionist, castigated him for his complacent attitude toward the Israeli regime, he replied: "One day, you will see..."

In the 1988 book by his friend, the French writer Alain Brossat, on *Agents of Moscow: Stalinism and Its Shadow*, the first chapter is a biographical account of Klingberg titled "The Anonymous Debtor." Brossat described him as one "who refused to forget his debt, to turn his back as one disillusioned with real socialism, unlike so many others with similar backgrounds.... He was never a doctrinaire Stalinist desperately trying to justify the gulag as the price of 'building socialism'; he was simply a man with a memory—who did not want to forget."

Maariv

Marcus Klingberg

Born into a Polish-Jewish family, Klingberg was a student at Warsaw University and an anti-fascist activist on the eve of World War II. As Hitler's Wehrmacht swept through Poland in 1939, he heeded his father's urging to ensure "that at least one of us will survive" and fled to Minsk. When Nazi Germany launched its invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Marcus Klingberg immediately volunteered for the Red Army, serving as a field doctor at the front and reaching the rank of captain by the end of the war.

Klingberg returned to his native Poland in December 1944 as the Red Army advanced toward Berlin, only to find that his entire family had perished in the ghettos and gas chambers. In 1948, he began organizing volunteers for the Israeli Haganah "defense" force and soon left for Israel himself. As *Le Monde* noted, Klingberg's Zionist and pro-Soviet sympathies did not seem in contradiction at the time, when Stalin was a key promoter of the creation of Israel.

Rapidly climbing the ladder of the Israeli military medical establishment, by the early 1950s Klingberg had been appointed assistant director of an "institute of biological research" at Nes Tsiona, a position he held until 1972. But Nes Tsiona is "no ordinary laboratory." As *Le Nouvel Observateur* points out, this top-secret research center, operated under the direct control of the Israeli prime minister, is "the heart of a military-medical complex designated for the development of bacteriological and chemical weaponry as well as their antidotes," including "43 types of non-conventional weaponry, from viruses to poison derived from mushrooms."

As we noted in defending Mordechai Vanunu, *the Zionist madmen who lust for a "Greater Israel" not only have enough A-bombs to obliterate every Arab capital in the region several times over, but were capable of launching nuclear attacks on the Soviet Union. And here was evidence that they were and are capable of deploying toxic poisons against the Arab populations on a scale rivaling the Nazis!*

It was not until many years later that the CIA passed on a tip to Shin Beth from a Soviet defector, leading to Klingberg's arrest. To cover their tracks, the Israeli secret police circulated "rumors" that Klingberg had fled to the USSR or entered an insane asylum in Switzerland, while warning his wife and daughter to remain silent or lose all visitation rights. In 1985, Sylvia Klingberg hired a French lawyer, who approached the Soviet embassy in Paris and East German "spy trader" Wolfgang Vogel to arrange a swap for Klingberg. When Vogel's plans collapsed, he advised her to appeal directly to Gorbachev. In one of *four* letters to the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Workers Revolution and the Peasantry in Mexico

Following the outbreak of the "Zapatista" Indian peasant revolt in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, a spirit of rebellion has swept through the impoverished rural and urban masses. But to break the stranglehold of the authoritarian regime of the "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI), in power for the last seven decades, requires more than widespread plebeian unrest. The following excerpt from the "Draft Theses on Mexico," published under the political direction of Leon Trotsky while he was in political exile in Mexico, emphasizes the fundamental Marxist tenet that the peasantry, lacking the clear class interest and social cohesion of the fundamental classes in society, can follow either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. While the bourgeois nationalist regime that grew out of the frustrated Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 confirmed the communal landholdings (ejidos) of the Indian villages—now canceled by the "reforms" of the Salinas regime—it did not provide the "land to the tiller" for which Emiliano Zapata and other agrarian revolutionary leaders fought. This could only be accomplished by the working class taking power, at the head of the peasantry and led by a communist vanguard, as it proceeds to undertake socialist revolution.

The native bourgeoisie has been and continues to be incapable of solving the agrarian problem. Millions of agricultural laborers and an impressive mass of poor peasants, small landholders and *ejido* members await the revolution in hopes that it will resolve their problems. The nonexistence of a revolutionary party capable of leading these peasants to struggle has made it possible for the PRM [Party of the Mexican Revolution, former name of the PRI under Lázaro Cárdenas] and Cardenism to capitalize on the discontent and thirst for land of the peasant masses, at the same time as they use this as political food for the people.

The entire development of the Mexican Revolution, including the period of Zapata and the other agrarian leaders, confirms the fact that the peasants constitute an enormous revolutionary force which, however, is incapable of crystallizing its own policy. For 27 years they have marched in the train of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and the professional politicians emanating from the agrarian petty bourgeoisie. The future of proletarian revolution in Mexico depends in large measure on this situation changing.

Only the power of the proletarian dictatorship will give all the land to those who have longed for it in vain. The semi-feudal backwardness of the millions of peasants, their thirst for land, the hunger and poverty, in a word, the mammoth proportions of the agrarian problem, made acute in the extreme by imperialism, the backwardness of the country and its semicolonial character, rather than being factors which make impossible the dictatorship of the proletariat, are the motor for the inevitable worker-peasant alliance which will carry the proletariat to power.

—translated from "National Problems," in *Clave*
(No. 5, February 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Pliant Judge Reinstates Gun Convictions

Waco Frame-Up Continues

Tasnadi/AP

Clinton's top cop Janet Reno pursues vendetta against survivors of feds' Waco massacre.

Fuming that a San Antonio jury threw out murder and conspiracy charges against eleven Branch Davidians, Clinton's attorney general Janet Reno pulled out the stops to pile on more jail time for those who escaped death in the government's Waco inferno last April. "General" Reno is determined that they must pay for the fact that four federal agents died in the earlier February 1993 assault on the integrated religious commune by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF).

So after being heavily leaned on by Washington, the federal judge who tried the case suddenly reversed himself and reinstated weapons charges against seven of the defendants. Under federal sentencing guidelines, these draconian charges carry a maximum sentence of *30 years*, and cannot be served concurrently with other sentences. One of those who had been acquitted of all other charges, Ruth Riddle, was within hours of being released. The sheer vindictiveness of the federal government's judicial persecution of the Waco survivors knows no bounds!

In last month's trial, though cleared of "murder-conspiracy" charges, seven Davidians were nevertheless convicted of voluntary manslaughter and weapons possession, and face long prison terms. Originally Judge Walter Smith Jr. had thrown out seven additional firearms convictions for "using a firearm in furtherance of a conspiracy"...since the jury ruled there was no conspiracy. But now the "Justice" Department has dug up an obscure precedent allowing it to mete out maximum retribution to those who dared defend themselves against the armed might of the state.

The Spartacist League has from the first denounced this government mass murder by the BATF and FBI stormtroopers, in which 86 people (including two dozen children) were killed, and demanded freedom for the survivors of the Waco holocaust. The embattled White House seeks to strike a tough "law-and-order" posture to buttress its anti-"crime" credentials. For those who might have held illusions in a "kinder, gentler" Democratic regime, the horror of 19 April 1993 must be a chilling reminder that the gun control crusade is a program not to "stop the violence," but rather for police-state repression and state murder.

In an article headlined "Waco Verdicts Seen as Time of Renewal for ATF," the *Los Angeles Times* (28 February) reports that with the Branch Davidian convictions and passage of the Brady gun control law, the Treasury Department's private army has a new lease on life. Not only will they be responsible for investigating handgun purchasers, but with Clinton pushing for higher tobacco taxes, the trigger-happy T-men are gearing up for more Gestapo-style raids and greater police powers to rerun Prohibition with a war against cigarette smugglers.

The racist capitalist rulers are determined to impose a monopoly on armed violence as they seek to enforce conformity and submission on minorities, the poor and working people. That is the lesson of Waco. And we vow to sear that lesson into the memory of the working class in building a multiracial vanguard party fighting for a socialist revolution to sweep away this oppressive system. ■

Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

delegation of settlers, many of whom openly rejoice over the bloodbath perpetrated by Brooklyn-born fascist Kach member Baruch Goldstein. Kach party leaders paraded on Israeli television to sneer at orders confining them to "administrative detention." To get the heat off itself, the Israeli regime has now banned Kach and its Kahane Chai splitoff. But involvement in this and other anti-Arab massacres extends far beyond these fascist fringe groups.

Even the government's own commission has been unable to bolster Rabin's claim that the Hebron massacre was an aberrant outrage by a lone "lunatic." West Bank military commander General Danny Yatom lamely claimed that most of the guards who were supposed to be posted outside the mosque entrance had "overslept." The closed-circuit TV cameras in the mosque were coincidentally broken that day, and the videotapes have since somehow "disappeared." A known "troublemaker" even by the army's own admission, Goldstein was nevertheless allowed into the mosque wearing protective earmuffs for indoor shooting and carrying his army-issue Galil machine gun and five clips of ammo. The gate between Jewish and Muslim prayer areas through which Goldstein passed, normally locked, had been left open. And after the shooting started, electrical power at the mosque was cut off, preventing a call for assistance over the mosque's loudspeaker.

The army high command ludicrously claimed they had no reason to anticipate a massacre by settlers because until then "none had ever occurred"! In December, rampaging settlers had gunned down three Palestinians in Hebron in broad daylight—in full view of Israeli soldiers. Goldstein regularly spent hours visiting convicted mass murderer Ami Popper, who had gunned down seven Palestinian laborers. In fact, Muslim clerical authorities at the mosque had specifically warned both the army and Rabin about Goldstein four months earlier, after he had poured acid on prayer rugs. And the night before the massacre, settler thugs had set upon Muslims at the Hebron mosque, while a few hours later two of them opened fire on worshippers at a mosque near Goldstein's Qiryat Arba settlement.

The evidence of army complicity in the massacre mounts daily. As worshippers arrived at the Hebron mosque that morning, Israeli soldiers unprecedentedly ordered women to a completely separate room, leaving only men and boys in the area where, minutes later, Goldstein opened fire. Moreover, as we reported last issue, numerous survivors have testified that Goldstein was not the only Israeli involved in the shooting. *Time* (7 March) wrote that Israeli TV reported, "quoting army sources," that two soldiers rushed into the mosque, saw worshippers starting to overpower Goldstein and opened fire.

Rosen/Saba

Ultra-Zionist settler thugs strut through Arab market in Hebron.

Now the Israeli magazine *Shishi* reveals that *a half-hour* before the massacre, Goldstein's wife herself had notified the local army command post that "Baruch is on his way to the Tomb. You have to stop him. I know he did not go to the Tomb to pray" (*New York Times*, 13 March). But no amount of warnings would have made any difference. Testifying before the commission of inquiry, the Israeli border police commander in Hebron said that his standing orders were that "under no circumstances" were they to fire at settlers, *specifically including* when settlers were shooting Arabs. One high-ranking officer brazenly admitted the army's policy was, "We don't shoot at Jews; they are not the enemy."

In a searing indictment of the government and the army, a commentator in the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* (4 March) wrote, "this massacre reminds me of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila." In that 1982 bloodbath, Israel ordered its Lebanese puppet forces to carry out a methodical slaughter of residents of two Palestinian refugee camps.

Palestinian Masses Spit on PLO Perfidy

In the wake of the Al-Khalil massacre, the demonstrations of outrage which have erupted in Arab communities on both sides of the Green Line (demarcating Israel from the Occupied Territories) have been directed as much against the PLO deal as against the Israeli occupiers. Effigies of Arafat have been burned, his posters defaced and in Hebron even PLO banners have been removed, with the cry, "This is Arafat's flag." Rebellion is rife even within Arafat's Fatah, as armed Fatah Hawks march alongside the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas in street demonstrations, declaring: "We are all ready to renew attacks against Israeli soldiers and settlers. We have given up on the peace process and we can't stand by while Israelis massacre our people."

No less a mainstream Palestinian intellectual than Edward Said, formerly the most prominent Arafat spokesman in the U.S., has bitterly denounced the accord as an "instrument of Palestinian surrender" and the PLO chairman as "Israel's enforcer" (*New York Times*, 4 March). Disillusionment with Arafat had mushroomed in the Occupied Territories even before the Hebron massacre, as Fatah supporters began acting as cops for the occupation forces, working in the "closest possible coordination with the Israeli authorities" in arresting Palestinian "criminals" (*Ma'ariv*, 28 January [translated by Israel Shahak]).

As Arafat's ignominious capitulation is repudiated on the Arab street, the question facing Palestinian militants is: What now? While taking a clear stand even with Hamas in military confrontations with Israeli troops and settlers, revolutionary Marxists must issue a sharp warning to the beleaguered Palestinian masses that any political support to these Islamic fundamentalists is suicidal. Hamas is a sinister outfit whose development in the first years of the *Intifada* uprising was initially sponsored by the Zionist state itself, as a weapon to weaken support for the PLO.

The Zionists lie that all opposition to Israel is anti-Semitic, but the Islamic fundamentalists they spawned really are anti-Semitic, in contrast to the bulk of the secular Palestinian left. Hamas' political program is reactionary through and through, particularly in seeking to enslave Palestinian women in the veil. What Hamas offers the Palestinian population can be seen by looking at the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria or, worse yet, at the *mujahedin* cutthroats in power in Afghanistan.

What is desperately needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard committed to a perspective of revolutionary internationalism, which alone is capable of uniting all the disparate peoples of the region in a struggle for workers revolution, the only road to achieving national and social emancipation. Today Hebrew-speaking workers remain deeply mired in Zionist reaction, while the Arab rulers' and would-be rulers' acquiescence to the imperialist "New World Order" has fueled a sharp rise in "militant" Islamic fundamentalism among the Arab masses. But the potential for socialist revolution in the Near East has been demonstrated on numerous occasions.

This was particularly the case in Iraq in 1958, as the masses rose up against the puppet regime imposed by the U.S. imperialists and the former British overlords. The Iraqi Communist Party had a massive proletarian base and a sizable component of Jewish cadre, as well as significant support among the Kurds. But its Stalinist politics led it to behead the struggle as it capitulated to Arab nationalism. Only within the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East can the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs as well as the Hebrew-speaking peoples be equitably achieved. *Down with the Israel-PLO anti-Palestinian accord! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!* ■

Mortality Rate Soars in Post-Soviet Russia

Counterrevolution and Death

Der Spiegel

Elderly Russian begging near Kremlin in Moscow.

Barely a couple of years ago the Western media was proclaiming triumphantly that the collapse of "communism" would bring a cornucopia of benefits for the people of the now-defunct USSR. Former Stalinist bureaucrats and yuppie intellectuals echoed Ronald Reagan in singing the praises of the "magic of the marketplace." Soon glitzy boutiques did start appearing in Moscow's Arbat district, street stands offered Western imports from pantyhose to perfume, and Snickers candy bars are ubiquitous. But meanwhile the mass of the population was thrown into abject misery.

Counterrevolution has brought unimaginable devastation to the land of the October Revolution. In recent months statistics have begun to trickle out giving a measure of the impoverishment and havoc that the breakdown of the socialized planned economy has wreaked, as it is replaced by "wild capitalism" without capital. Basic indicators of well-being show a decline in every sphere (real income, food intake, medical care), while indices of social pathology (violent crime, alcoholism, prostitution) are skyrocketing. And on the most fundamental question—life and death—the figures record a catastrophe.

The *New York Times* (6 March) reported on the dramatic rise in deaths (up by 20 percent in a single year) and an accompanying decline in births. The number of people who died exceeded the number born by nearly 800,000 in 1993, "making Russia the first industrial country to experience such a sharp decrease in its population for reasons other than war, famine or disease." David Coleman, a university lecturer in demographics at Oxford University said, "A decline in life expectancy this dramatic has never happened in the postwar world."

Much of the decline is due to the drop in the birthrate. Last year in Russia it was only 9.2 per 1,000 people, a drop of 15 percent from the previous year (in the U.S. the figure was 16.0 per 1,000). The *Washington Post* (7 March) called the plummeting rate "the lowest in the world in modern history." The reasons are simple—absolute poverty such that families can't afford to feed another mouth, combined with total economic and social uncertainty. The average industrial wage in Moscow is now $72 a month, while many professionals earn much less.

The falling birthrate is not unique to Russia. In east Germany (the former DDR), following capitalist reunification in 1990, the wholesale closure of factories in what was once the tenth-largest industrial economy in the world has led to mass firing of women. While 94 percent of women in the DDR used to work outside the home, now over two-thirds of the official unemployed in east Germany are women—and that doesn't include a couple of million more who are not counted as unemployed because they are stuck at home caring for children now that day-care centers have been closed! A recent German television documentary noted that "today there are less than half the babies born as in DDR times. Demographers are calling this phenomenon a kind of '*Gebärstreik*' [birth strike] of eastern women, in protest against the total destruction of their former society, the uncertainty and discrimination against women."

The population decline in post-Soviet Russia is also due to the soaring death rate, which has risen to 14.6 for every 1,000 people, an increase of *one-fifth* over the 1992 figure (in the U.S. it is 9.0 per 1,000). Possibly the most startling figure is the plummeting life expectancy for men in Russia: in 1993 it was 59 years, compared to 64 in 1985. A significant number of the deaths are suicides (up by 50 percent in the last four years), particularly among retirees who, unable to survive on their pitiful pensions, decide the only way out is to take their lives.

The reasons for the overall increase of the death rate are myriad, not the least from a terrible scarcity of medicines in hospitals—everything from aspirins to antibiotics is unavailable. The *Washington Post* reported that children and newborns are dying at twice and three times the rate of their counterparts in the West. Russian women are now dying in childbirth *five to ten times* more often than they do in the West. (In contrast, in Cuba the infant mortality rate has continued to fall to 9.4 per thousand births, despite the imperialist starvation blockade.)

"Recent and dramatic increases in the rates of tuberculosis, hepatitis, dysentery, typhus, venereal diseases and cancer have been recorded. Measles cases quadrupled in 1993 compared with the previous year. Cases of diphtheria, all but eradicated in most developed countries, also quadrupled last year, topping 15,000," the *Post* reported.

As with the explosion of nationalist/fascist violence across East Europe, the bourgeois press shamelessly tries to blame the skyrocketing death rate on the heritage of the workers state. The *New York Times* quotes a sociologist saying that "The Soviets demanded that men in Russia sacrifice their lives for Communism," and "nobody put the cost of life before the cost of building that society." Even more grotesquely, they blame the Soviet *people*: "there is still simply no feeling among a majority of people that it is worth worrying about one's future health"!

Just one horrifying indicator of the situation: last week, first-aid station workers and ambulance drivers in Moscow went on strike to protest the drastic shortage of drugs, outdated and poorly maintained ambulances and undermanned emergency rooms in local hospitals. For the most part these workers are working to rule. Their one real strike measure is refusing the task of "transporting corpses found in the street"! According to an ITAR-TASS (5 March) dispatch, this "threatens to turn the city into a morgue as corpses are not removed from the streets." The restoration of capitalism is like a scene out of the Middle Ages!

The formation of the Soviet Union following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the first time in history that the working class took power and offered the prospect of development toward a socialist society of genuine equality and abundance for all. But with the country devastated by civil war and imperialist invasion, and as a result of the failure of revolution to extend to the advanced countries of Europe, in 1923-24 a conservative bureaucratic caste usurped political power from the soviets and the Communist Party of Lenin and Trotsky. Yet even under bureaucratic rule, the power of the planned economy was such that it achieved spectacular results, catapulting the Soviet Union from a backward peasant country to a modern European industrial country, a military superpower capable of putting men into space.

But the Soviet Union was always economically weaker than the imperialists, and given the Stalinist bureaucracy's refusal to fight for workers revolution internationally—summed up in its nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country"—it eventually succumbed under the pounding military and economic pressures of imperialism. With the Yeltsin countercoup in August 1991, the Stalinist regime collapsed and subsequently the rudiments of a capitalist state were consolidated.

Now the destruction of millions of lives is dramatic proof that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is a giant step backward. Capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decline is unable to produce the wonders its Madison Avenue pitchmen promised. The simple statistic of a 20 percent increase in the death rate in one year tells the stark truth about a country where concealed unemployment exceeds 13 million workers, where the standard diet for millions consists *of bread* and nothing else--if they can get it.

A fight for workers revolution to bring about a regenerated Soviet Union urgently requires the leadership of a Bolshevik-Leninist party, a Trotskyist party that drives home the lessons of the fiasco of Stalinism and fights relentlessly against imperialism which is, quite literally, killing the people. ■

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Klingberg...

(continued from page 2)

Soviet leader, Sylvia Klingberg wrote:

> "Fifty or so years ago, my father arrived in the Soviet Union, this country which is yours but which is also his. He does not have another, he does not want another. In his cell, which the sun does not penetrate, he has only one ray of hope, returning to the USSR."

But this was the period of "new thinking," as Gorbachev bent over backward to accommodate the imperialists and their Zionist henchmen. Sylvia Klingberg's letters were never answered. Instead her father was left to languish in an Israeli prison, where he remains now, ill and dying, at the age of 75. Klingberg repaid his debt of solidarity to the Soviet Union, but the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy refused to honor its debt to him. Since the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the dissolution of the USSR, Klingberg has really been left out in the cold—a man without a country in every sense.

We have fought to defend Mordechai Vanunu from his Zionist jailers from the moment he was seized by the Israeli Mossad. Yet the fate meted out to Vanunu and Marcus Klingberg is a small portion of the vicious brutality which the Israeli rulers regularly visit upon the oppressed Palestinian Arabs. Hundreds of Palestinians have been "disappeared," while thousands more have been gunned down and tens of thousands imprisoned. *Free Mordechai Vanunu and Marcus Klingberg! Free all the Palestinian victims of Israeli terror!* ■

Young Spartacus

RWL Splits...Again

By Keith Hill

Times are tough for the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League. The RWL is hemorrhaging internally, having suffered three splits in as many years. In 1991, the RWL underwent mitosis when its two gurus, Peter Sollenberger and Leland Sanderson, discovered that there wasn't enough room in one organization to contain both their egos. Last year, two other comrades and I waged a fight in the RWL and broke from it in programmatic solidarity with the Spartacist League (see our bulletin, *Whither the RWL?*).

The newest split, first humbly calling itself the "Communist International Organizing Committee," only to become a month later the "Communist League" (CL), has produced no observable polarization along programmatic lines which might offer an opportunity for Trotskyist regroupment. While nominally seeking a more "proletarian" orientation, the CL ultimately shares with the RWL its hostility to working-class struggle, its warmed-over New Leftism, its pressure politics and its petty-bourgeois lifestylism. The CL wants nothing more than an RWL with a better self-image: a more "proletarian" veneer and a more stable organizational structure. Not surprisingly, the CL seems to be heading back to Sollenberger, looking forward to an early fusion with his tiny "Trotskyist League." Our view is necessarily one-sided and incomplete, as the RWL has declined to comment on the January split and has yet to publish any pertinent documents.

The CL's split documents, published in journal form as the first issue of *The Communist Internationalist*, provide a morbidly titillating glimpse into the sordid, miserable details of life in a convulsing centrist cult. For those of us who experienced it firsthand, the CL's account strikes a reminiscent chord. Reports abound of the most grotesque anti-Marxist practices, from political contacts being appraised "on the basis of their personality and sex appeal," to one young member openly shouting "Fuck the workers!" in a local meeting without so much as a criticism by the leadership. The RWL "Political Committee" is charged with intercepting the mail of comrades with political differences.

I can accept these accounts with little suspension of disbelief, even considering the source. The author is one Lisa W., whose chief complaint with the RWL leadership clique seems to be that it wouldn't have her for a member. I remember Lisa well. When I was in the RWL, she was my primary source of juicy stories about the Spartacist League. Yet in the introduction to "For a Democratic Centralist RWL!" the CL's founding document, in her own subjectivist way Lisa contrasted the political fights she had with the SL to the personalist mudslinging of the RWL:

> "It has been the RWL, through its clique structures and methods, which has succeeded in demoralizing me and shaking my confidence, where these other organizations could not. The reason for this is that the SL and BT cloak their attacks under a political shield. Under the guise of political disagreements, members become convinced that they have betrayed the international proletariat, the revolution, and everything that they wanted to fight for. In the RWL there is no such political shield. Comrades are isolated, minimalized, and demoralized on the basis of pure personalism, with no political disagreements even implied."

Sabaud/Columbus Dispatch

WV Photo

RWL repeatedly leads anti-fascist protesters into police pens, as in Columbus, Ohio last October (above). At PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization against the KKK in Springfield, Illinois in January (below), union marshals defended demonstrators from provocations by fascists and cops.

Lisa chose the personalism of the RWL over principled politics, and I take her current protestations of affinity for a working-class orientation with more than one grain of salt. She ostensibly left the SL because we refused to support the bureaucrats' ass-covering consumer boycott during the PATCO strike (we counterposed the urgent need for labor to *shut down* the airports) only to join an organization of proud and self-conscious *scabs*.

What struck me most was the absence of any real politics from the split documents. Escaping mention entirely is the RWL's fatuous insistence on the existence of a Soviet workers state headed by imperialist-backed Boris Yeltsin. *Fighting Worker*'s cringing hope that Bill Clinton will "preserve the gains women—and blacks, lesbians and gays and workers—have won by their own struggle" also slips by unnoticed! There is nary a word on the RWL's grotesque grooving on the Waco massacre, their despicable call for vigilante squads to hunt down a black "rapist" at UC Berkeley, nor their corralling of anti-fascist protesters into cop-lined pens from Indianapolis to Columbus.

Scabs for a Proletarian Party?

The CL's reports of the abysmal status of the RWL's organization indicate that things have changed little since I left last year. If anything, they've gotten worse. Apparently, the RWL still has no central office, no treasury or dues scale, no newspaper sales apparatus, and few employed members. They publish no bulletins, issue no motions, record no minutes of meetings, hold no votes, and have no leadership outside the "Political Committee" clique.

The three of us shared many of the CL's complaints when we split from the RWL a year ago. The RWL's complete lack of *any* organizational norms provided us with a negative example of how political program determines organizational forms. Yet in the CL's documents, these glaring symptoms of impending collapse are curiously referred to as a "danger" which the RWL must "overcome" in order to "remain" a "programmatically healthy Trotskyist vanguard"!

Repeating over and over again that organizational norms follow from political program, the CL themselves don't get it. They try to separate the questions of organization from those of program, spitting sideways at James P. Cannon in the process. The CL refuses to understand that democratic centralism and a proletarian orientation are *inseparable* from a Bolshevik program. If ever there was an outfit that proved Cannon's insistence that organizational forms are subordinate to political program, it is the RWL. Its lack of democratic centralism and a proletarian orientation stem directly from its anti-communist petty-bourgeois politics—if what you're about is tailing after liberals like NOW or NARAL or the NAACP, who needs organizational structure?

The CL complains that mentioning the working class only once between two RWL speeches just isn't enough. They'd like a little more lip service to the proletariat and a little less enthusing about "militant youth." To them, the working class is just one more "area" of work, one in which the RWL needs to do "more."

Actually, the less they do, the better. The RWL is perhaps unique among those groups calling themselves "socialist," in that it was *founded on the principle of crossing picket lines*! The first, and to date the most substantial, document published by the RWL was 80 pages of bragging about their own members' scabbing on a 1977 Ann Arbor campus strike! The very first issue of the *Fighting Worker* devotes itself to the question in an article entitled "Picket Lines and Spartacists," in which the RWL outrageously claims that the SL "invented" the historic labor principle of not crossing union pickets! To argue amongst an organization of *scabs* for a turn toward the working class is just gross.

The CL split occurred in the wake of the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois. One would think that an organization with a real proletarian orientation would have given that action its full support, yet the documents do not mention the SL's united-front appeal to the RWL once.

The Springfield mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, constitutes a victory that belongs overwhelmingly to the hard core of Chicago's black working class. Union marshals successfully defended the demonstration against repeated provocations by both the fascists and the cops. That mobilization required hard political fights that polarized the labor movement, and tough legal battles in the bosses' courts. In Springfield, the RWL abstained from the struggle of the working class. The RWL joined the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party in a fake-left diversion, which screamed impotently at the fascists while leaving themselves vulnerable to provocations by the cops.

Just how few the differences are

continued on page 11

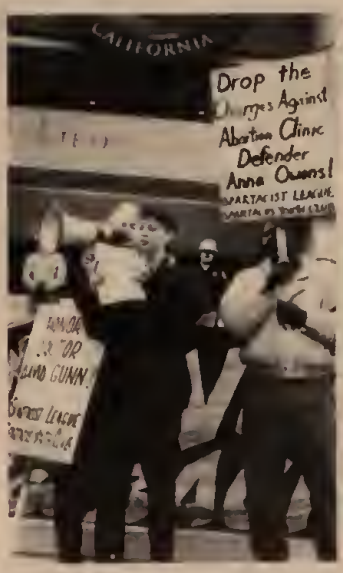
Spartacist Arrested in San Jose Clinic Defense—Drop the Charges!

Defend Abortion—Stop O.R.!

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 5, the "Operation Rescue" bigots were stopped cold in their deadly provocation against an abortion clinic in San Jose. They had been emboldened after O.R. thugs terrorized a San Jose clinic two weeks earlier; in SF, an outnumbered group of clinic defenders managed to beat back the O.R. attack (see *WV* No. 595, 4 March). This time, the anti-abortion bullies suffered a defeat at the hands of clinic defenders, who mobilized in the pre-dawn hours to stop these sinister thugs.

When the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) put the word out that Operation Rescue was planning to target a clinic, Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters joined with BACORR to defend the Women's Community Clinic in San Jose at 5 a.m. Among the 75 defenders at the clinic were a handful of bourgeois feminists from NOW, supporters of the Revolutionary Workers League, a lesbian group from Santa Cruz, and others. O.R. arrived at the clinic and found defenders shoulder to shoulder at the entrances, ready to stop them.

A cluster of the Operation Rescue reactionaries preached and prayed across the street, but their bolder supporters charged the line of clinic defenders, trying to break through to the clinic entrance. The clinic defenders linked arms and kept O.R. out, but aided by the cops, some O.R. scum were able to infiltrate the crowd. Despite police efforts to undermine the clinic defense, every patient with an appointment that day got into the clinic safely—thanks to the concerted efforts of clinic defenders.



WV Photos

At March 9 demonstration honoring Dr. Gunn in San Francisco, Spartacist spokesman Anna Owens (left) calls for mobilizing working class to sweep away the O.R. anti-abortion terrorists.

After being routed in their attempt to break through the defense line and shut down the clinic, a female O.R. member notorious for goading the cops chatted up a police officer who then quickly arrested Spartacus Youth Club member Anna Owens. Outrageously, Anna was chained to a table at the police detention center for half an hour. Her arms were twisted painfully behind her back the entire time, handcuffed so tightly that welts formed on her wrists. She was then carted off to jail on trumped-up charges of battery.

One BACORR supporter who witnessed the cop/O.R. frame-up later called the Spartacist office to offer his support, saying "everyone knows she was arrested because she's a communist." Anna's first court date is May 5. We demand that these frame-up charges against her be dropped immediately!

On March 9, a rally and march from the State Building in San Francisco was held to mark the anniversary of the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida. Dr. Gunn, who courageously provided abortion services in the most backward regions of the South, was murdered last year by a "right to life" terrorist with connections to the KKK. The killer, Michael Griffin, was recently found guilty of first-degree murder by a Florida jury and sentenced to life in prison with parole possible after 25 years.

At the March 9 demonstration, comrade Anna Owens addressed the crowd, speaking of the need to mobilize labor's social power against the reactionary O.R. scum to make sure there are no more martyrs in the fight for abortion rights:

"Bourgeois feminists in NOW and NARAL may get off on wheeling and dealing with the racist Dixiecrats in the corridors of Washington, but only so that the daughters of the ruling class can share exploitative power alongside their bourgeois brothers. We've seen this with so-called 'sisters' Boxer and Feinstein's vicious attacks on immigrants.

"Working women, poor women, black and Latino women will never have power under capitalism. The cops and courts, behind whom the bourgeois feminists stand, are not neutral arbiters, but the main defenders of this capitalist system of misery for most of us and privilege for the few. Clinton and Reno—the butchers of the integrated group of 86 men, women and children near Waco—and their racist Democratic Party are the mortal enemies of all the oppressed.

"If the working class mobilized in a political fight for its own interest under the leadership of a revolutionary party, then O.R. would scurry like frightened roaches back into the shadows!

"We honor Dr. Gunn, heroic defender of women's rights. The best way to avenge his death is to build a society where free, safe abortion on demand and free quality medical care for all are reality. But that will take an international socialist revolution. And that can only be made by the working class.

"Help us build the integrated, revolutionary workers party that can lead that revolution to victory! Instead of fighting for what others deem possible, fight for what's necessary! Let's stop these women-hating, anti-gay bigots once and for all! Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! Check out the SYC!" ■

Spartacus Youth Clubs Events

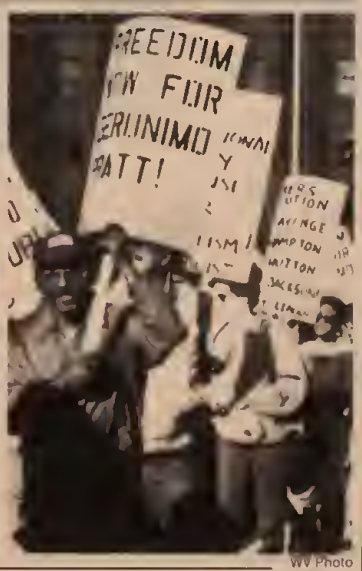
SYC Forum/Video Showing

FOX TV News Series Exposes FBI Frame-Up!

Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) Now!

Wednesday, March 23, 8:00 p.m.
Howard University, Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
For more information: (202) 872-8240
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Tuesday, March 22, 12:00 noon
East Madrone Room, ASUC Building
University of California
For more information: (510) 839-0851
BERKELEY



WV Photo

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Defend the Cuban Revolution! Down with Yankee Imperialism!

Next class:
Wednesday, March 23, 7 p.m.
West Madrone Room, ASUC Building
University of California
For more information: (510) 839-0851
BERKELEY

Next class:
Wednesday, April 6, 6:30 p.m.
Room B114, Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 777-9367
SAN FRANCISCO

Next class:
Saturday, March 19, 3:00 p.m.
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution
La Casa, 510 E. Chalmers
University of Illinois
For more information: (312) 663-0715
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Next class:
Tuesday, March 22, 7:30 p.m.
How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled
Room 205, Sever Hall
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928
BOSTON

Next class:
Tuesday, March 22, 7:30 p.m.
The State and Revolution
Room 317, Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(take the #1 or 9 train to 116th and B'way)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

Southern Black Students Protest Cop Brutality in Birmingham

In Birmingham, Alabama on March 4 more than 200 people marched to protest a savage cop attack on 40 black youth last January 15, the anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. The cop riot recalled racist sheriff Bull Connor's vicious assaults in the 1960s—only now the city has a black mayor, a majority-black city council and a black police chief. As Clinton's Democratic Party has shoved blacks to the "back of the bus," it's blatantly obvious that no black Democrat can control the racist bonapartist cops who are on a rampage.

Spartacists from Atlanta and Washington formed a militant contingent in the march and rally, which was called by the Malcolm X Grass Roots Movement, Ujima and the Youth Task Force of the Southern Organizing Committee. The Partisan Defense Committee made a $50 contribution to the legal defense of demonstrators who still have charges pending from the earlier march.

The following is an account of the day written by members of the Howard University Spartacus Youth Club, who rode down to Birmingham from Washington with students.

Young Spartacus

Birmingham, March 4: Over 200 militant youth came from as far away as Washington, D.C. to protest racist cop brutality.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Bull Connor-style attack on young black protesters in Birmingham provoked a militant demonstration of black students from throughout the South, including North Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and Washington, D.C. As members of the Howard University Spartacus Youth Club, we rode the bus with 30 other students and black youth on the 14-hour trip from D.C. to Birmingham, a journey reminiscent of the "Freedom Rides" of 30 years ago. Students from the University of the District of Columbia, the University of Maryland at College Park, individuals from various community support groups and graduates of the Duke Ellington School of the Arts High School all took part in this important action.

The *WV* article featuring the recent Birmingham police riot (*WV* No. 595, 4 March) was snapped up by the youth, who were pleased to see we reported and protested the attacks. On the bus, a video of the demonstration was shown—recalling the vicious beating of Rodney King—a vivid and graphic display of naked cop bonapartism unleashed.

The camerawoman heroically recorded the brutality of the thugs in blue, getting close-up shots of the attack: the macing of 12-year-old boys and girls, the violent handcuffing of anyone who made even a peep against the cops' disgusting behavior, and the flagrant disregard of the rights of black people that is standard operating procedure in racist capitalist America.

The long trip allowed for lots of discussion on racism, the capitalist state, and perspectives and strategy for social struggle. We pointed to our program for integrated class struggle, emphasizing the recent successful Springfield anti-Klan mobilization, as well as Atlanta in 1989 and Philadelphia in '88 which we had initiated. We also emphasized that the Birmingham/Bessemer area is considered the "Pittsburgh of the South" because of the big steel mills, and that the heavily black working class is the effective social counterforce to the rampant brutality of the police.

We caused quite a stir at a truck-stop on Interstate 85 somewhere near the Georgia-Alabama state line. Taking a moment to stretch, Duke Ellington School graduates, members of the gospel group Testify, started to choreograph a few dance steps. The sight of these artistic, synchronized and high-spirited black youth drew vexed stares from the "locals." So a dose of modern D.C. culture really rocked that rural backwater!

Arriving in Birmingham, we disembarked at the 16th Street Baptist Church, where four girls attending Sunday school were murdered in cold blood more than three decades ago. We met with our comrades from Atlanta there, and we looked at the memorial to the victims of the bombing, which had photos of the children, the church after the explosion, some charred parts of the old building and the ensuing protests. The visit gave a real appreciation of the sacrifices made in the era. The power of the exhibit made our blood boil with a burning vengeance to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War—destroying forever the special oppression blacks have always faced in racist capitalist America.

The protest itself was very militant: one could really get the sense that people were furious and defiant and wanted to express their outrage at the beatings. Yet the organizers offered up either liberal reformism (inviting a nonviolent preacher and the mayor [!] as guest speakers) or black nationalism (which is expressed in periods of *defeat* for black rights).To add insult to injury, the organizers were even bemoaning the fact that the black police chief didn't show up—even after being invited to speak!

The tragedy is that in the absence of a revolutionary Marxist vanguard party to lead the masses in struggle all this well-spent energy and legitimate outrage is channeled into those ideologies of despair. What was urgently needed was a strong organized labor presence. In a situation where the Birmingham police have *already shown* their role, a fighting labor movement, led by a revolutionary party, would compel those vicious cops, no matter what color they are, to think twice before they lay even a finger on any defenseless black school kids. The point is, both liberal reformism and black nationalism are dead ends. The only way forward is *revolutionary integrationism.*

We marched through the streets of Birmingham with our signs: "For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Racist Protesters!" "Organize the South! For Integrated Class Struggle to Defend Black Rights!" "Clinton's 'War on Crime,' 'War on Drugs' Means Racist State Repression," "Unchain the Unions, Oust the Bureaucrats! Build a Multiracial Workers Party!" Other protesters picked up our slogans and were eager to talk to us about a revolutionary perspective.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs nationwide are dedicated to winning students and youth to the program of class struggle, which is the only way forward to black freedom. Students won to a revolutionary program can help to forge the required leadership to build militant, fighting and defiant mobilizations of all workers—be they black, white, Hispanic or Asian—to defend black rights and the rights of all the oppressed. Ultimately, it will take a working-class revolution to end all police brutality, and through that, we will finish the Civil War. ■

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Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

Across the ocean in Europe, militant Alfa Romeo workers protesting mass layoffs in Milano, Italy raised signs proclaiming "Viva Zapata!" as did workers in a general strike against the anti-union plans of the "Socialist" government of Spain. The cry of rebellion from the remote Lancandón rain forest came to symbolize those who challenged the imperialists' "New World Order."

On March 2, the press announced that an agreement had been reached between the rebels and the government "peace commissioner." This was a list of 34 "commitments" by the government in response to the EZLN demands. While offering to spend more money in the impoverished state and to distribute some land, it said nothing about demands for an end to rigged elections and for a reversal of the government's agrarian counterreform. The media's "peace" euphoria began to dissipate as thousands of peasants seized and occupied city halls in four Chiapas towns. In response, counterrevolutionary "white guard" private armies of the big landowners have stepped up terror against peasant leaders. In San Cristóbal, businessmen are hiring gunmen and demanding the expulsion of the bishops and closing of Catholic churches accused of spreading "liberation theology."

In a matter of a few weeks, the semi-bonapartist regime of the "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI), which has ruled Mexico for the last seven decades, has been severely shaken. But the road forward is not a replay of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 but a workers revolution which must extend across the northern border into the U.S. itself. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) put out a January 6 statement denouncing the army massacre in Chiapas (see *WV* No. 592, 21 January). We print below translated excerpts from their article in the latest issue of *Espartaco* (No. 5, Spring 1994).

Indian Uprising in Chiapas

Fight Against Bourgeois Repression and Imperialist Pillage!

Toward Workers Revolution

New Year's Day was supposed to be a holiday for the regime of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and his imperialist masters in Washington. The Free Trade Agreement went into effect, the accord with which Wall Street proposes to build a trade fortress against growing competition from its rivals in Europe and Japan while intensifying its imperialist pillage of Latin America. But the news that went 'round the world on January 1 was of the Chiapas rebellion, with its denunciation of NAFTA as a "death sentence for Mexico's Indian ethnic groups, who are dispensable for the government" of Salinas. Declaring war on the "dictator" and his army, the EZLN demanded "work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace."

Zapatista uprising has fueled new struggles (clockwise from top left): Peasants on hunger strike come to the capital; striking sugar cane workers from Michoacán; university workers demand pay raise; dissident teachers march for wage increase and to support EZLN.

After centuries of outrages, hunger and the thirst for land exploded in Mexico's poorest state. The insurgency brought to light the taboo subject of racism in Mexico and called attention to the brutal oppression of peasant women, underlining the age-old forms of oppression upon which capitalist rule rests. The uprising is not the product merely of isolation: a crucial background factor was the fall in the price of coffee and bananas on the world market; together with the deadly attack on the *ejido* (communally owned Indian lands which were constitutionally protected after the Mexican Revolution, now slated for liquidation) and the plundering promised by NAFTA, this literally meant death for thousands.

This rebellion of the "wretched of the earth" was received with demonstrations in Europe and the U.S., from San Francisco to New York, and declarations of solidarity by Indian organizations from Bolivia and Brazil to the Mohawks of Quebec. For his part, Democrat Clinton, leader of Yankee imperialism, followed in the footsteps of Republican Reagan, reinforcing the racist anti-immigrant "blockade" along Mexico's northern border and, under the pretext of "humanitarian aid" (like in Somalia?), sending Black Hawk helicopters and more than 4,500 troops to Guatemala, whose army is on maximum alert; U.S. soldiers were seen in Huehuetenango, bordering Chiapas (*El Día* and *El Financiero*, 14 February). Meanwhile Washington's sinister clown in Buenos Aires, Carlos Menem, warned against the risk of an Argentine Chiapas.

The government unleashed a bloodbath against the uprising, seeking to terrorize all who would dare struggle against oppression. When the EZLN showed its capacity for combat by occupying a series of towns, the Mexican army launched a rain of death with air attacks. Now, in the most cynical manner, the army denies using bombs, claiming it "only" used helicopter gunships, machine guns and rockets! Helicopters fired randomly at vehicles and fired rockets close by the San Cristóbal de las Casas gas-storage depot. Troops machine-gunned a van on the road to San Juan Chamula, near the 31st Military Zone; among those murdered were an eight-year-old girl and a baby.

The wave of terror spread: even the liberals of Amnesty International denounced the "disappearances," torture, coups de grâce and mass graves, and the cover-up role played by the National Human Rights Commission—whose ex-director, now minister of the interior (Gobernación), recently held a meeting on Chiapas with the head of the CIA, according to press reports. Unarmed Indians were "disappeared" in military ambulances, their decomposed corpses found weeks later. But the insurgents' resistance, their knowledge of the terrain and the popular support for their struggle frustrated the first attempt at a lightning annihilation that would crush the rebellion. Thwarted as well were the demands for "extermination" made by labor chief Fidel ("Terminator") Velázquez [the 90-plus-year-old head of the pro-government CTM union federation] and by vengeance-hungry Chiapas landowners who—in the style of Porfirio Díaz [long-time dictator overthrown by the Mexican Revolution]—called for finishing off "all those Zapatista Indians once and for all."

The government has sought to mount a witchhunt against the "dark hand" of "foreigners." Central American refugees fear a wave of xenophobia, while the government threatens to take away the citizenship of Mexican Indians who, due to the military clashes, sought refuge in Guatemala. Troops are combing the state of Guerrero in search of supposed guerrillas. In Coyoacán, a 14-year-old student was savagely beaten by police during an "art marathon for peace." Despite its reactionary editorials against Zapatista "violence" during the first days of the conflict, the Mexico City liberal daily *La Jornada* has received threats from a group calling itself the Mexican Anti-Communist Front.

The repression did not succeed in cowing the insurgents nor in stilling protests. On the contrary, the EZLN—which already had the support of the Indians of Chiapas' Los Altos highland region, unlike the isolated guerrilla struggles of the '70s, which were the death rattle of the defeat of 1968 (when the army mowed down hundreds of leftist protesters in Mexico City)—has won the sympathy of millions all over the country. A recent poll published in *Etcétera* magazine (10 February) found that 78 percent of the population considers the demands of the EZLN to be just. On January 12, 100,000 marched in Mexico City; the chant of "E-Z-L-N" from thousands of students and workers contrasted with the scolding against "violence" made by speakers of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) from the podium.

Meanwhile, the charismatic Subcomandante Marcos has become the man of the day, in contrast with insipid PRI candidate Donaldo Colosio (who fears being eclipsed by Camacho Solís, former contender for the PRI's presidential nomination and current "peace commissioner"). In part, the widespread sympathy reflects the fact that the EZLN puts itself forward as a force which has learned the "lesson" of the supposed "death of communism": that you can shake things up, but you shouldn't struggle for power. The Zapatista spokesman emphasized: "We do not even want to constitute a government, we only want a democratically elected government and respect for the ethnic groups" (*La Jornada*, 4 January).

Liberals, government institutions and "non-governmental organizations," student leaders and fake-leftists all seek to channel sympathy for the rebellion into bourgeois charity, with collections of food and blankets for "peace" and "reconciliation" between the insurgent Indians on one side and the oppressors with their massacring army, "white guards"

Espartaco

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ESPARTACO

Levantamiento indígena en Chiapas

Luchemos contra la represión burguesa y la rapiña imperialista

Hacia la revolución obrera

Lecciones candentes de 1968..... pág. 29

and "rural defense" groups [landowner gun thugs] on the other. As the EZLN pointed out, it is telling that Salinas announced his "amnesty" under the portrait of Carranza (the military chief of the bourgeois right wing which emerged victorious in the Mexican Revolution); the Carrancistas assassinated Emiliano Zapata in Chinameca when he arrived at a supposed negotiation for "reconciliation." Nor should one forget the results of "negotiated solutions" in Central America, so insistently demanded by the fake-left, which as we Spartacists warned, become a death-squad-imposed "peace of the cemeteries."

Break with the Bourgeoisie! For Class-Struggle Politics!

The popular-frontist petty bourgeoisie hopes that Cárdenas' PRD will succeed in exploiting the rebellion in Chiapas in order to move into the governmental palace through an "electoral revolution." But among the working masses the Zapatista uprising has fired hopes of struggle and victory after a long chain of atrocities and defeats. Now sector after sector puts forward its own demands linking them to the struggle of the EZLN.

In Chiapas, peasant seizures of lands and towns are spreading, while 10,000 teachers courageously marched through the streets of Tuxtla Gutiérrez (the state capital) under the gun barrels of tanks calling for a 100 percent wage increase and carrying a huge banner proclaiming, "Total Support to the Demands of the EZLN!" (*La Jornada*, 12 February). Sugar cane workers in Puruarán, Michoacán, in their general assembly, called for their entry into the EZLN and that the latter include their demands in its negotiations with the government.

Strikers in the Herdez cannery, where the workers are largely women, sent a letter to Chiapas, declaring that to their employers, "as with the bosses and corrupt officials who oppress you, 'justice is worth less than dog piss'" and that "our greatest solidarity with you is to unite, from our battle position in the factory, with your struggle for social justice" (*La Jornada*, 8 February).

It is clear that the insurgency in Chiapas could be a spark that encourages the oppressed and spreads to the heavy battalions of the working class, producing class struggle with revolutionary perspectives. The question of questions is *program* and *leadership*. For approximately five years, since the big workers strikes, peasant mobilizations and student protests of 1987-88, the bourgeoisie has managed to more or less keep the lid on the pressure cooker that is Mexico, alternating the stick of repression with the carrot of handouts and corruption. This includes the fruitless attempt of the past year to try to use PRONASOL (Salinas' corruption-ridden "Solidaridad" federal works program) to defuse the Chiapas time bomb, and Salinas' recent announcement that he is going to pour big money into the Chiapas coffee industry.

Nevertheless, the principal force for "pacifying" the working masses during this period has been the PRD. When there is an especially shameless case of electoral fraud or particularly brutal police attack, this inflames the PRD's plebeian base and takeovers of mayors' offices and protests in the streets may result, especially in conflict-ridden peasant regions. But the social function of the PRD—a bourgeois party whose strategist and chairman (Porfirio Muñoz Ledo) is a former head of the PRI—is to subordinate the masses to the capitalist politicians, trapping them in the straitjacket of the institutions of the bourgeois state, in the style of the "popular fronts" which opened the way to reaction from Spain in 1936 to Chile in 1973.

The working class has demonstrated an enormous will to struggle, but from Sicartsa (steel factory in Michoacán) to Dina (diesel truck and bus manufacturer in Hidalgo) to Cananea (copper mine in Sonora), from the bloody repression of the Ford strike (in Cuautitlán, near Mexico City) and the bargaining away of the huge teachers mobilizations of 1989, to the most recent struggles, strikes have been isolated, derailed and generally defeated due to the subordination of their leadership to the new PRI—the PRD. What the workers need is the politics of *class against class*, to break with the class collaboration that is the popular front with the bourgeois politicians. Faced with the coming struggles, it is necessary to draw these lessons, including in the *maquiladora* (free trade zone) industry where the fight for unionization and against superexploitation of those workers—closely linked with their class brothers and sisters across the border—promises to be truly explosive.

In this context, it is significant that when Mixtec peasants in Puebla quit the PRD and withdrew their support from Cárdenas in order to create the "Zapatista Movement of the South," their spokesman explained that "the Indian peoples of this region are tired of the PRD because it does not meet social demands" (*Reforma*, 8 February). A revolutionary workers party that puts forward a class-struggle program to fight for proletarian power would be able to win the active support of millions of the poor and dispossessed.

Now Cárdenas' political credit ratings with the bourgeoisie are rising: there is rebellion and they may need him to calm it down. The PRD hopes that the blood of Chiapas will produce a flood of votes which will make Cárdenas president (and as a result commander in chief of the army); for this it needs to emphasize, for the ruling class and imperialism, its character as a "responsible" force which can be trusted to administer the exploitation of the masses.

Warning that it was necessary to "prevent" poverty leading to rebellions like Chiapas elsewhere in the country, Cárdenas stated that "it is not by resorting to violence that the great problems of the Mexican people today will be solved," and referred to the EZLN as "those gentlemen who are out there dodging bullets and killing soldiers." Together with the PRI and PAN (National Action Party—right-wing conservative "opposition") legislators, Muñoz Ledo, chairman of the PRD, signed a declaration lamenting that there had been a "breakdown of juridical order in the state of Chiapas."

Today in Mexico, where a leading group of bourgeois "oppositionists" and their "leftist" supporters have dedicated themselves to locking up the working masses and rebellious youth within capitalist politics, the question of the popular front has been sharply posed. Although in Mexico the masses of the proletariat never formed their own parties (not even like the reformist workers parties of Europe or Chile), Trotsky characterized the Party of the Mexican Revolution (PRM) of General Lázaro Cárdenas, the precursor of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of today, as a popular front in the form of a party, which subordinated the masses to the "national" bourgeoisie and therefore to imperialism. This is what Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his pseudo-socialist followers seek to revive today, in order that the working masses should *not* break with the discredited bourgeois system.

Thus it is in keeping with the laws of popular-frontism that Cárdenas should compensate for his calls for "dialogue" with the insurgents with fervent declarations of loyalty to the armed forces, with which he has always cultivated the connections he inherited from his father. On January 14, in an address in Tepic which was extensively quoted by the major media, he reiterated that "we need a strong army," with "solidity" and "moral authority," lashing out at "the forces which wish to weaken the army."

The leftist apologists for these ex-PRI politicians complain to us that to not vote for the PRD is to "play the game of the PRI." But, as we have insisted since *Neocardenismo* appeared on the scene in 1988, the PRD is itself a "neo-PRI." Since the 1930s, when they were perfected by Lázaro Cárdenas, corporatist mechanisms have been of crucial importance to the bourgeoisie in controlling and subordinating the working and peasant masses in a country with a great tradition of rebellion. In recent years this has permitted the bourgeoisie to reduce wages *even more* than the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile was able to do. If today the old apparatus is now too rickety, corrupt and discredited, the bourgeoisie will get a new one. And today this is called the "Party of the Democratic Revolution," which copies the techniques of the PRI, incorporating worker, peasant and neighborhood sectors, etc., in order to control them better.

For Permanent Revolution!

The Mexican left keeps returning to the unfulfilled promises of the Mexican Revolution. By proclaiming themselves "Zapatistas," the Chiapas insurgents place themselves within this tradition. In fact, as Marx pointed out in his pamphlet *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), in revolutionary periods the insurgents "conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes...." However, Marx emphasized, "The social revolution...cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped off all superstition in regard to the past."

We revolutionary Marxists associate ourselves with the rebelliousness of the radical peasants in the Mexican Revolution. But it is not enough to recall this experience, it is necessary to transcend it. The armies of Zapata and Pancho Villa *won* militarily in occupying the capital of the country. But there is no peasant class rule—the petty agricultural producers do not have the social cohesion or class interest to be able to install a "dictatorship of the peasantry"—and this revolution, which began with bourgeois-democratic demands and then evolved toward a profound social revolution, broke out in the period of imperialist domination. In the absence of a revolutionary leadership, the workers' Red Battalions stood apart from the radicalized peasants and were eventually used against them by the bourgeoisie. And without working-class leadership, the peasants in arms did not achieve their objectives. The forces of Villa and Zapata had to retreat. And the program of this revolution of the past is quite insufficient for the future workers revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution, in which a working-class insurrection was combined with a vast peasant rebellion to produce the dictatorship of the proletariat, confirmed the perspective of *permanent revolution* put forward by Leon Trotsky, organizer of the October 1917 insurrection and of the Red Army: only a revolution which brings the working class to power, headed by its communist vanguard, with the support of the poor peasants, can resolve the urgent needs, including the democratic and agrarian demands, of the oppressed masses.

Revolutionary Leadership Is Key

The lightning bolts of the Chiapas rebellion have illuminated the question of *racism* in Mexico, where bourgeois nationalism has idealized the Aztec past for purposes of ideological control at the same time as it tramples underfoot the Indians of today. Mexico prides itself on being the mestizo (mixed race) country par excellence in Latin America, and the Mexican Revolution indeed made possible a greater level of participation by brown-skinned people compared to elsewhere in the continent. But, as in other parts of the world, class oppression overlaps and intermingles with questions of "race," color and ethnicity, and in this country the "educated" openly despise Indian women, referred to as "Marías," while ads are filled with blond women and racist cartoons of blacks and Asians are used to sell a wide range of products.

It is impossible to put an end to anti-Indian racism without emancipating Indians from poverty and exploitation, in the first instance by satisfying the overwhelming *land hunger* of the peasants. In order to accomplish this, what is needed is not an "integral agrarian reform" carried out with a "new constitution" (as proposed, for example, by the pathetic POS-Z [Morenoites]), but rather an *agrarian revolution* in which the peasants, joining together with the industrial and agricultural proletariat (day laborers), seize the lands of the large landowners, lumber barons, cattlemen—and the U.S. companies which seek to take them over through NAFTA. A workers state would nationalize the land,

continued on page 10

Julio Carbó — Baldelli/Contrasto

Workers in Barcelona (left) during January 27 Spanish general strike, Alfa Romeo workers in Milano, Italy (right) hail Zapata as symbol of revolt.

Oakland: Black Outrage Grows Over Racist Cop Terror

OAKLAND—On March 11, Oakland cops capped a trigger-happy week, in which they shot three people, by critically wounding 16-year-old Steve Crenshaw, a black student at Fremont High School. After first lying to the media that the unarmed youth had a gun, police later claimed he "startled" a gun-wielding cop while Crenshaw and his friends were celebrating a birthday in a vacant house, and the cop's gun "accidentally" went off. So now another lying cover-up is in progress, and black Oakland is simmering. "They shot him to send a message, plain and simple," a young friend of Crenshaw said. "They don't want us around here. And if they don't like you, they're going to smoke you" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 March). With racist cop killings becoming sickeningly routine, the police force is acting like a permanent KKK lynch mob. *This racist cop terror must be stopped!*

On February 11, outraged black residents confronted the Oakland mayor and local police at a community meeting initiated by the family of Nathan Cosby, the victim of racist murder by an Oakland cop. Cosby, a black school custodian and member of AFSCME Local 257, was gunned down last January 6 in an invasion of his East Oakland home by a SWAT team of more than 20 cops from two local police departments and two federal agencies—supposedly on a search warrant for "credit card fraud." Police attempted to cover up by claiming that Cosby, who was not even the subject of the cops' warrant, pointed a gun at the cop who shot him through a window from the backyard.

Now the coroner's report has exposed the police story as a lie. The autopsy—performed the day after the murder but not released for more than a month—confirms Cosby was shot *in the back of the head* through his second-floor window (*Bay Guardian*, 23 February).

At the February 11 meeting, Oakland's black Democratic mayor Elihu Harris, city manager Craig Cashan, Councilwoman Dessie Wood-Jones, Sergeant Ron Jones (a black cop representing the chief of police) and a Lieutenant Mike Sims of the homicide department faced some 50 angry residents demanding an accounting for the deaths of Cosby and other recent victims of racist cop terror: Baraka Hull, a black youth shot in the back as he was running away from an Oakland cop last summer; Jerrold Hall, a black teenager shot in the back by a trigger-happy BART police officer in 1992; and, last December, Luke Grinage and his wheelchair-bound father Raphael Grinage, both shot down by Oakland cops when they objected to handing over their dog to animal control authorities.

Raphael's widow, Rashidah Grinage, stopped Sims cold with a pointed series of questions about the murder of her husband and son. Nathan Cosby's widow Melinda spoke powerfully. His brother Robert Cosby, noting that Nathan had been awakened in the early morning by a crowd of armed thugs invading his home, pointed out that "we have the constitutional right to bear arms!" The audience gave him a huge round of applause. Cosby's AFSCME union steward demanded an end to the lies from the police. A friend of Nathan's remarked, "There's not much difference between a blue uniform and a white sheet."

Mayor Harris fidgeted uncomfortably through this and then pronounced himself blameless, while talking about "black-on-black crime," drugs and the need for...more black cops. Councilwoman Wood-Jones chimed in that people should stop denouncing cops all the time since it was discouraging young black people from going into police work! After Lieutenant Sims gave a long monologue on the "pain" that cops feel when they kill people, it took the combined efforts of the preachers in the room to keep the lid on the audience.

Calls from some of those present for stronger civilian review boards reflected illusions that the racist capitalist cops somehow can be reformed. A supporter of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League warned against reliance on police review boards, only to call for a more far-fetched version of the same thing—an impotent "independent tribunal" of the black community—with not one word against the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

The audience applauded as Hursey Bush, speaking for the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League, denounced the brutal, racist police murders and Clinton's racist "war on crime." They listened intently as he went on:

> "The real role of the police is to protect the interest of the propertied class that rules this country by terrorizing black people and the poor. That's why Nathan Cosby and all the others are dead. Having a black mayor or police chief doesn't change any of this.... The L.A. revolt shows whether it's [former L.A. mayor] Tom Bradley, [L.A. police chief] Willie Williams, Jesse Jackson, Elihu Harris, or [state assembly speaker] Willie Brown, the black front men are on the side of the oppressor class....
>
> "Nathan Cosby was a union member. We've got a big integrated labor movement right here in Oakland and the Bay Area. It would be a powerful step forward and a real display of social power if all those unions mobilized to lead a labor, black and Latino protest to push the police back. Black people and all working people desperately need a multiracial workers party to lead the struggle to sweep away this brutal killing machine and the system of exploitation it defends. It is urgent that we act now!"

Mexico...

(continued from page 9)

fostering the formation of cooperatives and the eventual voluntary collectivization of agricultural production. Confronted with the rural bosses and their "white guards" who terrorize the Indians, the bosses' professional scabs and the repression of the bourgeois state—which cannot be reformed—workers and peasants face the need to form *workers defense guards*, militias and workers councils, nuclei of the proletarian state which will replace the dictatorship of capital.

The wave of rebellion is heading toward the proletariat—the decisive force, filled with volcanic discontent after years of cutbacks and attacks. They have occupied the factories in combative strikes at Volkswagen and other auto companies; at Ford Cuautitlán the *granaderos* (riot police) ringed the plant and strikebreaking thugs shot at the workers. The bourgeoisie knows well that the industrial proletariat is central; that is why it unleashes so much repression.

But politically these struggles have been dominated by a "leftist" version of the ideology of the Mexican Revolution, and when the bourgeoisie plays this card (the Cárdenas card), it tames them. At VW, workers believed in Article 123 (the *magna carta* of corporatist control of labor) of the Constitution—innumerable strikes have been buried in "conciliation and arbitration" by accepting the framework established by the capitalist state to *defeat* the working class. The strikes took place one by one. When in 1989 thousands of teachers struck, in an enormous revolt which defied the terror of the union bureaucrats' *pistoleros*, the CNTE dissidents with their purely "democratic" program were not able to break the chains of bureaucratic control which bind the union to the bourgeois state. This program, which left the teachers politically defenseless in the face of Cardenism, stood in the way of the indispensable need to link up with the struggles of Cananea, Sicartsa, Ruta 100 (Mexico City bus drivers), etc.

Now the government is planning to get rid of these various timeworn structures of "conciliation" in order to smash struggles even more openly. It is more urgent than ever to break through the framework of confidence in these bourgeois structures and narrow sectoral struggles with a broad *class* mobilization of the proletariat. This requires the political independence of the proletariat and a class *program*. A central question is internationalism, obviously key when confronting "multinationals" like Nissan, VW, Ford, GM, Nestlé and many others, and which is posed increasingly; along the southern border, where Chiapas abuts Central America, to the *maquiladoras* in the north, where workers solidarity mobilizations on the other side of "the wire" is a life-or-death question in the coming explosive class battles. It must not be forgotten that when the historic strike of Cananea broke out in 1906, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, the capitalist governments cooperated in the repression while the revolutionary trade-unionists (including the IWW) worked together closely across the border.

In carrying out their program of "privatizations," the Harvard-trained technocrats first attacked the nationalized companies notorious for corruption, such as PEMEX (the state oil monopoly) and the port of Veracruz. We defended the leaders of the oil workers and longshore unions against capitalist repression, and we defend even these nationalizations against the greed of the imperialists and their junior partners of the local bourgeoisie, but it is necessary to transform them in a proletarian sense. This means the *expropriation* of the bourgeoisie as a class by a *workers and peasants government*, collectivization and democratic planning of the economy by workers soviets in the interest of the producers and consumers rather than the profits of a handful of capitalist exploiters.

The debt to the imperialist banks and their IMF must be completely *repudiated*, as the Bolsheviks did upon taking power in 1917. But facing imperialist attempts to impose an economic blockade, it is necessary to fight for a *Socialist United States of Latin America* and to mobilize—with the aid of the "human bridge" constituted by the immigrant workers—working-class solidarity from the U.S. and Canada to Japan, with the program of defeating imperialism through proletarian revolution in the belly of the beast.

The Latin American left, historically dominated by Third World nationalism and Stalinism with its dogma of "socialism in one country," is prostrate following the collapse of Stalinism. But the internationalist proletarian perspective, far from being "utopian," is the only realistic one. A Mexican workers revolution would find fertile ground in the convulsive "new world *dis*order" of today. A red Mexico would come to the aid of the besieged working people of Cuba, of the starving masses of Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo. To the north, the upheaval in Los Angeles shook the fortress of imperialism with its huge and combative multiracial proletariat. To the south are the inflamed lands of Central America, the dispossessed and starving from Caracas to the *favelas* (slums) of Rio de Janeiro and the workers of Santiago del Estero, millions of peasants hungry for land, and above all, the powerful battalions of workers of São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile.

Following the Chiapas upheaval, one commentator asked if the rebellion might turn out to be the present-day equivalent of the worker revolts in Cananea and Río Blanco which were the precursors of the Mexican Revolution that broke out in 1910. Yes, this can be the spark for a new revolution. But Mexico has had *three* bourgeois revolutions; what's needed is workers revolution. In order to achieve the aspirations of the peasant fighters, from Zapata to the Zapatista Indians of today, in order to concretize the battle cry "Workers of the world, unite!" we must build a Leninist vanguard party as a section of a world party of socialist revolution, reforged on the programmatic bases of the Fourth International of Trotsky, the organizer of the Red Army which defeated the White armies and imperialist invaders in the great Bolshevik Revolution. This is the task which the Grupo Espartaquista de México has assumed as part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Join us!

Mexican army out of Chiapas! Fight against bourgeois repression and imperialist pillage! Mobilize the strength of the working class! Break with the bourgeoisie—for a workers and peasants government! ■

Valtierra/Cuartoscuro

Mexican army launches wave of terror in Chiapas.

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

justice for Mr. Pratt."

The time to act is now! Following the FOX broadcast, the Bay Area affiliate also aired a segment on Geronimo. The *Oakland Post* and *SF Weekly* have carried articles on his current legal battles. Ron Teninty, International rep of the powerful International Brotherhood of Teamsters, sent a letter to the D.A. on Geronimo's behalf. Ben Visnick, president of the Oakland Education Association wrote, "it is quite clear that [Geronimo] was in Oakland, our city, at the time of the tragic murder of Caroline Olsen. Twenty-three years is too long for an innocent man to be held for a crime that he did not and could not have committed. Please note that the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) and the California Teachers Association (CTA) are also on record for Mr. Pratt's exoneration and freedom."

As Geronimo told FOX news, "Blind Lemon Jefferson can see that based on this evidence I didn't do this murder." But year after year confirms the basic principle of racist American capitalism set forth in the 1857 Dred Scott case, that blacks have "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." So while Geronimo has endured over two decades of prison hell, the Ronald Reagans, Ed Meeses and numerous other federal and state officials who built their careers on the corpses of Panthers and the frame-up of Geronimo sip martinis in their exclusive clubs, content in the knowledge that court after court and parole board after parole board have refused to hear evidence of the government conspiracy that keeps America's foremost class-war prisoner behind bars.

Geronimo's fate must not be left in the hands of L.A.'s top prosecutor, whose job is to keep blacks, Hispanics and unionists in their place while making sure the perpetrators of racist violence—the trigger-happy LAPD—carry out their terror and frame-ups with impunity. These are the cops who beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life and walked away with a slap on the wrist after two trials, laying bare what capitalist class "justice" is all about. It will take an intensified campaign of publicity and protest to smash this frame-up and free Geronimo.

We urge readers to call your local FOX station and demand they broadcast the Geronimo series. Community organizations and trade unions which have come to Geronimo's defense over the years must take action now, including by sending telegrams to the Los Angeles D.A. to demand that this courageous anti-racist fighter be released immediately. The April 14 hearing will be at the SF Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, in Courtroom 8, 19th floor. Fill the courtroom with Geronimo's supporters! *Free Geronimo now!*

For more information contact the PDC at (510) 839-0852, or (212) 406-4252, or write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Frazier...

(continued from page 12)

We at Local 808 demand justice for Brother James Frazier."

The day of the demonstration, a hard core of Frazier's supporters mobilized for his court appearance in the morning. Some track division officials came, but not the TWU Local 100 tops, who have *opposed* the union taking up the fight against this racist frame-up. They virtually boycotted the evening rally, sending only one full-time staff representative.

The Local 100 bureaucracy now led by Damaso Seda, hand-picked successor to Sonny Hall, has refused to call for dropping the charges against Frazier. The TWU tops instead whine, "How can it [T.A.] consider him guilty until it is proven in a court of law?" Their message to the D.A. and T.A. is clear—if Frazier is railroaded by the racist courts, the union sellouts will no more stand in the way of the bosses' state than they will defy strikebreaking Taylor Law injunctions against public workers strikes.

When the D.A. dropped the charges "without prejudice" on February 14 and sent the case to a grand jury, we warned that an indictment could still be filed. Sure enough, on March 1 Hynes came up with his indictment on trumped-up gun charges.

WV Photo

Transit militants fight to mobilize union power to stop victimization of their union brother, James Frazier.

The union tops had already issued a leaflet declaring the case over. They were tailed by the Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (19 February), which claimed that the case was at "a victorious end" and Frazier was "a free man."

This blind trust in the bosses' injustice system is shared by a crowd of left-talking bureaucrats and their hangers-on in Local 100. Track Division vice-chairman Joel Fredricson early on called on track workers to come to the court, but refused to fight the Local 100 tops to bring out the power of the union to defend Frazier. At the March 7 rally Fredricson grotesquely appealed to the NYPD: "To all the hard-working and dedicated officers, we respect and honor you, but a terrible mistake was made." He also opposed marching on Democratic Party D.A. Hynes' office, calling him "a friend."

The shooting and later hospital assault on James Frazier were no "mistakes"—racist terror is NYPD policy. And the Democratic Party is no "friend" of blacks, Hispanics or any working people. Meanwhile, the bureaucratic New Directions "opposition" in Local 100 takes the same position as Seda in refusing to call for dropping the charges against Frazier. This comes as no surprise to militants in the TWU, who remember ND's excited praise of striking *prison guards*, even as they terrorized EMS drivers and black and Hispanic prisoners in 1992. These out-bureaucrats see their chance to replace the Local 100 bureaucracy in the upcoming contract, and through their lawsuits against the union in the capitalist courts.

Bringing up the rear is a supporter of the "League for a Revolutionary Party," who beseeches the bureaucrats to create a sandbox committee that will serve as a diversion from the necessary task of *mobilizing the power of the entire union behind James Frazier.*

NYC workers, black, Hispanic and white, are boiling with anger at the budget cuts and slashes in social services announced by Mayor Giuliani as he declares war on the unions and poor. Scores have turned out in defense of James Frazier because they know that the victimization of this brother is an attack on all working people. As the racist frame-up continues, militants in the transit union must redouble their efforts to bring out the powerful, multiracial working class to demand: Drop the charges! Reinstate James Frazier now! ■

RWL Splits...

(continued from page 5)

between the CL, Sollenberger's TL and Sanderson's RWL is illustrated clearly by the shared eagerness of all three to march into a cop-lined corral at an anti-fascist demonstration in Painesville, Ohio on March 5. The cops, armed forces of the bourgeois state, protected the fascists' "right" to mobilize for genocide while locking up leftists and anti-racist militants in cages. Inside the pen, alongside the dueling fake-lefts, were outright fascists and local racist yahoos. Skirmishes between leftists and racists broke out repeatedly in the pen, which were responded to with cavalry charges by mounted cops, maintaining "order." One who submits willingly to such outrageous conditions may as well admit defeat before the fascist threat. Contrast this dangerous adventurism with the militant, orderly and democratic labor-centered demonstration in Springfield. That the RWLers weren't put in a pen there was directly due to the labor support gathered from the fights our party waged.

The "Good Old Days" When Peter Was In Charge

The CL longs for the RWL of the good old days, "four years ago," when Peter Sollenberger was still in charge and the RWL's capitulation to imperialist anti-Sovietism—from siding with the CIA's Afghan *mujahedin* to cheerleading for the Washington-sponsored Polish Solidarność—gave them a *raison d'être* in opposition to the Spartacist League. The trouble, for them, seems to have started back in 1991. Having recruited a group of energetic youth from the liberal Simon's Rock school at Bard College, the RWL began to have some successes in recruiting radicalized youth to their peculiar brand of "Trotskyism" during the Persian Gulf War. This gave rise to the RWL's "turn to youth," and the two leaders maximos, with little difference in actual program, developed widely divergent appetites. The resulting split left Sanderson with the majority of the youth. Although it occurred in the midst of Yeltsin's August 1991 coup—the ascendancy of open counterrevolution in the Soviet Union—that monumental defeat was not mentioned once in the split documents.

Sollenberger tore away some aging union-bureaucrat-wannabees and a small group of Cincinnati youth, forming the "Trotskyist League" in order to fry bigger fish in the USec's "International Trotskyist Opposition" of Italian labor bureaucrat Franco Grisolia. To get a toehold in the USec here, the TL had to join the "Fourth Internationalist Caucus" of what was easily the most anti-Soviet organization yet claiming to be "Trotskyist," Solidarity. As a token of troth to this liberal swamp, the TL "critically" supported left *bourgeois* candidate and former front man for Jesse Jackson, Ron Daniels, in the 1992 presidential election. The CL now seeks to fuse with their estranged comrades, not two months after declaring the TL to be "opportunist."

Spectre of Spartacism Still Haunts RWL

Both sides of the recent split, as in '91, wave about the spectre of Spartacism to ward off politics, as one would garlic to ward off vampires. The CL complains of being baited as "Spartacists" by the RWL "majority." Yet they themselves warn against the RWL becoming a "Stalinized, Shachtmanized, or Spartacized organizational toilet." The exact meaning of this confused formulation evades us. The "organizational" measures proposed by the CL are, one and all, carefully cultivated and maintained institutions in our party, developed with painstaking adherence to the model set by the Third Congress of the Communist International resolution on organizational structure, a translation of which we have published.

In a practice perhaps unique in the history of the radical movement, the SL keeps in our local halls up-to-date collections of the press of our opponents in the socialist and labor movement. We not only encourage members to read our opponents' press, but we even publish what we believe is the most interesting material which deals with the SL in a series called *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League.*

The RWL is politically spiraling on a right-wing trajectory and it appears to be imploding organizationally. One can only hope that the impending organizational collapse will spark a "revolt of the damned," that may propel some of the better elements on a course toward revolutionary Trotskyist politics. The Spartacist League fights on a revolutionary communist program to build a workers party that can win. Get out and join us! ■

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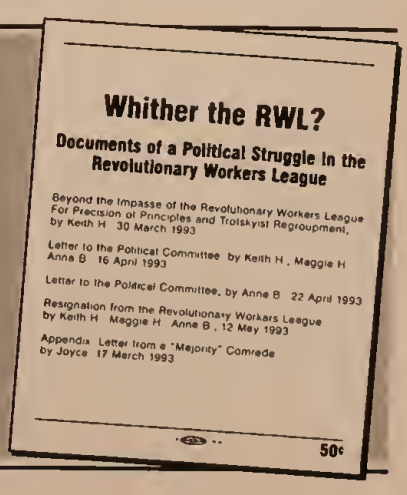

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Panther Fights Prison Harassment

WV Photo

On February 24, attorneys for imprisoned former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) won a preliminary courtroom victory in his continuing battle against persecution by prison officials. This latest legal action was necessary to counter prison harassment in retaliation for favorable publicity generated when FOX network news in Los Angeles ran a three-part series exposing the frame-up of Geronimo (see "Free Geronimo Now!" *WV* No. 594, 18 February). Prison officials immediately responded to the FOX series by transferring Geronimo to Mule Creek state prison, where he was denied his own cell, which he requires due to medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war wounds.

Responding to an emergency motion filed two days earlier by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West and Geronimo's longtime counsel Stuart Hanlon, federal district court judge Stanley Weigel said the prison officials' actions suggest retaliation for the recent publicity. The judge granted a temporary restraining order compelling officials to provide Geronimo "single cell status at Mule Creek Prison or another Level III security prison pending further order of this Court." A hearing for an injunction to maintain single-cell status will be held in San Francisco on April 14.

Following the hearing, PDC counsel West noted, "We brought this motion as a necessary measure to stop the retaliatory and punitive treatment that came down on Geronimo two days after FOX TV in L.A. broadcast a very strong story about Geronimo's case, about how he was framed up and who the likely actual killers are. Judge Weigel is aware that there is a history of retaliatory treatment of this man that goes back over the 23 years that he has been wrongfully imprisoned."

For 23 years Geronimo has been locked in prison hellholes for a crime he did not commit. He is a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign against black activists, which left 38 Panthers dead and many more behind bars due to frame-up convictions. The FOX series and a 5 January *Los Angeles Times* article reported new evidence uncovered by private investigator James McCloskey that powerfully demonstrates Geronimo's innocence. McCloskey's investigation linked two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party to the Santa Monica murder for which Geronimo was convicted on the false testimony of an LAPD/FBI informer, Julius Butler. L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti has acknowledged that his office will review Geronimo's case.

United-front rallies initiated by the PDC have brought together trade unionists and civil rights activists demanding Geronimo's freedom. Amnesty International has recognized Geronimo as a political prisoner. Congressman Ron Dellums has sponsored a bill calling for his release. The Oakland-based International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has publicized the case. Trade unions representing over two million workers have taken a stand in support of Geronimo, including the American Postal Workers Union and the Alameda Central Labor Council. Last October NAACP executive director Ben Chavis wrote D.A. Garcetti, "I have very enthusiastically agreed to do all I can personally and to dedicate the resources of the NAACP to this very important quest for

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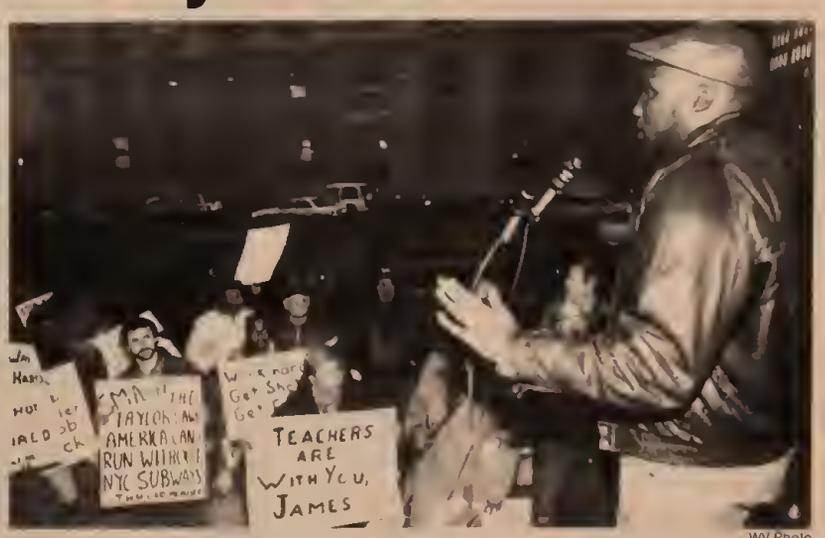
NYC Transit Workers Rally for James Frazier

Drop the Charges! Reinstate Frazier Now!



WV Photo

James Frazier addresses transit workers rallying in his defense at T.A. headquarters, March 7.

Turning heads in downtown Brooklyn, a multiracial demonstration of more than 75 New York City transit workers and other unionists rallied on March 7 at Transit Authority headquarters and marched to the office of Brooklyn District Attorney Charles Hynes, demanding that he drop charges against black track worker James Frazier.

The Track Division of Transport Workers Union Local 100 called the rally to demand: "T.A.—Reinstate James Frazier Now! D.A.—Hands Off Transit Worker James Frazier!" It was the first union-called demonstration against racist cop terror seen in years in NYC.

Frazier was the victim of a vicious cop attack on the streets of Crown Heights last October, when cops shot him in the head, destroying his left eye. His alleged "crime"? Driving a nice car without plates to visit an injured friend in the hospital! The next day, before Frazier was even operated on, the T.A. fired him. Days later, as Frazier lay recovering from surgery in Kings County Hospital, he was again assaulted by a cop spitting racist epithets.

Now, in an effort to cover up the cops' murderous assaults, James Frazier has been indicted on frame-up charges of weapons possession that threaten him with 15 years in prison. This is an obscene example of racist, capitalist class "justice"—they shoot a black worker, fire him from his job, impound his car, and then throw the hook at him!

At the rally were track workers, train operators, conductors and dozens of workers from the shops and barns. A member of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, which has brought out transit workers to every court appearance and put forward the motion for the rally at a track meeting in February, said, "This is a racist injustice and the whole union has to take a stand." Members of the Partisan Defense Committee and the New York Labor/Black League marched in the union demonstration, as did supporters of the Spartacist League and the League for a Revolutionary Party.

Other unions have also vigorously protested the cop assault on Frazier. Teamsters Local 808 in Queens faxed the D.A., saying: "Being an American of African descent is *NOT* a crime. This brutal assault must not go unpunished!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 597

1 April 1994

Clinton Targets Japan

From Cold War Ally to Trade War Enemy

MARCH 26—It's time "to go nuclear," declared one White House official. "If we put this relationship through a sufficiently protracted period of friction, I think they will sue for peace," said another. Talk of trade war, brinkmanship, threats and counter-threats between Washington and Tokyo are nothing new. But this time it's different.

For many years, economic conflicts between U.S. and Japanese imperialism were constrained by their Cold War alliance against the Soviet Union. No more. In Washington's view, Japan's role in the "New World Order" is to buy more American goods...or else. As top U.S. trade honcho Mickey Kantor put it: "We're hoping for a clean break from the past here. The Japanese insist their markets are open. They are not. No more business as usual. We want results."

Results? They could get a rip-roaring trade war. The Clinton administration is rattling its economic sabers trying to intimidate the Japanese and Europeans into bailing out the U.S.' *$115 billion*

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Reuters

Clinton's secretary of state Warren Christopher in Tokyo to threaten Japan with trade war.

France: Revolt Over Sub-Minimum Wage

Government Reels Under Student/Worker Protests

MARCH 28—In the face of a massive revolt, French prime minister Edouard Balladur today backed off from his move to slash wages for young people. More than three weeks of protests that showed no sign of stopping forced him to "suspend" the measure. Day after day, tens and hundreds of thousands of high school, technical school and university students and young workers have taken to the streets throughout France. For youth already suffering 25 percent unemployment, the plan to introduce poverty-level wages was the last straw. A week ago, the labor minister compared this showdown to the World War I battle of Verdun, grotesquely vowing "they shall not pass." But braving vicious police repression, the militant youth have been rolling over the government lines, as did the victorious Air France workers last fall. Students vowed to stay on alert until the decree is definitively revoked. Protests continued today, and a new national mobilization is scheduled for March 31. Moreover, last Saturday, before the government's latest retreat, several teachers unions called for a new nationwide mobilization for April 7 with possible strike action.

This was at least the fourth time in the last five months that the

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Francaschi/Vu

Reuters

Government plan to slash wages for youth provokes mass protests: technical school students in Paris (above), youth battle cops in Lyon.

Spectre of May '68 Haunts Ruling Class

Giuliani's Chilling Police State "Vision"

NYC: Budget Ax Over AIDS Services

After being elected mayor with a margin narrower than the racist backlash vote from Staten Island, Rudolph Giuliani has managed in record time to infuriate one sector after another of the poor, minority and working people of New York City. From cops invading a Black Muslim mosque to a frontal assault on city workers unions, and now a plot to wipe out social service programs for people with AIDS, Giuliani has shown gleeful zeal in persecuting the weakest in society and those who perform the back-breaking labor required to make this center of world finance function.

The mayor's kneejerk response to just about any problem is to send in the NYPD. On March 17, he marched with the top police brass in the St. Patrick's Day parade while more than 100 demonstrators were arrested for protesting the exclusion of the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization (ILGO) for the second year in a row. And when on March 22 an ACT UP demonstration of over 1,000 marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall denouncing the mayor's "malign neglect" of the AIDS epidemic, the cops arrested another 47. We demand: Drop all charges against the ILGO and ACT UP protesters!

Giuliani wants to do away with the city's Division of AIDS Services (DAS) and "privatize" its functions. DAS was set up in 1986 because people too ill to face the daunting city bureaucracy were dying before they could get the health and social services they needed. DAS was a way to sidestep the red tape and help ailing people by giving them a single caseworker to help with a myriad of services: medical care, home care, food stamps, housing, transportation, rent supplements, allowances, even help in arranging burial services or adoption or placement of orphaned children of people with AIDS.

Since that time, the agency's caseload has burgeoned from 617 the first year to nearly 16,000 poor people who are severely ill with HIV-related infections or have AIDS. Forty percent of DAS clients are black and 36 percent are Hispanic (*Newsday*, 28 March). The City Hall plan will throw AIDS patients out of their homes into the SRO hotels and shelters, where they will be susceptible to tuberculosis and other diseases.

Giuliani proposes to close the $2.3 billion "budget gap" by axing $1 billion from city workers' paychecks and the rest in service cuts. But it doesn't end there. He also wants to "privatize" city hospitals, and purge welfare rolls by requiring fingerprinting of recipients. This plan is a real beaut: not only will you be dropped from welfare if you refuse to be processed like a criminal, but all prints would be turned over to the police to check for "outstanding warrants"; anyone labeled by the cops as a "suspect" would lose all benefits! Those who somehow manage to make it through would be enslaved full-time collecting trash or fixing potholes, allowing the city to lay off more unionized workers.

Giuliani is a "law and order" zealot of the first order. Known in New York as the former U.S. attorney for Manhattan/Bronx, he was also head of the Criminal Justice Division of the Justice Department in Washington under Ed Meese in the early years of the Reagan administration. Meese, as we commented in an article on the Iran/Contragate affair, was a "'cop's cop' who has a chemically pure fascist mentality" and "gets off on the idea of a police state for its own sake." In those terms, Giuliani is a prosecutor's prosecutor who thinks he's riding herd on a city populated by "perps" and "accomplices."

Like his mentor Meese, Giuliani truly believes in the inherent virtue of an authoritarian regime, as he spelled out at a March 16 "Crime in Our Cities" forum sponsored by the *New York Post*. Giuliani railed: "We need more protection, we need more police, we need more jails and prisons." Then he expounded on the meaning of freedom: "Freedom is about authority. Freedom is about the willingness of every single human being to cede to lawful authority a great deal of discretion about what you do." After an interruption from the audience, the mayor responded: "You have free speech so I can be heard."

Then, at a town hall meeting on Staten Island's lily-white South Shore, one of the few black people in the audience, George Carter, a construction worker, objected that "putting more cops on the street...that's not the answer in my community." Giuliani silenced Carter with a wave of his hand. "Life isn't easy," he coldly replied (*Newsday*, 23 March). "It isn't easy for poor people...and it isn't easy for rich people." We recall Anatole France's ironic comment: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

Last week Giuliani had his staff put together a hit list of 10,000 names of city workers who would receive pink slips unless municipal unions agree to his voluntary "severance" package. But this is just the opening wedge: it is now confirmed that the mayor is looking to slash more than *30,000* jobs. But although city workers are mad as hell and looking for a way to fight against this onslaught, AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill meekly complains that Giuliani's "threat creates a very bad environment for negotiations."

The capitalist rulers want to force the working class to pay off the city's enormous debt. And if Republican Giuliani was the cops' candidate, the bankers and the *New York Times* preferred Democrat Dinkins, who assured Wall Street he could impose cuts: "They'll take it from me." Workers and blacks must break from the partner parties of capitalism and forge a *workers party* that would fight to stop all layoffs and cutbacks, cancel the debt and expropriate the banks without compensation. This is a struggle for a workers government which goes far beyond the confines of the Big Apple.

The big battalions of labor, marching at the head of all the oppressed and impoverished, could shut down the canyons of Wall Street and strike a blow against the two-bit would-be dictator Giuliani that would be heard around the country. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

A Revolutionary Program for the Youth

The French government's plan to impose a sub-minimum wage for young workers provoked an explosive upsurge of social struggle by students and young workers, which has also received union support. Under decaying capitalism, working-class youth face a future of increasing immiseration and despair, often intensified by racial oppression. In the U.S., especially in the ghettos and barrios, they are victimized by rampant racist cop terror, widespread joblessness and, increasingly, threats of ending up in a prison or a labor camp. At its founding conference in 1938, Leon Trotsky's Fourth International specifically addressed the oppression of youth, establishing a youth international with a program to mobilize their militancy in the struggle for proletarian power led by a revolutionary vanguard party.

Capitalism, whether it be authoritarian or liberal, admits the inability to bring the slightest relief to the misery and sufferings of working class youth. *The young want a trade*, and when (rarely enough!) it consents to give them one, it is only to chain them the better to a machine which tomorrow will stop and let them starve beside the very riches they have produced. *The young want to work*, to produce with their hands, to use their strength, and capitalism offers them the perspective of unemployment or of "the execution of work in conditions other than the normal conditions of production," according to the excellent hypocritical definition of labor camps by the League of Nations, or of armament production, which engenders destruction rather than improvement. *The young want to learn*, and the way to culture is barred to them. *The young want to live*, and the only future offered them is that of dying of hunger or rotting on the barbed wire of a new imperialist war. *The young want to create a new world*, and they are permitted only to maintain or to consolidate a rotting world that is falling to pieces. *The young want to know what tomorrow will be*, and capitalism's only reply to them is: "Today you've got to tighten your belt another notch; tomorrow, we'll see.... In any case, perhaps you're not going to have any tomorrow."...

The task of saving the unemployed youth from misery, despair, and fascist demagogy, of working them back into production and thereby binding them closely to the working class, is a vital task for the future of the proletariat. Revolutionaries must struggle to force capitalism (a) to undertake to work the unemployed youth back into production through the organization of technical education and guidance; (b) to put the unemployed youth back immediately into productive activity; (c) to organize such work not according to semi-military methods but on the basis of regular wages: *Down with labor camps*, either voluntary or obligatory!...

The final disappearance of unemployment among the youth is closely linked to the disappearance of general unemployment. The struggle for raising the school age and for compulsory technical reeducation is closely linked with the struggle for the sliding-scale in wages and in working hours. The struggle to drag out of capitalism those reforms which aim at developing the class consciousness of working youth is closely linked with the struggle for workers' control of industry and factory committees. The struggle for public works is closely linked with the fight for the expropriation of monopolies, for the nationalization of credit, banks, and key industries. The struggle to smash back all efforts to militarize is closely linked to the struggle against the development of authoritarian state tendencies and against fascism, the struggle for the organization of workers' militias. It is within the framework of the transitional program of the Fourth International that the present program should be developed and applied. It is under the banner of the proletariat fighting for power that the Fourth International will win the demands of exploited youth.

—"Resolution on Youth," The International Conference of the Youth of the Fourth International (September 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV Photo

New York City, March 22: Some 1,000 angry demonstrators march across Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall to protest Giuliani's plans to slash city services for AIDS patients.

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

The following is an edited talk by Carla Wilson of the Spartacist League at Columbia University in New York City on February 22.

We're here to give a class-struggle perspective on the fight for black freedom. Our Marxist perspective takes in the struggles of the past so that we can learn how to fight and win today. This is quite different from what passes for black history most of the time. During this month, we see places like McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken throwing up a kinte cloth decor, or Budweiser beer issuing posters on the kings and queens of Africa—and that's supposed to be some type of tribute to black Americans. Or there's the endless rebroadcasting of *Eyes on the Prize*. Now, this is a very useful documentary, but ultimately, it shows the fights for civil rights as an endless progression that culminates in electing black Democrats.

This is not what revolutionary fighters see as the goal of black struggle, or for that matter, any struggle today. Electing black Democrats means putting black faces in place of others to run this rotten, bankrupt capitalist society. What we want, and what we need, is a fight for revolution that sweeps away this system once and for all! Only then will we realize the promise of black freedom made through the glory of black soldiers fighting in the Union Army to smash chattel slavery in the Civil War. And we know that it will take revolutionary leadership to finish the tasks begun in the Civil War, a class fight that pits the wage slaves against the bosses' system. This is the program of black liberation through socialist revolution, revolutionary integrationism—the class-struggle road that must be fought for today.

Now the struggle for black freedom takes place not only within the American nation, but in an international context. With the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe, the rulers of this country have created a New World *Dis*order, and from Serbia to Somalia and Haiti, the White House seeks to reassert the role of the U.S. government as top cop of the world. This makes the U.S. ruling class even more dangerous, more willing to bomb foreign capitals, to occupy small Third World countries and to assassinate anyone who defies them. Washington no longer even pretends that an intervention in Somalia has anything to do with famine relief for black African babies.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist League speaker Carla Wilson addressing audience at Columbia University, New York, February 22.

As the slaughter of hundreds of Somalis in the name of "humanitarian aid" has shown, the racist rulers of this country are willing to use a "human rights" rhetoric, for instance in places like Haiti, where gunboat diplomacy is bringing about greater immiseration for the Haitian masses. And now the U.S. is threatening more deployment of troops and air strikes in Bosnia. Cuba especially is now in the Yankee imperialists' cross hairs since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has left the Cuban Revolution in peril. The so-called post-Cold War world looks very much as it did before World War I. Rival imperialists jockey for power amid an international recession, shoving "austerity" and "sacrifice" down the throats of the working class.

Labor-Centered Anti-Klan Mobilization in Springfield

On the Martin Luther King holiday weekend, the January 16th labor/black mobilization to stop the Ku Klux Klan in Springfield, Illinois, is a striking example of how the fight for black liberation today is integrally linked to the emancipation of the working class. What prevailed on that day was a labor-centered mobilization in defense of black people and all intended victims of the Klan. Now why do we stress the proletarian centrality of this demonstration? Because we know that a bunch of people getting into cars to go fight a mobilization of the Klan don't have the social weight that labor has in this society. Or as one Labor Black League supporter in this city said recently: "We know where the power is."

All of our previous anti-Klan mobilizations—in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia and Atlanta—took place when the Klan had a green light, during the Reagan/Bush years, with Democratic Party mayors running point to counter anti-racist protests against the fascists. This time around, our slogan "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" found an echo even among black Democrats who know that with Clinton riding to power by kicking black people in the teeth, they're not even allowed on the back of the Democratic Party bus. These Democrats are caught in a contradiction: If they want to fight racism, they're in the wrong party, since it's abundantly clear that it won't happen with Clinton. He was central to the Democrats' strategy to go after the white racist vote, the so-called Reagan Democrats.

The old New Deal coalition of blacks and labor, forever used as voting fodder for the Democrats, has been shattered. Black workers in particular are extremely alienated and bitter about the Clinton regime. The Springfield mobilization gave a real taste of the power that can be mobilized by a workers party in the future, uniting the working class and all the oppressed in struggle against their enemies.

The main enemy of our struggle is the bourgeoisie, which uses its state—the courts, the cops and the army—to keep us down and itself in power. The state's concerted effort to prevent the anti-Klan protests in Springfield are a real testimony to yuppie racist Clinton's America. In Memphis, where King was assassinated, Clinton railed to a group of black churchgoers that black people kill other black people "with reckless abandon." Under Clinton, the anti-crime slogans have replaced the call for a "war on drugs" as the linchpin of organized state terror. And along with Clinton are the black misleaders who make their living making apologies for the racist status quo. The outcry over "black on black" crime has been taken up by liberals such as Coretta Scott King and Jesse Jackson and by the sinister minister, Louis Farrakhan.

Clinton to Welfare Recipients: Let 'em Starve

Clinton has vowed to "end welfare as we know it." Fourteen million people—over three-quarters of them children—the majority desperately poor blacks and Hispanics for whom the current meager, sub-poverty welfare benefits guarantee a life of starvation and raw misery—now face getting cut off without a cent. This Clinton plan reveals the impulse toward genocide implicit in racist American capitalism. Once consigned to the industrial reserve army of labor, black people and a whole layer of society are not even given occasional employment, because there are no jobs anymore, like in the steel mills or auto plants. Democratic and Republican mayors alike have no program except killer cutbacks of basic social services and a vast increase of cops to shoot down minority youth.

Today, all wings of the bourgeoisie, from the liberal Democratic governor of New York, Mario Cuomo, to the right-wing Republicans, are pushing for more cops, more jails and more stringent gun control. Clinton is pushing for more "law and order" with an omnibus crime bill in Congress that has won backing from

continued on page 4

Young Spartacus

Victimized NYC transit worker James Frazier, guest speaker at SL forum, describes continuing persecution by the state after nearly being killed by cops and fired by Transit Authority.

WV Photo

Springfield, Illinois, January 16: 500 demonstrators, braving arctic weather, turn out for labor/black mobilization against KKK provocation on M.L. King holiday weekend.

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 3)

black liberals and right-wing racists.

Marching lockstep behind Clinton, a number of black elected officials and prominent black spokesmen have been key allies in this racist "law and order" campaign. Jesse Jackson has been on a "crusade," blaming black youth and black families for the violence that is rampant in the devastated inner-city ghettos. A few months ago, Calvin Butts of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church blamed rap music for undermining the morals of black youth. D.C. mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly called for National Guard troops to patrol the district's ghettos. At a gathering for black men only at the Armory here, Farrakhan told a crowd of 10,000 that the morality problems of black males were causing rampant teen pregnancy and "black on black" crime and he preached a solution: self-help.

The call for "self-help" echoes the Reagan and Bush agenda for black America: it's profoundly reactionary and blames the victims, not the capitalist system that keeps producing new ones. Ministers like Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan are simply the most prominent modern-day black paternalists, or latter-day Booker T. Washingtons. They preach self-help as a strategy of "black capitalism." This is indeed a cruel hoax. It's a strategy that puts one layer of the oppressed against others, because any struggling capitalist necessarily is going to have to exploit someone. That's why the petty-bourgeois hustlers like to go after Korean or Arab store owners: These people want to make sure they have a monopoly to exploit "their" people. We say what's needed is class struggle, against the bourgeoisie, not a pitting of white against black or black against Korean. We do not need racial warfare. Exhortations to black youth to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps don't mean anything if you have no boots.

Farrakhan: Bad News for Black People

Amid the frustration with the increasing immiseration of black people, Farrakhan has gained appeal as an outspoken representative of black assertiveness. Farrakhan—who proclaimed Malcolm X "worthy of death" after Malcolm broke from the narrow separatism of Elijah Muhammad—pretends to claim the mantle of Malcolm X. In fact, his program of a separate black nation is only realizable through the triumph of fascism. And the Klan realizes he is on their side.

In Springfield, the KKKers praised Farrakhan as "a real leader for the black man." He is a notorious anti-Semite who called Hitler a great man, yet he is often defended by black people who recognize the white racist hypocrisy shown toward his anti-Semitic ravings. For instance, the Anti-Defamation League, which has spied on South African, Palestinian and American leftists in collusion with the CIA, can in no way claim any kind of right to go after Farrakhan. The ADL has worked overtime to kill every anti-fascist mobilization against the Klan and Nazi skinheads, proving they are also the enemies of Jews. But let's make no mistake: Farrakhan is whipping up race war in New York just as Giuliani does, and Ed Koch did before him.

What black conservative leaders like Farrakhan represent is the failure of liberal "empowerment" schemes that took hold in the wake of the defeat of the civil rights movement. While the civil rights movement challenged white racist America and gave rise to a generation of radicals, it did not open a new period of black equality and advancement. The pacifist reformism of King's strategy led black people into the dead end of the Democratic Party. Only a handful of black petty bourgeois prospered, by accommodating themselves with the racist status quo.

Strategies put forward to "buy black" and organize separate nations for black Americans ignore the long, rich history of integrated struggle for black equality. In the absence of multiracial class struggles that would necessarily take up the fight against racism, there's a substitution of black racial solidarity for a real program, a sort of romantic nationalism that finds an outlet in discourse over black studies courses at universities like this, or debates for Afrocentric segregated schools for black males.

This is not in any way the militant black nationalism of the 1960s, best represented by the Black Panther Party. They stood defiantly against any illusions in American capitalism, seeing the struggles of the Vietnamese, Korean and Algerian revolutions as their own. The pseudo-nationalists and Afrocentrists have nothing to say about the conditions facing oppressed peoples—from South Africa to Somalia to Serbia—but instead indulge in backward-looking glorifications of a mythical African past. This is the program of the dashiki Democrats, who can only offer the illusory solace of cultural nationalism—what the Panthers called "pork chop nationalism."

It is a measure of today's *misleadership* of labor and blacks that it took our small communist organization to launch a coast-to-coast protest campaign against Jim Crow racism at the nationwide Denny's restaurant chain last year. The national NAACP leadership was more interested in "integrating" Denny's corporate boardrooms to prettify American capitalism.

But we know that institutionalized racism has always been the bedrock of American capitalism. As chattel slaves, black Africans became the labor force with which the Southern planter aristocracy maintained economic and political dominance until the Civil War. From the early days of American capitalism, black people have been an integral part of class society, while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. The vast majority of black people today are workers who must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life from those who profit off them. Ultimately, the struggle for black liberation lies with the rest of the multiracial working class, to abolish capitalism and establish an egalitarian socialist society.

However, the struggle of black people against racist oppression is not simply a working-class fight. As a group historically marked by skin color, blacks form what we consider a race-color caste, the most exploited layer of the working class, principally kept at the bottom because of racism. The routine of being the last-hired and first-fired applies an exceptional form of oppression, degradation and humiliation, requiring special forms of struggle. For instance, a few years back, Dwight Gooden was beaten up by Florida cops while tooling around in his Mercedes. The fact that he was a well-to-do black male galled the police even more: one of them tried to break his pitching arm. Wealth and social mobility are no protection from the glaring racist reality that American capitalism metes out.

Because of the experience of special oppression, black people gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle and are among the most conscious and militant sections of the working class. Black workers will play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution as key leaders of the vanguard party. And without that leadership, there will be no revolution.

It will take a workers party to fight for a working-class revolution that will bring about black liberation in America. It took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to smash the chains of chattel slavery, but the promise of black freedom was denied. The forces that were mobilized in Springfield, Illinois to stop the KKK can be organized to open the road to a third American revolution that will make it possible for everyone to have a decent life. The Democrats and Republicans represent the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party, built on an internationalist perspective to struggle against racism and exploitation to lead toward the fight for power. That means a socialist revolution that will break the rule of the few and liberate many. Join us in building that party. ■

Somalia, Iraq: Unspeakable Imperialist Piggishness

On March 25, the last units of America's colonial invasion force withdrew from Somalia. As he boarded a helicopter in the capital of Mogadishu, U.S. commander Major General Thomas Montgomery "proudly" announced "that thousands of Somalis now alive owe their existence to U.S. troops." How grotesque! What led the U.S. to withdraw was not a successful conclusion to the "famine relief," but the outrage and retaliation its racist terror had provoked among all layers of the population.

From the moment U.S. troops were sent in with bipartisan backing in December 1992, we called for "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!" We warned that Washington was "using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa" (*WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992). And as the expeditionary force left, it underscored the haughty arrogance of this colonial intervention. The *New York Times* (28 March) reported, "The American troops destroyed much of what they could not take home, including boxes of food and bags of intravenous fluids in a country still plagued by disease and poverty." The U.S. message: "Let 'em starve."

In early September, some 300 Somalis, mainly women and children, were massacred by cannon fire from U.S. Cobra helicopter gunships. When an elite U.S. Army Ranger hit squad got mauled in early October by outraged Somalis, American forces slaughtered and mutilated hundreds as they went in to retrieve the cornered squad. And this past January, U.S. Marines fired indiscriminately into a crowd of hundreds waiting outside a food distribution center in Mogadishu, killing at least 16 people. This is the murderous face of U.S. imperialism.

AP

"Humanitarian" mission: U.S. Marine kicks Somali youth. Imperialists gloried in colonialist takeover of starving African country.

Meanwhile, in Iraq, as we reported previously, the economic boycott dictated by Washington nearly four years ago has killed far more people—overwhelmingly young children—than the tens of thousands slaughtered by imperialist forces during the one-sided Persian Gulf War in early 1991. The UN estimates that child mortality has now reached an average of 230 children a day (84,000 a year).

A recent report in the *Irish Times* (25 March) describes the heartrending conditions facing the Iraqi population: "Babies are brought to hospital chronically malnourished and appallingly bloated. Doctors have dubbed them the 'sugar babies'"—fed on sugared water because their weakened mothers cannot breast-feed them or afford powdered milk. The article notes: "Before 1991, malnutrition had been virtually eradicated ... Now stick-thin children are everywhere, begging."

To defend its interests, the American ruling class sows death and destruction wherever it goes. It will take workers revolution to sweep away the imperialist mass murderers.

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How the Democrats Aided Reagan/Bush Cover-Up

Contragate: Imperialism's Dirty Dealings

Lie, Cheat, Steal: A Primer of Bourgeois Democracy

McNamee/Newsweek

Der Spiegel

> "The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."
>
> —Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)

Remember "Ollie" North? A few years back, then-president Ronald Reagan hailed this blustering liar and key conspirator in the Iran/contra affair as a "hero." Currently presenting himself as standard-bearer of the Reaganite right in a bid for the Republican nomination for a Virginia Senate seat, North contemptuously sneered that "most people don't give a rat's patootie" about Contragate. But on March 17, the former Marine lieutenant colonel was subjected to a public tongue-lashing by his old commander in chief. Reagan professed to be "pretty steamed" at North for daring to suggest that he had only been following Reagan's orders in illegally diverting funds to the Nicaraguan contras during the 1980s and then lying about it to Congress. Coincidentally, only a day later North's campaign plane crashed outside Winchester, Virginia, killing the pilot, after the fuel gauge mysteriously dropped from full to empty during a short hop lasting a few minutes.

A "blast from the past": When 82-year-old "independent counsel" Lawrence Walsh finally released his "final report" on the Iran/contra scandal in January, after more than seven years, it was met with a deafening silence. Noticeably bitter that his laborious efforts were stymied at every turn by uncooperative administrations, Walsh speaks in unusually blunt terms for a government report—so much so that key figures, including Reagan, tried to prevent its publication. Yet the press quickly shot down the report with a barrage of "ho hum, nothing new" commentaries, in what one Walsh aide called "drive-by journalism." The Democrats did likewise, even as the Clinton administration reels under a Republican offensive targeting Bill and Hillary's sleazy financial shenanigans in the "Whitewater-gate" savings and loan affair. For that matter, the real purpose of Walsh's whole effort was to "close the book" on Contragate.

The entire capitalist ruling class wants to bury the Iran/contra affair, for it not only exposes the involvement of two presidents in criminal conspiracies but also provides a glimpse into the cynical inner workings of the whole apparatus of imperialist "democracy."

The disclosure in late 1986 that the Republican administration had erected an elaborate covert operation in order to run guns to the Nicaraguan contras in direct, explicit violation of not one but two Congressional bans—and paid for it through secret arms deals with the same Iranian ayatollahs Washington had demonized as "outlaw terrorists"—was a bombshell which rocked the Reagan presidency. From the imperial chief on down—including then vice president George Bush, CIA director William Casey and a host of Cabinet secretaries—leading administration officials were shown to be lying through their teeth. One "special investigation" followed another. The Democrat-controlled Congress, recalling the Watergate scandal which sent Nixon tumbling out of the Oval Office in 1974, claimed to be on the hunt for a "smoking shredder."

Yet after the smoke had cleared, virtually all the major culprits avoided spending even one day in jail. The final straw came when, weeks before leaving the White House, Bush on Christmas Eve 1992 issued a blanket pardon to former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger and five others—in some cases even before their cases had gone to trial. This also had the effect of pardoning Bush himself, without a peep from Clinton or Congress. If the bourgeoisie were to enforce its own laws, all the Contragate principals would have ended up behind bars for years. Thus the feds have used draconian RICO "conspiracy" laws to lock up trade unionists and leftists without a shred of evidence. But if ever there were a "conspiracy to engage in criminal enterprises," the Contragate conspiracy involving drug-and-gun runners, Swiss bank accounts and outright murder was surely it. North & Co. even brazenly called their outfit the "Enterprise." And they went free. Why?

From the Reagan/Bush White House to the Democrats in Congress, the people who run this country have engaged in a massive cover-up of the Contragate scandal, because going after the conspirators would have rattled the underpinnings of the imperial presidency and because they shared the anti-Sovietism of Reagan's Central America policy. One and all, they refused to follow the myriad leads pointing to "contra in chief" Reagan. The Tower Commission put it all down to a "cabal of zealots" and concluded that Reagan "didn't know." The Congressional "investigation" conducted by the Democrats in 1987 left Reagan untouched and provided a platform for North. And now Walsh ludicrously asserts that "to the extent possible, the central Iran/contra crimes were vigorously prosecuted and the significant acts of obstruction were fully charged." Delusion? No. What the press portrays as an anti-climactic conclusion to the "investigation" was in fact the successful culmination of seven years of cover-up.

But, at a cost of over $35 million, the Walsh report serves as a useful, if inadvertent, repudiation of the pablum amply doled out in high school civics texts. Where liberals blather on about returning to the constitutional ideal of a government based on "checks and balances," this one particularly well-documented affair provides an object lesson in the *routine* workings of the imperialist state. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote in his book *The State and Revolution*: "the state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another." The capitalist rulers did not use their own laws to bring the Contragate criminals to justice because those laws are designed solely to serve the *class interests* of the bourgeoisie.

Ollie Goes to Teheran

The outlines of the Contragate conspiracy are pretty much common knowledge by now. It included a wild and woolly cast of characters. The sordid affair reads like a script for a B-grade spy spoof featuring Chevy Chase and Dan Ackroyd. It all blew open in October 1986, when the Nicaraguan Sandinistas shot down a plane, owned by the CIA "proprietary" Southern Air Transport, which was carrying weapons and ammo for the contra cutthroats. Instead of taking the poison pill provided him for such occasions, captured CIA merc Eugene Hasenfus spilled his guts in a public press conference in Managua. Around the same time, students in Iran distributed millions of leaflets revealing a visit to Teheran that May by Reagan aides North and Robert McFarlane. Reportedly using Irish passports, they came bearing not only a planeload of arms for the Islamic fundamentalist regime but also a Christian Bible personally inscribed by Reagan, a set of pearl-handled pistols and a chocolate cake from a Tel Aviv bakery (delivered during the fast of Ramadan)! This story was then picked up by a small Lebanese weekly.

Cut to the White House. As frenzied

continued on page 6

Carlos Durán

AP

Left: Nicaraguan Sandinistas' capture of CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus in October 1986 blew open Contragate scandal. Right: CIA terrorists bomb vital oil depot in Corinto, Nicaragua in 1983.

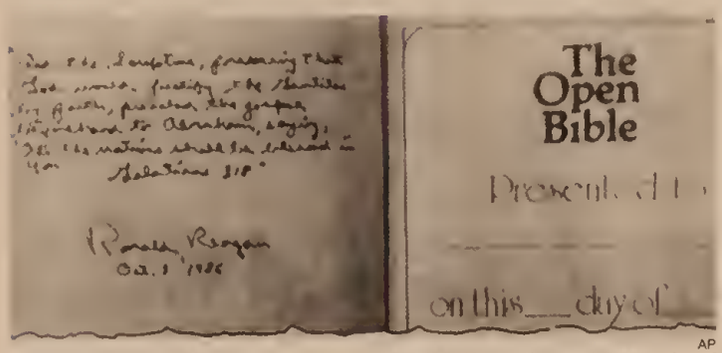
Contragate...

(continued from page 5)

Reagan staffers began their "damage control" operation. Attorney General Edwin Meese launched an "internal investigation" which turned up the now infamous "diversion" memo revealing that $12 million in "residual funds"—otherwise known as profits—from the deal with Khomeini had been funneled to the contras. The release of the "diversion" memo was itself a diversion, aimed at deflecting attention from Reagan's central role in the conspiracy. And while Meese's sleuths were supposedly turning the place inside out looking for documents, right in the White House basement North and his secretary Fawn Hall were busy feeding the shredder and smuggling other files out under her blouse.

Flashback to the 1980 U.S. presidential elections. Reagan seized on the "hostage issue" to denounce Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter's softness on the Iranian regime. Yet the Iranian mullahs didn't release the hostages until the day Reagan was inaugurated. The new administration vowed to stop the "spread of Communism" by drowning in blood the leftist insurgency in El Salvador and ousting the Sandinista regime in Managua through a terror campaign using the CIA's contras, murderous remnants of the deposed Somoza dictatorship.

The scene shifts to the jungles of Nicaragua. Contra forces were being chewed up by Sandinista units. With the "Vietnam syndrome" still potent less than a decade after the humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, and acknowledging that the contras were losers, in 1982 the Democrats in Congress passed the first Boland Amendment banning any direct U.S. attempt to overthrow the Sandinista regime. So the CIA instead staged an arms-length operation using non-American operatives, who a year later blew up oil depots in Corinto and in January 1984 mined Nicaraguan harbors—without getting the requisite prior approval from Congressional "oversight" committees. That October, Congress passed another Boland Amendment, cutting off all military aid—"direct or indirect"—to the contras. But Reagan told then national security adviser McFarlane to hold the contras together "body and soul."



AP

Reagan Bible delivered by North to Ayatollah Khomeini to bless sale of American missiles to Iran.

Enter Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, an obscure staff member of the National Security Council (NSC). Working with "retired" Air Force general Richard Secord and his "business partner" Albert Hakim, North opened up Swiss bank accounts in the name of dummy companies, which were lent CIA "assets" for a "private" operation to run a guerrilla war, buy and sell weapons and, by the bye, run drugs into the U.S. "Patriotic" reactionaries like Adolph Coors and Nelson Bunker Hunt kicked in contributions in exchange for a private audience with the president. "Third-party" funding for what Reagan called his "freedom fighters" also came from such pillars of "democracy" as the slaveholding Saudi royal family, which alone contributed $32 million, and the Sultan of Brunei, who was lined up for another $10 million.

The camera closes in on a hotel room, where North is meeting with a shady Iranian arms dealer named Manucher Ghorbanifar. Arranging missile sales for which Teheran shelled out $30 million in 1986 alone—at vastly inflated prices (the U.S. was paid $12 million)—North & Co. "diverted" the leftover money to the contras. This was the joint operation which North named the "Enterprise." According to Walsh's report, which detailed the Contragate money trail, Secord got a hefty cut of $3.6 million and something under $3 million went to Hakim, so that after "expenses" and "overhead" costs what was left over for the contras was barely over $4 million. It was all in the hallowed tradition of American free enterprise, exemplified by the Milo Minderhinder character in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*, who leased American bombers and pilots to the Germans to bomb U.S. positions. With his Boy Scout grin, North later bragged to Congress that it was a "neat idea."

From Watergate to Contragate

In three volumes and 2,500 pages, Walsh's report exhaustively documents the outright lying, stealing and dirty dealing which marked the Contragate affair, baldly stating that "high-ranking Administration officials violated laws and executive orders in the Iran/contra matter." Walsh's summary reads like a bill of indictment:

> "—the sales of arms to Iran contravened United States Government policy and may have violated the Arms Export Control Act
> "—the provision and coordination of support to the contras violated the Boland Amendment ban on aid to military activities in Nicaragua;
> "—the policies behind both the Iran and contra operations were fully reviewed and developed at the highest levels of the Reagan Administration...
> "—the Iran operations were carried out with the knowledge of, among others, President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, and national security advisers Robert C. McFarlane and John M. Poindexter...
> "—following the revelation of these operations in October and November 1986, Reagan Administration officials deliberately deceived the Congress and the public about the level and extent of official knowledge of and support for these operations."

So what came of all these accusations? *Nada*, nothing, zip. Reagan was allowed to serve out his two years and retire on full pension. Bush was elected president in a campaign based on virulent racist demagogy, and then unleashed a bloody invasion against Panama and the horrendous slaughter in the Persian Gulf. Weinberger became chairman of Wall Street's elite *Forbes* magazine. Poindexter and North got a couple of slaps on the wrist—and even those convictions were rapidly overturned. North went on to rake in millions in "speaking fees" as an unrepentant "patriot." (As for North's red-white-and-blonde secretary, Fawn Hall got married to a hanger-on of the psychedelic '60s rock group, the Doors.)

Walsh observes that Congress bought the absurd line of a "runaway conspiracy of subordinate officers" in order to avoid "the unpleasant confrontation with a powerful President." Yet the "independent counsel" incredibly claims there was "no credible evidence that President Reagan violated any criminal statute"! At a January press conference, Walsh conceded that Reagan's impeachment "certainly should have been considered." There were plenty of comparisons made at the time to Nixon's Watergate conspiracy, when impeachment proceedings were initiated. But this time around, no section of the ruling class wanted to even consider impeaching Reagan. Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd declared, "This is my President. He's in trouble. And I don't want to see the Presidency damaged."

McNamee/Newsweek

Congressional Democrats' "investigation" of Contragate was cover-up city.

Watergate came in the midst of the losing imperialist war in Vietnam which split the U.S. bourgeoisie and had driven Nixon's Democratic predecessor Lyndon Johnson from the Oval Office as well. In the minds of America's rulers, the image of a helicopter hustling a discredited President Nixon from the White House lawn in 1974 was indelibly superimposed on the image of another copter a year later carrying the last Americans in Vietnam scrambling from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon to escape the victorious troops of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. Moreover, Nixon's Watergate conspiracy had been directed against his Democratic Party opponents, not "Communist surrogates" in Central America. Even then, "Tricky Dick" was merely pressured into resigning.

But the ruling class was united around Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats more or less agreed with the contra war policy, wanting only to distance themselves in public. Indeed, the month that Hasenfus was captured, Congress resumed regular aid to the contras to the tune of *$100 million*.

No Aberration

In introducing his detailed account of the Contragate affair, *A Very Thin Line* (1991), liberal historian Theodore Draper observes: "Rarely, if ever, have we been given such an opportunity to learn just how our government really works." This is likely true, albeit not in the sense Draper intends. Since the Democrats had no intention of impeaching Reagan, no matter what, they struck a deal allowing for a host of hearings, commissions, investigations and reports—more than 50,000 pages' worth altogether—to air the bourgeoisie's dirty laundry, so long as no conclusions were drawn or measures taken. But if the Contragate revelations were more extensive than what comes out about most government scandals, they are still only the tip of the iceberg in revealing the *normal* workings of imperialist "democracy."

At first liberals tried to go along with the Reagan line that the scandal was the result of a "rogue" operation by an NSC staff member and the president "didn't know," but this quickly became untenable. Newer explanations depict the Iran/contra affair as an unusual deviation from the normally pristine workings of American "democracy," in which the "will of the people" allegedly rules and power-grabbing government officials are foiled by constitutional restraints. Peter Kornbluh and Malcolm Byrne, who edited *The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History* (1993), argue that "the most important lesson the [Walsh] report teaches is that our political system of checks and balances is fallible and in urgent need of reform" (*New York Times*, 19 January).

Draper likewise points to "a long process of presidential aggrandizement, congressional recklessness, and judicial connivance" which "has put the Constitution in danger," noting that "uncontrolled covert operations" amounted to "government by junta or cabal." The Reagan administration's dirty dealings "were made possible by a breakdown in the American system of government," Draper concludes on the last page of his book, lecturing like a powerless schoolmaster that the "lesson" should be "learned."

John Canham-Clyne (a writer for the social-democratic *In These Times*) spouts a similar theme, observing that the conspiracies represented "the functioning of a national security system that has displaced the constitutional republic"—as if there were in the past some golden era of "commitment to democratic accountability" (*World Policy Journal*, Fall 1992). He traces the origins of this evil to the post-World War II growth of the U.S. "national security state," which "has for the most part replaced constitutional checks and balances and public accountability." He sagely suggests that covert action "should be outlawed," lamenting that the mythical "spirit of Nuremberg"—that unlawful or immoral orders are not to be obeyed—has "withered." But even while the U.S. and its imperialist allies were prosecuting a handful of the most prominent Nazi war

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AP

Fidel Castro, target of dozens of CIA assassination attempts in U.S.' not-so-secret war against Cuba.

CIA: The Colombian Connections

Among the many cover-ups in the numerous official "investigations" of the Reagan/Bush Contragate scandal was the prominent role of the Central Intelligence Agency in the Latin American drug trade. "It is clear that there is a networking of drug trafficking through the *contras*," said Senator John Kerry at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing in 1986, "and it goes right up to...[*contra* leaders] Mario Calero, Adolfo Calero [and] Enrique Bermúdez." He added that "we can produce specific law enforcement officials who will tell you that they have been called off drug trafficking investigations because the CIA is involved or because it would threaten national security."

AFP

Left: Corpse of Medellín cartel chief Pablo Escobar, gunned down in U.S.' "war on drugs." American falling out with former CIA "asset" Manuel Noriega precipitated 1989 invasion of Panama.

This and the long prior record of U.S. government use of drug smugglers in its "war on Communism" was outlined in a special issue of *CovertAction* (Summer 1987) on "The CIA and Drugs." But it's not just history. Last November, the CBS-TV program *60 Minutes* revealed that the CIA, in a series of shipments in 1990, brought into the U.S. *more than 3,000 pounds* of almost pure cocaine from Venezuela, a ton of which was then sold on the streets. No criminal charges were ever brought against the organizers of this government-sponsored multimillion-dollar deal, even while the courts and prisons are filled to overflowing with black and Hispanic youth busted on minor drug charges.

Then, in early December, the media was filled with news of the spectacular killing of drug kingpin Pablo Escobar in Medellín, Colombia, the climax of a years-long American campaign against the Medellín cartel. A breathless account in *Newsweek* (13 December 1993) detailed the massive involvement of various U.S. agencies in Escobar's assassination. A CIA-run "Tactical Analysis Team" provided intelligence, the "National Security Agency diverted spy satellites into orbits over Colombia, and the search for Escobar was joined by U.S. C-130 reconnaissance planes from Southern Command bases in Panama." The DEA supplied phone monitoring equipment to recognize Escobar's voice and pinpoint his location.

The drug kingpin is dead, the Medellín cartel officially "smashed," and suddenly the media discovers the Cali cartel. But while Washington made Escobar and the other Medellín "kingpins" the targets of its "war on drugs," their competitors from Cali enjoy a cozy relation with the Colombian and U.S. governments. A couple of years ago, prominent NYC journalist Manuel de Dios Unanue, former editor of the leading Hispanic daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, was executed by Colombian drug traffickers for writing exposés on the Cali cartel. On March 10, a federal district court jury in Brooklyn convicted a Colombian teenager of being the hitman. But the *New York Times* (13 March) reported: "The cartel leader who United States authorities say issued the order to kill Mr. de Dios, Jose Santacruz Londono, has not been charged.... Prosecutors in the case refused to say why no charges have been filed against Mr. Santacruz...."

The reason isn't hard to find. A number of Cali godfathers are currently negotiating with the Colombian government the terms for "surrender": no prison (instead, house arrest in their mansions), no confessions, the government has to prove any charges, and these pillars of society in the Cauca Valley get to keep their wealth!

In *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies and the CIA in Central America* (University of California Press, 1991), Pete Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall write: "In 1980, when Reagan was elected, the DEA considered the Cali traffickers more important than those in Medellín." However, in mounting a crusade against Communism in Central America, Reagan's new CIA director William Casey sought to establish a "narcoterrorist" conspiracy linking the Medellín cartel to Colombian leftist guerrillas and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. At the same time, Vice President Bush was placed in charge of a South Florida Task Force, which "consolidated the alliance between ex-CIA director Bush and the ex-CIA Cubans of Miami, who had suffered great losses at the hands of the Medellín cartel" during the Miami cocaine wars of 1979-81.

From the beginning of Washington's decade-long war on Sandinista Nicaragua, South American drug traffickers played a major role in financing a surrogate counterrevolutionary army (the contras) based in Costa Rica and Honduras. One of the first connections was through Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, a U.S. spy agency "asset" going back 30 years and a business partner of the Medellín cartel. But when Contragate blew into the open, Noriega became an open embarrassment to the CIA. So in 1989 Bush launched his bloody invasion, killing 3,000 defenseless Panamanian civilians just to get Noriega into a Miami jail. Yet the drug trafficking and Panamanian banks' money laundering *escalated* under the U.S.-installed Endara regime, and as mass poverty deepens Noriega's party is poised to win upcoming elections.

U.S. Department of Defense

The contra/CIA drug connection extended a lot further than Noriega. In 1982-83, right-wing American millionaire John Hull turned his ranch in Costa Rica into a CIA staging area and supply base for contra forces just over the border in southern Nicaragua who, one contra later admitted, were "directly involved in the trans-shipment of large quantities of Colombian cocaine from the airstrips on John Hull's farm." Profits from the operation were used to buy military equipment, ammunition and explosives for the anti-Sandinista terror campaign. On the contras' northern front, the *New York Times* (20 January 1987) reported: "After dropping arms in El Salvador, rather than returning to the United States in empty cargo planes, the pilots stopped on occasion in Panama, a major drug transhipment center, to pick up cocaine or marijuana."

The CIA's role as a major player in the international narcotics trade has a long and sordid history. Its predecessor, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) worked with the Sicilian Mafia against the Italian Communists after World War II. The "French connection" grew out of ties between U.S. intelligence and Marseille gangsters who brutally smashed left-wing dock strikers. During the Vietnam War, CIA "proprietaries" like Air America, Vietnam Air Transport and Southern Air Transport flew opium crops grown in Laos by a CIA-organized "secret army" of Meo (Hmong) tribesmen. Over a decade later, the CIA was up to its neck in opium again, as it moved in to support the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan against Soviet forces. In *The Politics of Heroin* (Lawrence Hill Books, 1991), Alfred W. McCoy summarized:

> "Over the past twenty years, the CIA has moved from local transport of raw opium in the remote mountains of Laos to apparent complicity in the bulk transport of pure cocaine directly into the United States or the mass manufacture of heroin for the U.S. market. Finally, America's drug epidemics have been fueled by narcotics supplied from areas of major CIA operations, while periods of reduced heroin use coincide with the absence of CIA activity. The CIA's protected covert action assets have included Marseille's Corsican criminals, Nationalist Chinese opium warlords, the Thai military's opium overlord, Laotian heroin merchants, Afghan heroin manufacturers, and Pakistan's leading drug lords."

The bipartisan "war on drugs" by America's rulers has nothing to do with stopping drug and gun trafficking—shutting down "The Company" (the CIA) would take care of much of that. Rather it is a flimsy façade for U.S. imperialism to act as cops of the world and to ride roughshod through the ghettos and barrios of America. This ruling class isn't going to "clean up" the dope trade—from the CIA to cops on the beat, they are some of the biggest suppliers!—and certainly won't do away with the oppressive conditions of poverty which feed the gang wars and massive drug addiction. As we wrote in our article "Drug Witchhunt" (*WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986):

> "Black parents are anguished at the sight of their teenage children's lives wasting away. But the cause is not the particular form that escapism takes in this period, but the vicious cycle of joblessness, drugs and crime, promising a future of despair for a generation of ghetto youth. What kind of life is it where the 'alternatives' are welfare, jail, or the army?"

We Marxists fight the anti-drug witchhunt and call for the decriminalization of drugs, which would also take the huge profits and consequently much of the violence out of the trade. But the biggest merchants of death are the capitalist rulers and their CIA Murder, Inc. It will take a socialist revolution to put them out of business. ■

Sue Mullin

Cancellare/Picture Group

Right-wing American millionaire John Hull provided his Costa Rican farm as a staging area for contra/CIA "Enterprise." CIA "proprietary," Southern Air Transport, shipped guns to contras, carried back drugs.

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LOS ANGELES

France...

(continued from page 1)

right-wing cabinet has been forced to retreat in the face of mass protest. Following its backdown over plans to lay off thousands of state airline workers in October, in January Balladur abandoned a law to aid private schools on the eve of a million-strong march in Paris, and in February he gave way before angry fishermen. The government keeps trying to push through its reactionary program, seeking to entice student leaders into consultations to produce a "new system" of youth wages. But with the regime reeling, now is the time for the working class, oppressed ethnic minorities and youth to strike back hard at their common enemy.

Balladur is rightly afraid of a "new May '68"—a replay of the worker/student rebellion that led some months later, in 1969, to the downfall of his former boss, General de Gaulle. It's certainly high time to bring down the two-headed regime of conservative prime minister Balladur and "Socialist" president Mitterrand. But the ruling class seeks to take back tomorrow what it is forced to grant today under the blows of the class struggle. Indeed, the single minimum wage was achieved by the powerful general strike of May 1968, which swept away two-tier pay scales. Today, Balladur's sub-minimum wage specifically targets working-class youth, and students in the technical schools are in the vanguard of the protests. It's necessary to mobilize forces aiming to

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Over 100,000 marched in union-called protest in Paris, March 12. French rulers fear another May '68 upsurge as powerful workers movement joins youth in revolt against reactionary wage-gouging plans.

sweep away the whole rotting capitalist system of deepening immiseration and escalating anti-immigrant racism.

We print below excerpts from an article by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. In the ten days since its publication, the protest movement of French students and workers continued to develop explosively. Even small cities saw demonstrations of tens of thousands of people. The government, hoping to cut the movement short, stepped up police repression. Police warnings have been posted in high schools threatening demonstrators with sentences of up to seven years in prison. In Paris alone, there were over 300 arrests on the evening of the March 25 demo, and dozens of protesters were sentenced on the spot by the "justice" system.

The regime also played the racist card in a cynical effort to divide the demonstrators. In Lyon, two Algerian teenagers arrested during a demonstration were summarily expelled from the country. When a judge ruled that they had been deprived of their rights and ordered that all measures be taken to return them to France, the prefect arrogantly declared that the judge had no jurisdiction. But this move backfired, as student demonstrators angrily proclaimed, "Return our comrades!"

Last Friday, March 25, was the fifth day of national mobilization in barely one month. More than 200,000 people demonstrated in some 40 cities and towns throughout the country. In Paris, several thousand riot cops provocatively surrounded the marchers, trapping them before giving the order to disperse, thus provoking clashes. In Lyon, where the student demonstration of 30,000 was reportedly the biggest ever, demonstrators added to their slogans against the sub-minimum wage a new demand: down with the police state. In Nantes there was a pitched battle between youth throwing rocks and cops firing tear gas. The "forces of order" ran out of ammunition and had to be resupplied from Rennes.

Things have gotten so bad that the PS-led police "trade union" declared early this month (after facing a violent uprising by desperate French fishermen):

> "When those without work, without income, without training, without help, without homes, without a future, without illusions, without hope, without a haven, without a union, without a party, have had enough of being lulled with promises without basis and without a future, when nothing is left but leap into the void, then the police will be called in..."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 2 March

Significantly, the student mobilizations have taken place largely outside the control of the mass reformist Socialist (PS) and Communist (PCF) parties. But the strength of the protests has forced the leaders of the main trade-union federations to go along. On March 12, 100,000 marched in Paris at the call of Communist-led CGT, and five days later some tens of thousands came out in a demo of the Socialist-led CFDT, FO and FEN. The landslide victory of the conservative parties in last year's parliamentary elections reflected massive revulsion against 12 years of Mitterrand popular-front government of unemployment and austerity. Still, there is precious little popular support for the program of the present right-wing government which has had to back off in the face of massive opposition each time it has tried to implement its platform.

Talk of "a new '68" is on everyone's lips. The consciousness of the French students is quite different today from what it was in 1968, when there was a broad youth radicalization largely due to the Vietnam War. However, illusions in the possibility of achieving important changes in capitalist society have worn very thin. "We have no future," said one young demonstrator. With the bleak prospects that capitalist society has in store for them, French youth are receiving some hard lessons in the class struggle from the batons of the hated riot police. But what's urgently necessary is to forge an internationalist vanguard party, as the Ligue Trotskyste is seeking to do, that can win the best fighters and most conscious elements to the fight for socialist revolution.

We print below an excerpted translation of the article published in *Le Bolchévik* No. 127 (March-April 1994).

AP

March 18, Lyon: Hated riot police attack young protesters.

Youth and Workers in the Streets Against the Youth Minimum Wage

For a May '68 That Goes All The Way!

For a Workers Government!

MARCH 18—Some 300,000 people throughout the country expressed their legitimate anger six days ago against the government's "Entry-Level Professional Contract" (CIP), a sub-minimum wage for youth. Yesterday, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators again took to the streets to protest the sub-minimum wage for youth. Workers, but especially young students from university and high schools, formed impressive and combative contingents of ethnically integrated suburban youth, including many young women of the "second generation" (born in France of immigrant parents, predominantly North African). "The minimum wage is nothing. Less than the minimum wage is less than nothing!" chanted a contingent in the March 12 demonstration in Paris. The government claims that the CIP will provide the youth with training—"training" for superexploitation! But the present revolt, which goes well beyond this reactionary measure, expresses the anger of youth against this capitalist society that superexploits, oppresses and excludes them.

Since its retreat last fall when the Air France workers strike threatened to spread, the government has gone from retreat to "compromise," from slap in the face to humiliation. The destabilized government has intensified its vicious anti-immigrant policy, benefiting from the racist consensus of all the political parties, including the PCF and the PS. And it has increased its racist provocations. One of the latest examples is the well-publicized announcement of "unprecedented" collaboration between the Health Ministry and Interior Ministry in the fight against drug addiction and AIDS. In other words, they're turning over drug users and people with AIDS to police repression!

The reformist PS and PCF leaders claim to offer the youth and the workers an alternative to the reactionary policies of the right. But they were in the government not so long ago, and under their leadership the unemployment rate just kept rising. As the Socialist prime minister Laurent Fabius confessed in 1986, the role of the reformist leaders of the workers movement was to do the "dirty work" for the capitalists.

At the same time several ghetto neighborhoods, subjected to poverty and racist terror, are in revolt. *Libération* (16 March) quotes Malek, a student in a technical college who lives in one of these neighborhoods in the suburbs: "They talked of integration, but when there were school trips to England we could not go. No visa. The only possibility for us was success in school, but even that they have taken away from us." The bourgeoisie once again sees the spectre of '68, a powerful explosion of class struggle in which the workers and youth join in struggle, in particular the children of African and North African immigrants, who are brutally oppressed by this capitalist racist society.

The present occupant of Matignon [the prime minister's residence], who incidentally was an adviser to Prime Minister Pompidou during the pre-revolutionary situation of May 1968, has nightmares about a new May '68, but simultaneously he seems to be doing his best to provoke an alliance between workers and youth. At the same time that he came out with his sub-minimum wage for youth, he announced a new "restructuring" plan for Air France with more than 5,000 layoffs—the previous plan, hastily withdrawn in the face of the strikers' militancy, projected "only" 4,000 layoffs.

Balladur and Interior Minister Pasqua are trying to set workers and students against each other—and to split the youth—on an openly *racist* basis, presenting the multiethnic youth of the suburbs as a bunch of "wreckers." Pasqua is calling for a new "anti-wrecker" law, that is, an emergency measure punishing the "crime" of participating in a "violent" demonstration. And he has unleashed his cops against young demonstrators as brutally as in 1986 when his cops beat up the students fighting against the Loi Devaquet [restricting access to university education], killing Malik Oussékine. Several dozen students were arrested after yesterday's police provocations. The workers movement must mobilize to demand that they be freed and that the charges be immediately dropped.

The government was careful not to disclose the number of jobs its "CIP" is supposed to create. And for good reason! Today the capitalist world is plunged into the deepest recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The various imperialist bourgeoisies are engaged in a merciless trade war to divide up markets and spheres of influence, a war that has been exacerbated by the victories of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR. To stay "competitive" with their rivals in the "European Union" and the Americans and Japanese, West European capitalists must drastically lower wages and dismantle what remains of the "welfare state" established during the Cold War to convince workers of the "superiority" of capitalism over the collectivized economies of the Soviet bloc. The offensive against the working class goes hand in hand with a strengthening of the legal arsenal reinforcing the segregation of immigrants as well as with a wave of fascist and racist terror.

The youth who are demonstrating against Balladur's sub-minimum wage want a job, a decent wage, housing, in other words, decent living conditions. They hate injustice and racial discrimination in any way, shape or form. The workers movement must struggle today for an *immediate end to layoffs* and for *massive hiring* in all sectors. *Down with the youth minimum wage! Equal pay for equal work! For a massive wage increase!* We need training programs and preferential hiring for youth of immigrant origin, who are imprisoned in ghetto neighborhoods in the suburbs. For the right to a stipend set according to workers' wages for

youth who pursue their studies.

Impose trade-union control of hiring and use this weapon to end racist discrimination, which excludes the sons and daughters of immigrants in many key industrial sectors. *Abolish the racist Pasqua decrees! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families!* The workers movement must fight for a *sliding scale of wages*, that will ensure an automatic wage increase to match inflation. We also need a sliding scale of *working hours*—divide the available work among all workers without any cut in pay.

The reformist leaders of the working class will reject such demands as "utopian"; demands such as a right to health care, a decent retirement pension, quality education for all are no less "utopian." In reality, they are only "utopian" if they are placed in the framework of what the capitalists would tolerate from a new "government of the left," to which they would again turn over management of their economy and their state, within the strict confines of bourgeois parliamentarism.

For us Trotskyists, the question is not whether this is "possible" or "impossible" in the framework of decaying capitalism. Within this framework no systematic social reform is possible; any gain won in struggle will necessarily be challenged. (The fact that the victory of the Air France workers last fall is today called into question by the new government plan illustrates this.) The question for us is what is necessary today in order to preserve the proletariat, and along with it the vast majority of the population, from decay and ruin. It is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle for these demands not in the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism—which means above all respect for capitalist property—but with the weapons of class struggle: mass demonstrations and strikes, as well as factory occupations.

Last spring, when Pasqua imposed a state of siege on the 18th Arrondissement (district) of Paris to crush the youth revolt that broke out after the racist murder of Makome M'Bowole in a police station, we called for battalions of workers to converge on this immigrant neighborhood in order to defend it, while insisting that the government's aim was to "step up police repression and violence in the name of racist 'security'.... Anti-immigrant terror is the spearhead of the offensive against all workers" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 124, July-August 1993). Since then, the Mitterrand-Balladur government has indeed unleashed its police dogs against the workers in struggle, from Air France to the miners to the Sud-Marine workers, but also against the youth.

We warn: the government's policy is leading sooner or later to a bloody provocation. It is the duty of the workers movement to defend the youth and all the oppressed. We must form *picket lines* to protect striking factories, and form worker/immigrant *self-defense committees* to protect demonstrations and immigrant neighborhoods against police and fascist attacks.

Workers must also set up real combat organizations, from *strike committees* and *factory committees* to *workers councils (soviets)*, in which the workers and their allies democratically determine their strategy and tactics and select a new leadership, forged in the fire of class struggle. On the basis of such mobilizations and organs of workers power, the workers will pose before all classes of society the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship of capital by a new power, that of the exploited and the oppressed—the question of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In contrast, the reformist leaders of the workers movement are desperately seeking to defuse the explosive character of the mobilization against the youth minimum wage. Thus they hope to turn the March 17 mobilization into a one-day affair, and they haven't even called for a strike by all workers. The "perspective" put forward by the PCF is...to vote for PCF candidates in the March 20 district elections! The fact that Robert Hue has been made National Secretary of the PCF is highly symbolic. Having organized in 1981 a campaign against a Moroccan family denounced as "drug dealers" in his town of Montigny-lès-Cormeilles, which he continues to brag about, he is a forerunner of the anti-immigrant offensive unleashed in the name of "fighting drugs." This racist campaign—whose infamous symbol is the bulldozers of Vitry (where a Communist mayor tore down an immigrant workers' hostel)—was the PCF leadership's entrance fee into Mitterrand's government.

Today, in a situation of rising class struggle against a weakened government, which piles one reactionary provocation atop another, the reformist bureaucrats are doing their best to build a new class collaborationist coalition (like the Union of the Left or the Popular Front in the '30s) in order to stifle these struggles. As we wrote in the last issue of *Le Bolchévik* concerning the present struggles in Europe:

> "The need for socialist revolution is placed in front of the European workers movement. For class-conscious workers the question is not just 'will there be another 1968?' but how to achieve a May '68 that goes all the way, to the taking of power. The key is building Trotskyist parties forged on a transitional program leading to workers revolution." ■

San Jose: Police Target Clinic Defenders

SAN JOSE, California—Over the past two weeks, the San Jose police, working hand in glove with Operation Rescue bigots, have escalated their attacks on abortion clinics. In the eight days following Spartacus Youth Club member Anna Owens' arrest on a trumped-up "battery" charge on March 5 (see "Defend Abortion—Stop O.R.!" *WV* No. 596, 18 March), two more clinic defenders were arrested.

On March 12, Mike Steiner, a supporter of the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR-South), was arrested and charged with "disturbing the peace" and "blocking pedestrian traffic." Steiner was attempting to drown out the incantations of an Operation Rescue member who was harassing a client entering a clinic. At a press conference held by BACORR on March 25, Steiner said: "I was manhandled, bruised, choked, my arms were twisted. The officer said I was resisting, even though I was not."

The next day, Steve Smith, a supporter of NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition), was arrested protesting at a church in San Jose where Operation Rescue honcho Keith Tucci was speaking. Smith has outrageously been charged with "felony assault with a deadly weapon" for allegedly ripping up pages of a Bible.

Smarting from their defeats last summer during their "Cities of Refuge" anti-abortion campaign, O.R. has stripped away its phony "outreach to the community" façade and launched repeated unsuccessful guerrilla raids on clinics in the Bay Area in the last month. At the March 25 press conference, an SL spokesman said:

> "We need massive defense of clinics, not reliance on the Democratic Party. The racist cops and courts are *enemies* of labor, women and minorities. These women-hating, anti-gay bigots of O.R. must be stopped! The Spartacist League calls for women's liberation through socialist revolution—to begin building a society where free, safe abortion on demand and free, quality medical care for all are the reality. Drop all charges against the abortion clinic defenders!"

Contragate...

(continued from page 6)

criminals at Nuremberg, their secret services were busily secreting many more Nazis to safety via the "rat line," to be used in future covert operations against the "Communist menace."

All of this liberal hogwash is a cover-up at the most fundamental level. To maintain its *class dictatorship*, the bourgeoisie *routinely* lies to the masses and carries out endless conspiracies, often in violation of its own laws and "democratic" principles. This is all the more true for a major imperialist power like the U.S., which seeks to *rule the world*. Policies which the U.S. bourgeoisie deems to be in its interests are carried out regardless of "legality" or the "popular will." As we noted in our article, "Watergate—Reagangate" (*WV* No. 423, 6 March 1987): "The presidency has always represented institutional bonapartism, a power rising above the elected lawmakers." We added: "The executive branch has been the principal arm of U.S. imperialism in the continual exercise of every kind of mass rapine, butchery and war."

As Draper himself notes, as far back as 1918 the great "democrat" Woodrow Wilson "secretly" dispatched 7,000 troops to Vladivostok to link up with Czech units and the White counterrevolutionaries fighting to overthrow the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky. Wilson got around Congress by financing the American expeditionary force through the Russian embassy in Washington, which remained under the control of an ambassador left over from the deposed Provisional Government:

> "Thus, by the fall of 1918, the administration controlled a functioning procurement and disbursal agency for which it did not have to account either to Congress or to the public. Ostensibly independent, the embassy acted only with the concurrence of the United States government in supplying and arming *both* the Czechs and the White armies."
>
> —Robert J. Maddox, *The Unknown War with Russia*, 1977

The U.S. armed intervention continued until it was driven out by advancing Bolshevik forces in March 1920.

There are endless such stories of "secret" wars and plots to which Congress turned a blind eye. Indeed, until the 1992 Persian Gulf slaughter, the last war Congress had officially authorized was World War II! Stung by U.S. imperialism's debacle in Vietnam, at the height of the Watergate furor in 1973 Congress passed the War Powers Resolution. But this supposed Congressional veto over presidential military adventures was observed only in the breach for years. And the only reason Bush allowed Congress to vote on the invasion of Iraq was that he had been assured beforehand that he would have overwhelming support.

And what of the "fourth estate," the supposed watchdogs in the "free press" idolized in such movies as *All the President's Men* of Watergate fame? When *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc filed a story on the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion reporting preparations for an imminent landing on Cuba, his editors spiked it to avoid being "responsible for grave interference with national policy" (Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*). Likewise, *Miami Herald* owner John S. Knight "withheld stories about the Guatemala and Florida training camps at the request of the highest level of the United States Government" (David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government*).

In his polemical defense of soviet power against social democrat Karl Kautsky, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918), Lenin exposed the fundamental lie at the root of capitalist "democracy":

> "Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism....
>
> "Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The people are deceived everywhere, and in democratic France, Switzerland, America and Britain this is done on an incomparably wider scale and in an incomparably subtler manner than in other countries. The Soviet government has torn the veil of mystery from foreign policy in a revolutionary manner."

When he assumed the post of commissar of foreign affairs after the October Revolution, Trotsky immediately ordered the publication of all the secret treaties concluded by the tsar and the bourgeois Provisional Government. "We are carrying out the undertaking which we made when our party was in opposition," he explained in a 22 November 1917 statement, noting:

> "Secret diplomacy is a necessary tool for a propertied minority which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to subject it to its interests.... The Russian people, and the peoples of Europe and the whole world, should learn the truth about the plans forged in secret by the financiers and industrialists together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents."

The Bolsheviks put their words into practice during the 1918 Brest-Litovsk peace talks with imperial Germany, refusing to play the game of secret deals papered over with democratic language. Trotsky and the rest of the Bolshevik delegation appealed over the heads of the Kaiser's representatives at the conference table to the German workers to rise up in revolution.

The Russian October Revolution swept away the old order, with its secret treaties and intrigues, its carnage and oppression. Today it will take a workers revolution in the heartland of U.S. imperialism to drive out the warmakers who threaten the incineration of the entire planet in their quest to dominate the world. ■

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Trade War...

(continued from page 1)

trade deficit. Right now the only important country the U.S. is running a trade surplus with is its backyard neo-colony Mexico. Japanese and German imperialism are rankling at the jawboning and strong-arming from the White House. And if they retaliate, there could be hell to pay.

Under the headline "Trade War? Unlikely, But Shifting Relations Do Increase the Risk," the *Wall Street Journal* (18 February) wrote: "The U.S.-Japan trade conflict—should it spiral out of control—would be the first showdown between the economic superpowers in the post-Cold War era." Indeed, with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, increasing conflict between these two economic "superpowers" is inevitable.

Through ruthless retrenchment and a *20 percent cut in the real wages of the American working class over the past generation*, U.S. industrialists have radically slashed their labor costs. Based on market foreign-exchange rates, unit labor costs in the U.S. are now half as much as in Japan. However, America's "leaner and meaner" companies have not been able to translate lower costs into higher export volume. And without that they cannot grow fat again.

At the same time, Japan Inc. is mired in the worst economic slump in 40 years, which is beginning to crack the vaunted "lifetime employment" of the major companies. Thus Japan's corporate bosses are in no position or mood to further cut back output in order to accommodate a larger volume of imports from the U.S.

We are now seeing a rising tide of economic nationalism on both sides of the Pacific as the American and Japanese ruling classes seek to divert popular discontent over the economy by blaming their imperialist rivals. On the eve of last month's Washington meeting between Clinton and Japanese prime minister Morihiro Hosokawa, one White House official gleefully exclaimed, "We gain credibility with the public the more we slam Hosokawa." So that's exactly what Clinton did, and the economic "summit" ended in threats of trade war.

In the immediate aftermath, Washington revived its "nuclear weapon" for trade war. This is "Super 301," a law passed by the Democratic Congress in the late '80s to pressure the Bush administration into "getting tough" with Japan by authorizing such punitive measures as 100 percent tariffs. This provoked a strong response from America's capitalist rivals, and not only Japan. Leon Brittan, commissioner of external affairs for the European Union (formerly the Common Market), warned the U.S. about violating its trade agreements. Indian economist Jagdish Baghwati, who now teaches at Columbia University, stated, "Nothing unites the world against the United States as much as 301."

This sharp escalation of the trade war was cheered on by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which has been in the forefront of red-white-and-blue Japan-bashing. While American employers have been slashing jobs left and right in the middle of an economic *upturn* (over 100,000 job cuts in January alone), the union tops meeting in their plush Bal Harbour, Florida retreat hailed Clinton's "tough" talk and blamed Japan for having "weakened our country's industrial base" (*AFL-CIO News*, 7 March). The protectionist poison spewed out by the labor fakers sets American and Japanese workers against each other while lining the bosses' pockets.

Economist

February meeting in Washington between Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa and Clinton ended in hostile stand-off.

On the other side of the Pacific, America-bashing is now in vogue. "All of us have come to hate America," said business journalist Toshiaki Ohno. "The role of Japanese consumers isn't to boost profits at American companies" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 March). On returning from Washington, Hosokawa was applauded by bourgeois opinion-makers for standing up to Clinton. "The Japan That Said 'No'," was the headline in the right-wing *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the country's largest circulation daily newspaper. This was a play on the title of a best-selling book of a few years ago co-authored by the head of Sony and a right-wing politician, which urged that Japan take a harder line in defending its national interests against America.

Now the mood of "Japan first" economic nationalism is starting to flow down from corporate boardrooms and newspaper editorial offices into the streets. The Tokyo headquarters of Motorola was recently spray-painted with slogans such as "Anti-America" and "Crush the product-pushing U.S. imperialists"! This is the language of a popular mobilization for war, not just trade war.

Japan: Popular Frontism and Economic Depression

During the Cold War, Japan Inc. was a one-party state. The bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party, supported by U.S. imperialism, ruled the country from the mid-1950s onward. The party's fractious factions were held together by massive corruption ("money politics") as well as mutual hostility to the Soviet Union and the Japanese working class. Japan's rulers—in this respect fully backed by Washington—were determined to prevent the reformist Socialist Party, which adopted a pacifistic posture toward the Cold War, from sharing governmental power.

Just as the fall of the Soviet Union has led to the fracturing of the U.S.-Japan alliance, so it has led to the break-up of the Liberal Democratic Party. Major sections of the Japanese ruling class, who favored a more nationalist economic policy, split from the parent party. Since last summer the government has been a right-wing popular front of these new bourgeois parties and the reformist Socialists.

Thus the Japanese ruling class finds itself in political disarray at a time when it is also facing a major economic downturn. Industrial production has fallen 12 percent since 1991. In the past the "lifetime employment" policy of major Japanese firms was sustained by the widespread use of part-time workers and subcontracting. Now, however, 40 percent of all Japanese firms, including the largest, have announced plans to reduce their workforces. This along with downward pressure on wages could provoke big labor struggles in the next period.

Japan Inc. is thus facing demands to accept more U.S. imports at the very moment it can least afford to do so. In years past, Washington's calls for "opening" the Japanese market were largely diplomatic posturing to justify protectionist measures against Japanese imports in the American market. Given their generally higher prices and poorer quality, U.S. manufacturers would not have sold much more in Japan even in the absence of trade barriers.

However, two decades of relentless downsizing, speedup, wage-gouging and union-busting has restored the international competitiveness of American industry (though with a smaller manufacturing base). By 1990, productivity in U.S. factories was higher than in Germany in all major industrial sectors and higher than in Japan in light industry (e.g., food processing) as well as in computers and consumer electronics. Furthermore, wages and benefits are now lower in the U.S. ($16.70 an hour last year) than in Japan ($19.30 an hour at market foreign-exchange rates).

Yet in 1993 the U.S. ran a $60 billion trade deficit with Japan, the largest in five years. Part—but only part—of the reason is the economic depression, which necessarily reduces Japanese demand for imports as well as domestically produced goods. More fundamentally, the Japanese economy is run by a group of tightly knit complexes (the *keiretsu*) which combine manufacturers, distributors and trading companies. Hence Japanese capitalism can effectively restrict imports of manufactured goods through informal business understandings without recourse to tariffs, quotas, government subsidies and other protectionist mechanisms used in West Europe and North America. Only 6 percent of manufactured goods consumed in Japan are produced abroad, compared to 15 percent for the U.S. and Germany.

The American ruling class is not really interested in opening the Japanese market to "free" trade. What the Fortune 500 bosses want is that Japan provide a *guaranteed market* for American exports regardless of relative profitability from the Japanese standpoint. Thus, Clinton is demanding that Tokyo accept minimum import quotas from the U.S. For example, Japanese auto makers would be required to increase their purchases of auto parts from U.S. manufacturers by 20 percent a year for the next four years.

The new U.S. trade strategy is exemplified by Motorola. In 1989, Washington pressured Tokyo into opening up its market for cellular phones. The IDO corporation, the Japanese firm given the license to market Motorola's phones, had already invested heavily in relay stations for a rival technology developed by Nippon Telephone & Telegraph (NTT). As a result, 300,000 IDO customers in the key Tokyo-Nagoya region have NTT phones, while only 10,000 have Motorola's. When Motorola demanded that IDO purchase 225,000 of its phones, regardless of whether the Japanese firm has customers for them or not, IDO boss Takeo Tsukada replied, "That is like burglary" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 February). IDO eventually agreed to build 160 relay stations geared to Motorola's phones.

USAF

Devastated Tokyo after American firebombing in 1945. Economic conflict between U.S. and Japan in 1930s led to World War II in the Pacific.

The Clinton regime believes the U.S. has both the right and, more importantly, the power to dictate the business plans of Japan Inc. In reviving "Super 301," Clinton has in effect ripped up the global trade agreement he signed just a few months ago under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The GATT treaty, hailed as a big victory for "free" trade, was supposed to prohibit unilateral actions such as the use of Super 301. Now Tokyo's top trade official, Yoshiro Sakamoto, threatens: "Should the U.S. take that sort of action, in theory I think we should retaliate."

Trade Wars and Shooting Wars

Americans may not see any connection between trade war and the real kind, but that connection is seared with the

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BOSTON

Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

bosses must be accompanied by a fight to drive the feds and their agents out of the union!

Carey became president in December 1991 in a government-run election. This result of the intervention by the capitalist state was hailed by a host of fake-socialist groups, foremost among them the press agents for the TDU, *Against the Current* and *Labor Notes*. A year ago, Carey engineered the first official break with the NMFA, a "two-tier" agreement with Northwest Transport Services that Carey intends to be a "model" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 February 1993). Needless to say, there wasn't a peep of protest from his loyal supporters in the TDU. Nor did they oppose Carey's massive givebacks imposed on Teamster flight attendants at Northwest Airlines.

When Carey negotiated a new UPS contract that maintained the huge pay gap between full- and part-time workers, the social-democratic *In These Times* (16 October 1993) hailed him for "Delivering the Goods." The Communist Party declared that Carey "has given leadership to re-orienting the IBT...on the side of social progress: Support of Clinton/Gore in '92" (*People's Weekly World*, 18 September 1993).

A Carey/TDU campaign to raise union dues by 25 percent went down to defeat in a referendum this month. Teamsters aren't buying the bureaucrats' claims that the union is broke and needs the money to fund strike pay and organizing. In 1992, Carey and his General Executive Board (with a majority of TDUers) gave *$4.3 million* to the Democrats. And the hureaucrats in the IBT's Marble Palace in Washington have used another *$40 million* in union cash to pay the feds' "costs," including the $385-an-hour legal bills of Frederick Lacey, one of the overseers.

The vicious, corrupt gang of exploiters known as the capitalist class has never been interested in cleaning up corruption in the labor movement. The state used RICO on the Teamsters for the same reason the PATCO strike was outlawed and the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law was enacted—to smash the power of the unions. They want to return to the days when it was a criminal conspiracy to even belong to a union.

Last month Carey called a walkout at UPS, when the company announced it was more than doubling the weight limit on packages to 150 pounds. The venal gang of "old guard" bureaucrats bowed to a federal court injunction against the walkout and organized massive scabbing on the strike. Carey folded the strike after ten hours, with no more protection for workers than when it began. Of course, that didn't stop Carey's reformist cheerleaders like Socialist Action or the International Socialist Organization from proclaiming that "the new leadership has passed its first big test" (*Socialist Action*, March 1994) and that Carey knew "how to take on courts and bosses" (*Socialist Worker*, February 1994).

Now Carey has moved against his bureaucratic opponents. On March 21, as it became clear that the dues increase was going down to defeat, he retaliated by sending in goons and accountants to seize control of four regional conference offices in simultaneous raids around the country. Carey says he will move to abolish these fiefdoms for his opponents next month. But in the infighting in the Teamster bureaucracy—the pro-government Carey and TDU vs. the "reward your friends" business unionists like R.V. Durham—both wings serve the capitalists and their political parties.

Back in the 1930s, it was the revolutionary leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters which laid the basis for the industrial union power of the modern Teamsters. Building on the victorious Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934, they waged a campaign to organize the over-the-road drivers throughout the Midwest, using the powerful tactic of secondary boycotts ("hot-cargoing"). In drawing the lessons of those battles for young communists, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, emphasized:

> "All modern strikes require political direction.... The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn.... The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups."
>
> —*The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

It will take the rebirth of that kind of class-struggle leadership in the labor movement to drive out the pro-capitalist labor traitors of all stripes, and unchain the power of labor, blacks and all the oppressed in a fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Clinton/Reno Frame-Up of UMWA Strikers

Labor: Defend Logan County Miners!

On May 2 in Charleston, West Virginia, eight members of the United Mine Workers (UMWA) will go on trial in a massive frame-up by Clinton's Justice Department. Seven of the Logan County miners face *25 years* in prison on bogus charges of "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce" for allegedly throwing rocks at scab vehicles at the Arch Mineral Ruffner mine near Yolyn last July. They're trying to railroad the eighth miner, Jerry Dale Lowe, in connection with the death of a scab contractor at the mine: he is threatened with *50 years* and a *$1 million* fine.

This is a blatant union-busting prosecution. In addition to Lowe, who is a strike captain and chairman of UMWA Local 5958's mine safety committee, the miners include the local president Earnest Woods, strike captain Frederick Dexter Carver, miners Daynor Adkins, Curtis Browning, Jerry May, Larry Ray Perry and Luther Shell. The victims of this frame-up have been members of the union for between 20 and 30 years.

The state of West Virginia spent months investigating pickets from the Arch mine, and came up with nothing. So in November Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno opened up a vindictive prosecution of these union men. Logan County miners told *Workers Vanguard* that pickets and the union shack at the Ruffner mine in Slab Fork Hollow were shot at and tear gassed repeatedly. The scab killed last July was part of a scab convoy exiting the mine. He was shot in the back of the head—from the direction where the bosses' thugs were. A unionist told *WV* that the gun-toting strikebreakers from Elite Security had fired out of the Ruffner mine almost every day. Then those same goons were deputized by the state troopers to hold miners and search their cars!

Now coal company "justice" continues. Clinton's new U.S. Attorney in Charleston is Rebecca Betts, from the law firm of King, Betts & Allen, which represents none other than Arch Mineral!

International Executive Board member Howard Green told *WV* that the miners are "going against unlimited resources of this government," and the feds are threatening fund-raising efforts with "racketeering" laws. A leaflet from UMWA Region II (covering key Districts 17, 28, 29 and 31) calls for financial assistance for the "Arch 8": "The members indicted are longtime UMWA members whose only 'crime' is that of being decent, hard-working people." But the UMWA International in Washington has knifed the Arch 8. After wearing down the union ranks in a ten-month-long "selective strike," union president Richard Trumka folded the strike in December, specifically abandoning strikers facing federal charges—the Logan miners.

There must be a fight inside the union to bring out a massive outpouring of solidarity in their defense. UMWA locals in West Virginia should declare a "memorial day" on May 2 and turn out in the thousands. Every union in the Charleston area must mobilize to demand: Drop the charges against the Logan County miners!

* * *

Funds for the miners' defense should be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave., S.E., Charleston, WV 25304. Earmark for "Ruffner miners."

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heat of nuclear fission into the memory of the Japanese. With the onset of the Great Depression in the early 1930s, trade barriers were erected everywhere against the Japanese "trade menace," as it was then called. Most damaging to the Japanese was the prohibitive Smoot-Hawley tariff in the U.S. and protectionism in the Asian colonies of the European imperialist powers (British India, French Indochina). So Japanese imperialism was pushed into creating its own "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," a euphemism for the brutal military occupation and colonial exploitation of Korea, Manchuria and China.

To counter Japanese moves in the Far East, American and British imperialism first resorted to economic warfare. In July 1941 (five months *before* Pearl Harbor), the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies, without which it could not survive. U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war, and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The postwar U.S. military occupation imposed on Japan a "pacifist" constitution which stated that "land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained." However, increasing economic tensions between the U.S. and Japan since the late 1970s have gone apace with the remilitarization of Japan. For more than a decade, Japan has escalated military spending more than any other imperialist power, concentrating on the acquisition of high-tech weaponry. It has built up its naval forces particularly to ensure the continued importation of oil, other raw materials and food if faced with a hostile military blockade such as that which preceded World War II. Last year, for the first time since World War II, Japanese troops were sent abroad under cover of the UN "peacekeepers" in Cambodia. At the same time, Japan is moving in competition with U.S. imperialism to reincorporate China into its sphere of influence by buying out the venal Stalinist bureaucracy with massive investment.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has ushered in an increasingly disorderly and dangerous world. In the wake of its Gulf War devastation of Iraq in 1991, the American ruling class declared itself masters of a "one superpower world," lording it over its imperialist "allies" as well as Third World neocolonial countries. Now the macho trade warriors in Washington are trying to force the Japanese and also West Europeans to finance U.S. world domination. But for that the weapons of trade war are insufficient.

Twice before in this century, conflicts between the major capitalist powers over markets and spheres of exploitation have led to world war. The last time, U.S. imperialism developed and used nuclear weapons of unprecedented mass destruction. Today these weapons are capable of destroying civilization and even annihilating humanity itself. As the rulers seek to inflame American and Japanese workers against each other, we have to overthrow the rapacious capitalist system they represent before they destroy us. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Feds and Finks Out of the Union!

Strike to Defend Teamster Jobs!

MARCH 28—The trucking companies are out to shred the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA), the national contract with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Salivating over the $7.50 hourly differential in wages and benefits between union and non-union trucking jobs, Trucking Management Inc. (TMI), the bosses' negotiating committee, is demanding wholesale givebacks in wages, work rules and working conditions. Last week, 120,000 IBT members covered by the agreement voted 93 percent in favor of authorizing a strike when the contract expires on March 31.

Union truck drivers have taken a terrible beating, as their wages, adjusted for inflation, have fallen *almost 30 percent* between 1977 and 1992. Since 1978, 45 percent of Teamster jobs at general freight haulers have disappeared, while non-union trucking jobs have *doubled*. The practice of "double-breasting," the creation of non-union subsidiaries by unionized firms, has grown rapidly in the last decade, as the employers have responded to deregulation with slashing attacks on the working class.

Double-breasting "could ignite the most explosive contract negotiations in years," wrote the *Kansas City Business Journal* (26 November 1993). Coupled with the bosses' increasing demands to use "intermodal service"—shifting long-haul freight to the railroads—tens of thousands of additional Teamster jobs are at stake. The Big Three trucking carriers—Consolidated Freightways, Yellow Freight and Roadway—control some 75 percent of the industry. Their non-union subsidiaries are spreading like wildfire—

WV Photo

Atlanta, February 7: Teamsters walkout at UPS against hazardous work conditions was aborted after only ten hours by president Ron Carey.

CF's Con-Way Transportation Services now covers 90 percent of the country. In a reversal of the way the Teamsters' power was extended from the union stronghold in the Midwest in the 1930s, the bosses are now rolling back the union in the South.

The NMFA has long been a target of the bosses and their government—it was Jimmy Hoffa's ability to "tie the nation up in knots" with a national trucking strike that lay behind Robert Kennedy's vendetta against the Teamster president. To fight the trucking bosses' offensive, it will take the same sharp class-struggle tactics used by the Trotskyists in the 1930s that built the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union.

But the regime of IBT president Ron Carey was installed by the capitalist courts and Labor Department. As a result of the feds' "racketeering" suit against the union, which was abetted by the "reform" Teamsters for a Democratic Union, the Teamsters union is under the thumb of a government review board which includes William Webster, the former head of the CIA and FBI who is on the board of both the union-busting Pinkerton detective agency and Anheuser-Busch, a huge Teamster employer! The battle against the trucking

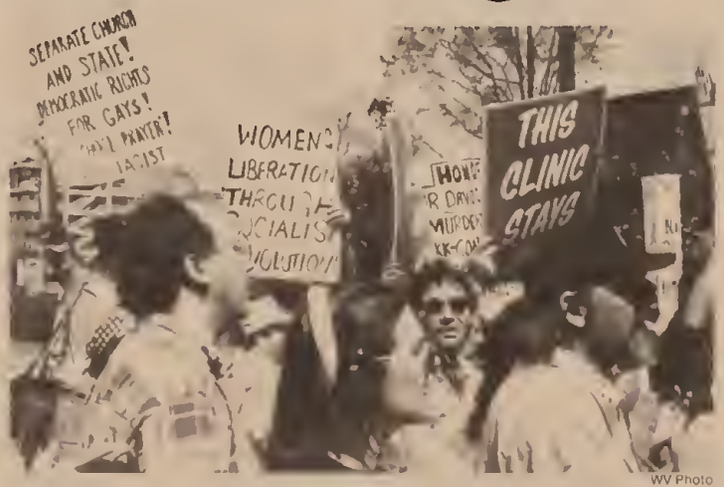
continued on page 11

Birmingham Clinic Defenders Foil Anti-Abortion Bigots

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—"Operation Rescue," the sinister anti-abortion thugs, have descended on this city for a week of provocations against abortion clinics from March 25 to April 2. On Saturday, March 26, some 200 O.R. bigots showed up at Summit Medical Center, one of four clinics they've targeted here.

O.R. might have expected a warm reception in the "Bible Belt," but they were met by 150 abortion rights supporters who successfully defended every entrance and kept the clinic open. Every woman with an appointment got in. At the call of the Emergency Coalition for Choice, led primarily by the Socialist Workers Party, abortion rights supporters came from around Alabama, Atlanta, New Orleans and Los Angeles. The Atlanta Spartacist League actively participated in the clinic defense.

In the Deep South, "right to life" bigotry overlaps with racist Ku Klux Klan terror. Last March, Dr. David Gunn, who courageously traveled the South providing abortion services, was assassinated in Pensacola, Florida by "Rescue America" member Michael Griffin, whose leader was "former" KKK terrorist John Burt. In targeting Birmingham, the O.R. thugs hope to wipe out one of the few areas in the South where working-class and poor women, black and white, can get abortion services. The fight for women's and black rights should be linked to the powerful unions of the heavily industrial Birmingham/Bessemer area.



WV Photo

Spartacists at clinic defense, Birmingham, March 26: "Defend the clinics, take a stand, free abortion on demand!"

Present in Birmingham for the anti-abortion campaign is Keith Tucci, an Operation Rescue leader who claims the "god-given right" to "destroy" abortion doctors. The reactionary O.R. mobs are obscenely trying to drape themselves in the mantle of the civil rights movement. In Birmingham they made a special effort to enlist black ministers to their racist anti-woman cause. Particularly repulsive on Saturday was the photo op they staged, with a black O.R. supporter kneeling in prayer before the clinic defenders.

Spartacist League signs exposed this racist lie. SL placards read "1960s: KKK Bombed Birmingham Black Churches. 1990s: Anti-Abortion Terrorists Bomb the Clinics," and "Honor Fighters for Black and Women's Freedom: Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, the Grimké Sisters." As socialists, we recall the tradition of these great women who fought chattel slavery. Today, in racist capitalist America, working-class and poor black women are triply oppressed.

Clinic defenders took up our chants of "Operation Rescue—Hitler would have loved you!" and "Defend the clinics, take a stand, free abortion on demand!" Many expressed militant opposition to the O.R. siege, despite the push by organizers, mainly the reformist Socialist Workers Party, to get defenders to pledge to a "Nonviolence Code." Such a pledge is dangerous folly, especially in light of threatened skinhead and Klan participation in the O.R. provocation.

A pledge of "nonviolence" means reliance on the capitalist cops—the same racist Birmingham cops who rioted against black youth marching on Martin Luther King Day. But the SWP's newspaper, the *Militant*, didn't deem the January 15 cop riot worthy of mention, not even when 200 black students came from around the South on March 4 to protest the cop assault.

In league with their bourgeois partners in the Feminist Majority Foundation, the SWP in practice limits its demands to simply calling to "Keep Abortion Safe and Legal." What does "safe and legal" mean when abortion facilities are few and far between, clinics are terrorized, parental consent and waiting period laws are imposed, funding is denied for poor women? The Spartacist League signs called for free abortion on demand, and for free, quality health care for all. No reliance on capitalist courts or cops! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 598 15 April 1994

Key Battle for American Labor

Teamsters: Spread the Strike!

APRIL 12—In the most important national strike in years, at midnight, April 6, some 75,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) struck 22 trucking companies across the U.S. The strikers are in a battle to defend the IBT against an onslaught by the employers which, if successful, would decimate the union at its core in the trucking industry. But a hard-fought union victory here, which requires *spreading the strike*, could set the stage for an *organizing drive* to once again make the Teamsters the powerhouse of labor.

The trucking bosses are out to massively cut Teamster jobs covered by the Master Freight Agreement (MFA). It was the struggle to create a uniform contract in the trucking industry over 30 years ago which spurred the government's vendetta against the Teamsters under the guise of fighting "organized crime." Now the union is fighting for its life, as it faces government intervention, the explosive growth of non-union operations, and company demands for givebacks.

In the last several days, the trucking bosses have upped the ante using the uniformed gun thugs of the capitalist state in brutal attacks to smash picket lines. From Boston to Chicago to Riverside County, California, Teamster strikers are being clubbed, gassed and having police dogs set on them. Little of this is being reported in the bosses' press, which is designed to keep strikers in the dark about what is really going on.

In North Reading, Massachusetts, a union picket line outside the Roadway terminal was hit by a paramilitary police SWAT team—50 cops, black uniforms, no badges, with dogs—put together by the Northeast Massachusetts Law Enforcement Council.

WV Photo

Port Newark, New Jersey, April 6—first day of national Teamsters strike. Strike all Master Freight carriers, pull out UPS, shut down non-union subsidiaries!

What this means is that despite the companies' public posture, the strike is beginning to hurt and they need to move freight. Teamsters went out expecting a tough fight, and now the bosses are answering with strikebreaking injunctions, ordered by their courts and enforced by their cops.

This strike will not be won playing by the bosses' rules. Every union tactic that is needed to wage this battle means going up against some law that the capitalist government has enacted in order

continued on page 10

Bloody U.S. Imperialism Strikes Again—Defend Serbia!

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

APRIL 11—For the second time in two days, American warplanes under NATO command bombed Bosnian Serb positions around the town of Gorazde. This bloody provocation by the Clinton administration marks a dramatic and dangerous escalation in imperialist intervention in the Balkan war. From the outset we have called on the working people to defend Serbia against imperialist attack, while opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in the former Yugoslavia pale in comparison to the crimes of nuclear-armed U.S. imperialism around the globe. Recall that during the Vietnam War, U.S. Air Force commander General Curtis LeMay threatened to bomb that country "back into the Stone Age."

Washington has been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson in obedience to its imperialist *diktat*. In late February, American jets shot down four planes over central Bosnia. U.S. planes to bomb ground positions around Sarajevo were aborted when Yeltsin's Russia agreed to a German-brokered deal to get the Serbs to pull artillery back from their siege positions.

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WV Photo

New York, April 12: Spartacists protest bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

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Boston SWAT Cops Kill Elderly Black Minister

AP

Rev. Accelynne Williams

BOSTON—Reverend Accelynne Williams, a 75-year-old retired black Methodist minister from the Caribbean island of Antigua, had moved to Boston's Dorchester neighborhood to be near his daughter. Occasionally, he would give guest lectures at area churches. On March 25, the front door to his apartment was violently torn from its hinges. At least 13 heavily armed intruders wearing helmets and ski masks busted down his bedroom door. The shotgun-wielding intruders threw the minister to the ground, wrapping his wrists in plastic handcuffs. Face down on the floor, Rev. Williams began to vomit and quickly went into cardiac arrest. He died of congestive heart failure.

The elderly minister probably never knew that the perpetrators were veteran members of the Drug Control Unit of the Boston Police Department. The stormtrooper cops were executing a no-knock warrant in the racist, state-sponsored terrorist operation called the "war on drugs." Their victim had for decades ministered to thousands of people throughout the Caribbean. Rev. Williams, who read Greek and Hebrew, was one of the first black ministers appointed in the 1920s when the islands were under British colonial rule. In Boston, he reportedly seldom left home. "He believed he was quite safe in his apartment," said a friend, Paula Aymer. But he wasn't safe from the cops.

Responsible for the death of an obviously innocent man, Mayor Thomas Menino and Police Commissioner Paul Evans issued an unctuous and carefully worded apology. They tried to whitewash the outrageous police killing as a tragic misunderstanding, a mix-up in which the cops "hit" the wrong apartment. But the police had previously applied for three warrants in that Whitfield Street building. In fact, the very cop who swore out the warrant pointed to Reverend Williams' second-floor apartment. The *Boston Globe* claimed that the cowboy cops had been told the aging minister was a suspected lookout for a supposed Jamaican drug "posse" in a third-floor apartment.

Of course, no "drug den" was found. And a 1988 investigation revealed that cops in the Drug Control Unit routinely fabricate "informers" to obtain search warrants (*New York Times*, 28 March). The media have now uncovered more than a half dozen examples of drug squad terror aimed against residents of Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan. In the eyes of the racist police marauders, all black people are suspects.

It's a testimony to how completely local black *misleaders* have bought the racist "war on drugs" that there has been little protest of this latest atrocity. The local lieutenant of the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan, Minister Don Mohammed, quickly came to the cops' defense, saying "I cannot criticize them at this point." He only wants to verify the "mistake" was "honest." Rev. Bruce Wall, who was part of a "community" panel that recommended Evans as top cop, railed against anyone who would even verbally protest this grotesque cop brutality. "I don't want the community to have the negative backlash that a man has died at the hands of the police department" (*Boston Globe*, 26 March).

continued on page 5

Trotskyist Leadership in the Teamsters

TROTSKY

LENIN

The foundation of the Teamsters' power as an industrial union was laid in a series of militant strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 which at their high point effectively shut down the city. The victory in Minneapolis was a launching pad for organizing over-the-road truckers throughout the Midwest. Key was the revolutionary leadership provided by Trotskyist militants, particularly their Marxist understanding that the capitalist state, its cops, courts and "mediators," as well as its politicians—whether Democrat or Republican—are the representatives of the class enemy and not neutral arbiters or "friends of labor." This lesson, underscored here by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, is no less central to winning labor battles today, as the Teamsters, weakened by years of debilitating government intervention, fight the employers' union-busting offensive.

I think I can say without the slightest exaggeration, without fear of any contradiction, that the July-August strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has entered into the annals of the history of the American labor movement as one of its greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles. Moreover: the strike and the union forged in its fires are identified forever in the labor movement, not only here but all over the world, with Trotskyism in action in the mass movement of the workers. Trotskyism made a number of specific contributions to this strike which made all the difference between the Minneapolis strike and a hundred others of the period, some of which involved more workers in more socially important localities and industries. Trotskyism made the contribution of organization and preparations down to the last detail. That is something new, that is something specifically Trotskyist. Second, Trotskyism introduced into all the plans and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy; not as a subjective reaction—that is seen in every strike—but as a deliberate policy based on the theory of the class struggle, that you can't win anything from the bosses unless you have the will to fight for it and the strength to take it.

The third contribution of Trotskyism to the Minneapolis strike—the most interesting and perhaps the most decisive—was that we met the government mediators on their own ground. I tell you, one of the most pathetic things observable in that period was to see how in one strike after another the workers were outmaneuvered and cut to pieces, and their strike broken by the "friends of labor" in the guise of federal mediators....

We despised them and all their wily artifices and tricks, and their hypocritical pretenses of good fellowship and friendship for the strikers. They were nothing but the agents of the government in Washington, which in turn is the agent of the employing class as a whole. That was perfectly clear to a Marxist....

In Minneapolis we saw the native militancy of the workers fused with a politically conscious leadership. Minneapolis showed how great can be the role of such leadership. It gave great promise for the party founded on correct political principles and fused and united with the mass of American workers. In that combination one can see the power that will conquer the whole world.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 12.

No. 598 **15 April 1994**

Partisan Defense Committee Forum

Former Black Panther Leader Fights Government's Racist Frame-Up

Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, has endured twenty-three years of California prison hell for a murder the state knows he didn't commit. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, Geronimo is a victim of the FBI's vicious COINTELPRO campaign to destroy the Panthers. Despite overwhelming proof of his innocence, the racist rulers of American capitalism keep him locked away because, as the DA's representative to Geronimo's 1987 parole hearing said, "he's still a revolutionary." The fight for Geronimo's freedom is an important part of the struggle for black liberation through a working-class revolution.

VIDEO SHOWING
7-7:30 p.m.

FOX TV ran a three-part series exposing the frame-up of Pratt by LAPD and FBI link Julius Butler. The videos also identified the likely actual killers.

SPEAKERS AND DISCUSSION
7:30 p.m.

Paul Cooperstein, Partisan Defense Committee
Helene Brosius, Spartacist League Central Committee
Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 808*
Breeze Barrow, Editorial Board member, Black Panther Newspaper Committee*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Thursday, April 21, 7:00 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College
Room N 402, 199 Chambers Street

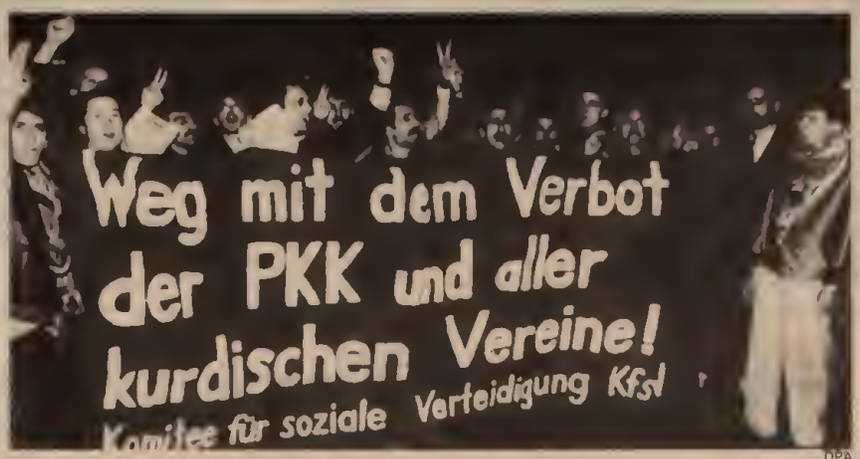
Join the Fight to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

For more information: (212) 406-4252 or write to: PDC, Box 99, Canal St. Sta., NY, NY 10013

International Demonstrations Called

Protest Germany's Anti-Kurdish Repression!

New York: Demonstrate at German Consulate Thursday, April 14, 5 p.m.



DPA

Kassel, Germany, December 1993: Banner of class-struggle defense organization KfsV reads "Down with the Ban on the PKK and All Kurdish Groups!"

As the Turkish army steps up its genocidal war against the Kurdish people, the German government is now calling for mass deportation of hundreds of Kurds for the "crime" of engaging in protests against this mass murder. Turkish prime minister Tansu Ciller has now declared this year "the final solution of the Kurdish question." Anyone expelled from Germany faces the prospect of hideous torture and in many cases death at the hands of the Turkish regime.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and its fraternal class-struggle defense organization KfsV have prominently and repeatedly denounced the Fourth Reich's attacks on Kurdish organizations, participating in mass protests and calling upon the labor movement to take decisive action to halt the repression. Now, in an international campaign of protest, the Partisan Defense Committee is calling for an emergency demonstration against Germany's anti-Kurdish repression.

The protesters are demanding: Down with Germany's ban of the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) and all Kurdish organizations! Down with the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol! Stop the deportations! Drawing the parallel to Germany's actions, demonstration organizers in New York also denounced the Clinton administration's returning Haitian refugees to death at the hands of the bloody military junta, and the U.S.' starvation blockade of Haiti and Iraq.

In New York City, the demonstration will take place at 5 p.m., Thursday, April 14, outside the German consulate at 460 Park Avenue, between 57th and 58th Streets. Other protests have been called for London, Paris, Toronto and Sydney, Australia.

Successive Turkish governments have waged total war against the Kurdish minority of 15 million people. More than 1.7 million Kurds have been forced into exile. For decades the chauvinist regime in Ankara has sought to extirpate any manifestation of the national existence of the Kurdish people, even banning Kurdish music and the Kurdish language; the very mention of the existence of Kurds as a distinct people was outlawed. While denouncing the outlawed PKK as "terrorists," the Turkish government is waging a war of terror against the entire Kurdish people.

Last year alone, Ankara reportedly spent *$7 billion* on its murderous repression against Kurds in southeastern Turkey. Equipped with U.S. Phantom jets and German tanks, the Turkish army destroyed 874 Kurdish villages, driving the population out and imprisoning them behind barbed wire. As local elections were held under martial law in March, the headquarters of the "legal" Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) were bombed and its seven members of parliament jailed. A military force of 300,000 troops was mobilized to terrorize the Kurdish region.

Since the bloody U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 1991, the Turkish government has carried its anti-Kurdish terror into the UN's starvation camps for Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq. And since last year, Ankara's NATO patrons have taken this war to the large Kurdish immigrant populations of West Europe. Last November, the Balladur government of France seized over 100 Kurdish militants "suspected" of belonging to the PKK. A week later, Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic government in Germany, supported by the "opposition" Social Democrats (SPD), banned the PKK and 35 other Kurdish organizations, whose supporters number in the tens of thousands. This comes atop a ban imposed years ago against the Turkish leftist group Devrimci Sol.

A pogromist climate was unleashed against Kurds throughout West Europe. In early September, more than 1,500 Kurds traveling from Paris to a PKK festival in Frankfurt were stopped at the German border and held for hours in their buses. In the notorious tradition of the Gestapo, during the pre-dawn hours of November 26 German police raided and devastated 160 Kurdish institutions and clubs as well as a number of private apartments. In mid-December, the police again stopped buses going to a PKK event in Frankfurt; as hundreds of Kurds blocked the Autohahn at Kassel in protest, the KfsV raised a banner calling for "Down with the Ban on the PKK and All Kurdish Organizations!"

Last month, the Kurdish Newroz (New Year's) festivities in many German cities were banned as "illegal political activity." Hundreds of Kurds stopped by police roadblocks were beaten and arrested. In utter desperation, three Kurds burned themselves to death in protest. Two were women whose families had been murdered in Kurdistan by the Turkish military and death squads. A funeral march for them in Mannheim on March 27 was also banned—just like in racist South Africa—with a massive deployment of the paramilitary *Bundesgrenzschutz* (border police). Nevertheless 10,000 marched through Mannheim, indicting the German Fourth Reich as the continuator of the Nazi regime with the chant: "Yesterday the Jews, today the Kurds."

When Kurdish protesters dared to block the Autobahns (built by Hitler), newspapers like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (24 March) hysterically railed that this was worse than mass terror. The government has charged 500 of the protesters—389 alone in the SPD-ruled state of Nordrhein-Westfalen—and threatened them with mass deportation. The SPD asks only for a "fair trial" as a prelude to deportation. A year ago, these "socialists" also voted for Kohl's gutting of Germany's constitutional right of asylum, instigating and rewarding fascist terror against "foreigners."

There are today more than 500,000 Kurdish immigrants in Germany, many having lived there for decades while denied citizenship rights. Kurdish and Turkish workers are a strategic and militant component of the German trade-union movement. But, driven to the wall by the genocidal attacks of the Turkish regime, Kurdish nationalists have desperately lashed out against anything Turkish, including vile indiscriminate terror against Turkish restaurants, cultural centers and travel agencies.

The attacks on Kurds take place in the climate of resurgent German nationalism unleashed by capitalist reunification, which has fueled murderous Nazi terror from the 1992 Rostock pogrom to the racist murder of Turkish families in Mölln and Solingen a few months later, and the firebombing of a synagogue in Lübeck in late March. This is all part of the bourgeoisie's anti-working-class offensive to divide the workers movement and make it pay the bill for *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former East German workers state.

The international workers movement must raise an urgent cry of outrage against the Fourth Reich's racist persecution of Kurds and its threat to deport them to the torture chambers and firing squads of its NATO ally in Ankara. Join the Partisan Defense Committee on April 14 in demanding: *Down with Germany's ban of the PKK and all Kurdish organizations! Down with the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol! Stop the deportations!*

7 April 1994

For more information, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at (212) 406-4252, or write to: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Der Spiegel photos

Protesting Turkey's genocidal war against the Kurds (left), desperate Kurdish protesters in Germany set themselves on fire.

Workers, Blacks, Students, Catholics, Gays Must Unite to Stop KKK/Nazis!

WV Photo

UPI

Boston's Government Center, October 1982: Spartacist contingent (left) in militant mass protest which drove out hooded Klansmen.

Fascists Threaten Provocation in Boston

The fascist "Nationalist Movement's" intent to march through the streets of Boston is a deadly threat to working people, leftists, minorities—to *all* opponents and potential victims of the KKK/Nazis. The Mississippi-based racist Nationalist Movement applied for a permit for a rally on the steps of South Boston High School on May 7, under the slogan "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country: Go, Southie, Go." On April 6 the fascists' request for the South Boston site was denied but their leader, Richard Barrett, is vowing to take the city to federal court and sue for their coveted venue on the steps of "Southie High"—a site made infamous by the violent racist backlash against black schoolchildren and busing for school desegregation in Boston.

The fascists hope to cash in on Boston's history of anti-black racism and the recent storm of anti-gay bigotry around South Boston's St. Patrick's Day parade. This year parade organizers opted to cancel the event rather than obey a court order requiring that the Irish American Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Group of Boston (GLIB) be allowed to march. South Boston's Irish Catholic population better know that if they are nnt first on the fascists' hit list, they rank mighty high. The first fascist organization in America was the "Know-Nothing Party," which recruited to a virulently anti-Irish Catholic program. The "Nationalist Movement" is explicit in its vile calls to expel "non-American elements" back to "ancestral homelands."

Even in a deeply class- and race- and ethnically divided city like Boston, sectors of the organized labor movement represent a potentially powerful weapon for *united class-struggle action* against the fascist scum. This is particularly true in the context of the current Teamsters strike, a key battle for labor nationwide. The fascists are the cutting edge of the capitalist system's scheme to "divide and conquer" the working people, the better to exploit labor for the profit of the owners. This fascist provocation in Boston should be spiked by a massive labor/minorities/student outpouring of outrage which unites all the fascists' intended victims to defeat their common enemy.

The Nationalist Movement has a dirty trail of racist provocations. A few years ago they staged a "victory" rally in Vidor, Texas after driving the only black residents out of an all-white public housing project. While the whole country was rocked by justified outrage against the police beating of black motorist Rodney King, the Nationalist Movement rallied in lily-white Simi Valley to cheer on the cops who savagely beat him. In 1988 they interrupted a Gay Pride rally in New Orleans with calls to "Quarantine AIDS Now." The Nationalist Movement has staged numerous provocations against Martin Luther King Day, the only national holiday commemorating a black American. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Spartacist League organized massive opposition to these scumbags in January 1989 in Atlanta, Georgia where a 3,500-strong labor/black protest countered the Nationalist Movement's "celebration" of the murder of Martin Luther King Jr.

Anti-Busing Bigotry in South Boston

The fascists have made a symbolic choice in requesting South Boston High School as their preferred rally site. Boston is the city that became synonymous with the racist anti-busing backlash of the '70s and "Southie High" was one of the most violent focal points of the ultimately successful efforts to beat back busing as a means of school desegregation. Snuth Boston at that time came to he personified by segregationist City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw her body in front of buses with a "Stop" sign, and former Boston mayor Ray Flynn, the cofounder of what was to become "ROAR" (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the reactionary umhrella group that organized the racist mobs throughout the city. James Kelly, now the president of the Boston City Council, was at that time the leader of the South Bnston Information Center, a front for the paramilitary South Boston Marshals.

South Boston bigots have never needed the intervention of KKK/Nazi scum to maintain racist "ethnic purity." Indeed, the irony of the Nationalist Movement's pretensions to "honor Saint Patrick rather than insult him" is savage. Although two-bit *Führer* Richard Barrett and his fascist vermin claim that their belated St. Patrick's march is at the specific request of an unnamed representative of the "good people" of South Boston, whenever the KKK/Nazis have attempted to set up shop in Southie, they have been run out—hard and fast. In racist tribute to the violence directed at black schoolchildren, in the '70s various fascist outfits struck down their membership bar against Catholics and tried to encroach on Boston. The Nazi party tried to set up a bookstore in a storefront on Broadway in South Boston and was met by an angry picket line of residents who sent them packing overnight. During the first week of busing in 1974, KKK fascist David Duke tried to set up shop but was met with indifference and rebuke. And in 1982, when a bunch of hooded Klansmen tried to march with heavy police escort past Government Center, some 1,500 Bostonians, including a good number of Irish Catholics from South Boston and Dorchester, blacks from Roxbury, students and leftists *ran them out*.

South Boston is a predominantly white pocket of poverty which rivals the destitute conditions of black ghettos like Roxbury. The busing plans of the '70s, initiated and later abandoned by Kennedy-style "limousine liberals," were *calculated* to pit the urban poor against themselves. J. Anthony Lukas, whose book *Common Ground* chronicles the liberals' failure in Boston school desegregation, has noted: "The federal court orders of 1974 and 1975...assured that the burden of integration would fall disproportionately on the poor of both races." The Spartacist League was unique in linking our forthright defense of busing—for labor/black defense guards to protect the buses and clear the streets nf Southie, Charlestown and Hyde Park of marauding racist bands—with the demand to *extend busing* to the toney suburbs like Weston and Lexington where the upper middle class raises and schools their children.

The failure of the labor movement to take up this necessary fight for integrationism left the field to the racist mobs

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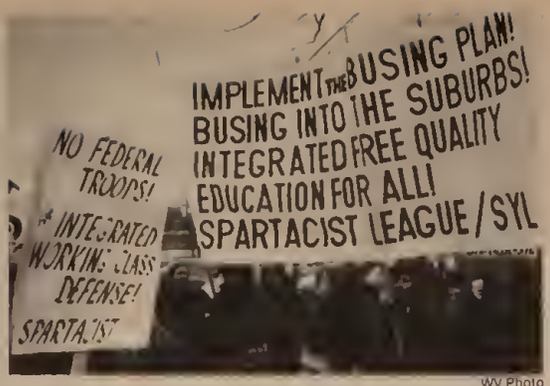

WV Photo

Left: Flag-wielding racist thugs brutally attack black businessman at anti-busing rally in downtown Boston in 1976. Right: Spartacist contingent at 1974 pro-busing march.

and pusillanimous liberals. Now a recent Harvard study on school integration nationwide concludes that there has been a "historic reversal," noting that segregation in education has returned to the level that existed prior to the Supreme Court's first busing decision in 1971. Today the urban Northeast is the nation's *most* segregated region when it comes to education. Massive white flight to the suburbs and to private schools has so gutted Boston's rump busing program that today it integrates virtually nothing. Racist politicians from Boston mayor Menino to South Boston's James Kelly want to officially sanction this drive for resegregation by championing a call to return to "neighborhood schools."

Emboldened Fascist Scum Must Be Driven Back to Their Sewers

The threatened Nationalist/Klan/skinhead provocation comes at a time when no one can say this filth should be ignored. Across the country, fascist rallies are becoming alarmingly commonplace with provocations at state capitals almost every weekend, especially in the Midwest. With bourgeois triumphalism about the supposed "death of communism" and with racist anti-welfare, anti-crime rhetoric coming out of the yuppie Democratic White House, these provocateurs have the wind in their sails.

Now that the "Massachusetts miracle" has bottomed out into a nightmare of unemployment, now when unbridled cop terror is unleashed in the black communities (as in the outrageous SWAT team attack which resulted in the death of an elderly black minister [see article page 2]), the Boston area is rife with fascist activity. Several Nazi scumbags have been exposed with huge military arsenals in their possession. Skinhead punks attacked an integrated group of teenagers last December. Swastikas have been sprayed on synagogues from Jamaica Plain to Randolph and last April three Everett teenagers desecrated a Jewish cemetery on Hitler's birthday. Boston's growing Asian community is increasingly a target for fascist attacks.

People are fed up with this—these kill-crazy fascist terrorists must be stopped. The question is how. The answer is independent mass mobilization based on the social power of the integrated labor movement. In March 1991, the PDC, Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League initiated a militant, integrated, united-front demonstration that surrounded fascist David Duke's appearance at the Old South Meeting House in downtown Boston. The corner of Washington and Milk Streets became a "free speech" pulpit for all opponents of the racist genocide organized by Duke and his ilk. Most recently, on January 16 in Springfield, Illinois, the PDC initiated a mobilization in which the hard core of labor and minorities came out in sub-zero temperatures to defy the KKK's provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday.

An anti-racist mobilization in Southie is quite another kettle of fish. Without overwhelming numbers, without deep support in the area working class and lacking a tightly disciplined security apparatus, an integrated demonstration in South Boston could be overwhelmed by either the cops or local racists. Our aim is to *stop* Barrett and his fascist cohorts, not to lead anti-fascist protesters into a trap set by the enemy. The present ill-defined situation does not present to us a clear opportunity for initiating an *effective* mobilization. If the Klan/Nazis dare to show their faces where labor and minorities can mobilize, then what is necessary and what we seek is a disciplined, militant and democratic demonstration that *overwhelms the fascists*.

The liberal mouthpiece of the Boston bourgeoisie, the *Boston Globe*, has editorialized that everyone should stay away from the fascists and instead support a craven *diversion* organized by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL) *the day before* the fascists threaten to goose-step through Boston. According to the Boston *Herald* the ADL's demonstration has also been endorsed by...the fascist Nationalist Movement's leader Richard Barrett!

The ADL's sideshow does nothing but clear the streets of Boston for the fascists, who have nothing to do with "free speech" but are racist terrorists who threaten Jews no less than they do black people, Hispanics, labor, gays and the left. You "ignore" them at your peril. This is more of the sabotage one can expect from the ADL, whose main activity of late has been cooperating with cop agencies to spy on leftists and anti-racist militants. In Springfield they organized "Project Lemonade," soliciting contributions to the ADL's coffers for every minute the fascists rallied for genocide!

Workers World Party, in the guise of "A Job Is A Right Campaign," has announced its intention to organize "something" on May 7 to counter the fascists. Workers World's history in the anti-fascist struggle is cowardly and sectarian. In 1982 at Boston's Government Center, while the Spartacist League provided leadership to anti-fascist protesters who hung tough through a brutal police attack, Workers World cut and ran. One month later, when the SL organized a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which *stopped* the KKK's intended march in the nation's capital, Workers World held hands in a liberal diversion *two miles away* from the fascists.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) has issued a leaflet proclaiming "Don't let them divide us!" but then divided the anti-fascist forces themselves, excluding the Spartacists from their public meeting at Boston University on April 7. The one thing the ISO is consistent about is their "unity" with the racist police. Across the Midwest they have herded their supporters into dangerous police pens to "protest" the KKK under the auspices of the armed force of the capitalist state. Their international mentors in Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain take it a step further, with explicit appeals to welcome the racist police as part of the workers movement!

Not liberal diversions or reliance on the racist cops—what's necessary is powerful labor-centered united-front action that can sweep the fascists off the streets when and where possible. ■

SWAT Cops...

(continued from page 2)

But outrage among Boston's black residents has been hard to contain. At a March 28 meeting called by the Codman Square Neighborhood Council at Rev. Wall's Dorchester Temple Baptist Church, the mayor and his police commissioner were invited to what was supposed to be nothing but a question-and-answer session. Despite attempts to silence the audience with mumbling apologies and calculated efforts to screen out questions, the crowd erupted in rage. Betty Johnson, whose son was killed in 1989 by Boston cops, spoke bitterly: "We're getting tired of police killing our people. Every time somebody gets killed we come and talk about it. Well, I'm sick of talking about it."

Tom Downing of the Spartacist League received encouragement from the crowd when he pointed out that "what happened to Reverend Williams is not an aberration, it is not a mistake. It is part of a policy of war against black America." He fought to be heard over the interruptions of Rev. Wall, and continued, "Why is it that we let this policy of terror against the black community go unanswered? Why was it that the Boston police were able to throw young black men up against a wall in Mission Hill, search apartments, indiscriminately terrorize the community after Charles Stuart claimed a black man shot his wife?"

Wall and other do-nothing black preachers feared the impact of Downing's remarks on the crowd and outrageously removed him from the church. As he was led out, Downing shouted that "this is a dangerous war on blacks and it's got to be stopped!" And it can be. Black and working people have enormous social power that can beat back the assaults of the racist cops and their ruling-class masters. But we must be clear on the problem. This was not a few cops "running amok." It is the capitalist system which regularly produces such racist assaults.

The frightening murder of Rev. Williams shows the systematic terror visited by the cops on blacks, Hispanics and the poor. As if to underline the point, three days after the death of Rev. Williams, federal narcotics agents chased a Hispanic man, Oscar Rosado, into his apartment in New Bedford, terrorizing the entire household.

The Gestapo-style raid on Rev. Williams comes at an ominous time in Boston, as the fascist Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement has announced plans to stage a race-hate provocation in South Boston. It will take a mobilization of labor and minorities to beat back the threats to workers and blacks, whether from the racists in white hoods or in blue uniforms. And it will take a revolutionary workers party to lead the integrated labor movement to smash the capitalist system which spawns the racist killers. ■

Robert Reardon

Boston police SWAT team after killing elderly black minister.

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Election victor Silvio Berlusconi (left) with bloc partners including fascist Alessandra Mussolini and racist-populist Northern League's Umberto Bossi.

Ominous Rightist Victory in Italian Elections

MILANO—In the March 27-28 elections, Italy voted in the most right-wing government since World War II. The "Pole of Freedom"—an electoral bloc cobbled together by media magnate (and member of the sinister P2 "Masonic" Lodge) Silvio Berlusconi—won 42 percent of the vote, which under the new electoral system gave them an absolute majority of the seats. Berlusconi's allies—the racist Northern League populists of Umberto Bossi and the "neo"-fascists of the MSI, rebaptized "National Alliance," led by Gianfranco Fini—are presently squabbling over the spoils, and advocate sharply different policies: federalism vs. a unitary presidential republic. But what they all augur for the Italian working class is mass layoffs, dismantling of the "welfare state," gutting the unions in the context of the bourgeoisie's push for a "strong state."

The anti-democratic electoral reform was designed to put an end to the revolving-door cabinets and perennial parliamentary "crises" which have given Italy 52 governments since 1945. A "strong government" was also supposed to cut down on the rampant corruption which was the cornerstone of Christian Democratic rule, lately disguised as a four-party and then five-party coalition, which ran the country for almost half a century. Whether this vote ushers in a "Second Republic" or only serves as the antechamber, sinister would-be bonapartist figures are already circling, such as former president of the republic Cossiga. As the election returns were announced, MSI blackshirts and skinheads descended on Piazza Venezia to give straight-arm victory salutes where *Il Duce* used to give his harangues. Alessandra Mussolini (his granddaughter) was elected a deputy from Naples, and for the first time since the fall of Mussolini, fascist ministers may have seats in government.

Vezio Sabatini

Achille Occhetto, lesder of "Progressives" populsr front.

The victory of the right was simultaneously the stunning defeat of the popular-front left, the "Progressives," led by Achille Occhetto's Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), the social-democratic transmogrification of the Communist Party (PCI). Towed along behind the PDS was Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the Eurostalinist rump which refused to foreswear the hammer and sickle for the oak tree symbol, but continues the PCI's reformist politics. The 33 percent of the vote received by the "Progressives"—including the Greens and the anti-Mafia "Rete" (Network)—while up from the last parliamentary elections (1992) was sharply down from the administrative (municipal) vote last December when candidates of the popular front won mayoralties in Rome, Naples, Milano and other major cities.

The manifest bankruptcy of the long-governing Christian Democratic (DC) regime (roughly a third of the outgoing deputies face criminal charges of corruption) presented a crisis of bourgeois *government*. With the collapse of the DC and its allies, notably Bettino Craxi's Socialists (PSI), in the absence of a party directly representing the big bourgeoisie both the PDS-led parliamentary "left" and the fascist MSI saw their vote shoot up in December. Occhetto & Co. presented themselves as the guarantors of stability, and expected they would finally be called to govern. The PDS leader went to London to establish his creditworthiness with the City financiers, then on to Brussels to swear loyalty to NATO; he received the OK of the American ambassador, the blessing of the Pope and the support or tacit acceptance of key sectors of Italian capitalism.

And yet the "Progressives" lost big. Why? Berlusconi and his allies won the elections in part by whipping up "red peril" hysteria and capturing the anti-Communist votes that in the past went to the Christian Democracy and its satellites. But his "Forza Italia" (Go Italy!) electoral vehicle also attracted the protest vote of thousands of workers, unemployed and the ruined petty bourgeoisie who believed in Berlusconi's fairy tale of creating a "million new jobs." In contrast, the PDS-led popular front, vowing to "responsibly" administer the affairs of the bourgeoisie, promised to continue the brutal anti-worker austerity of the Ciampi government. Moreover, RC leader Bertinotti scared the middle class, not with the spectre of red revolution but with the threat to tax indexed Treasury bonds, the petty bourgeoisie's hedge against inflation!

Offering nothing to anyone but big capital, and promising "blood, sweat and tears" to the workers, when their big moment came, the PDS/RC actually *lost* support among the workers. Sections of the working class in important industrial concentrations in the North, disillusioned by what they considered to be "their" parties, voted for Forza Italia or the racists of Bossi's Northern League. In Sesto San Giovanni (known as the "Stalingrad of Italy"), in the Mirafiori district in Torino (where Fiat's main factory is located), in Arese north of Milano (home of Alfa-Romeo), etc., the PDS, RC and trade-union bureaucracy are responsible for this shift of sections of workers toward the racists and reactionaries. RC lost more than half the votes it won in the industrial areas in the December local elections.

In a leaflet issued on the eve of the March election, our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) called for "No vote to the bourgeois popular front! Build a Bolshevik party!" warning that "The 'Progressives' want to reinforce capitalist austerity." The statement explained:

> "With the burial of the 'republic of the corrupt,' now is the hour of the second republic of 'clean hands' [anti-graft]. But the choice between left and right is one between *bourgeois* alternatives, *both* of them enemies of the workers and the oppressed....
>
> "This *popular front* of class collaboration between bosses and reformist workers parties will not stop the fascists, and it will preserve the racist-austerity regime which feeds the vermin in black shirts and demoralizes the working class. Furthermore, it chains the proletariat to its class enemies, putting forward as candidates bourgeois elements like former vice presidents of Olivetti and of the Confederation of Industry, and enjoying the support of Benetton and the sympathy of Fiat boss Agnelli and the stock exchange. With the polarization of the country, which extends to the streets; with the capitalist offensive and the rise of racist attacks, it is urgently necessary to build a revolutionary leadership to lead hard class struggle. In the elections of March 27-28, the Lega Trotskista opposes any vote for the popular front or for any party in it, including Rifondazione Comunista."

In the aftermath of the elections, we say again to the workers that what is ultimately decisive is not bourgeois elections and parliamentary reshufflings but the class struggle. A powerful working-class response is necessary, beginning with defensive struggles to beat back the vicious attacks of the right wing. And key to winning these battles is breaking with the class-collaborationist reformists who are beholden to capital, who have destroyed workers' gains such as the *scala mobile* (wage-indexing for inflation, won in 1946) and who stand in the way of mobilization against fascist/racist terror. We seek to build a genuinely Bolshevik party fighting not for ministerial seats but for working-class power.

The "New Italian Miracle": Blood, Sweat and Tears for the Workers

The electoral sweep by the right is not only the result of the downfall of the old establishment, swept away by the *Tangentopoli* (Kickback City) scandal, but also the consequence of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and of the deformed workers states of East Europe. Instead of bringing about a "New World Order," the restoration of capitalism has produced chaos and social desperation, with mounting racist attacks and fascist pogroms against immigrant workers, Gypsies and Jews, and fratricidal nationalist wars. In the West, no longer worried about the "Communist threat," the European bourgeoisies no longer consider it necessary to make concessions to the workers. Faced with the sharpest economic crisis since 1929, the capitalists are screaming that their profits cannot support the costs of the "welfare state," which is under attack all over Europe.

Instead, the watchwords of today are

"privatization" and the "free market"—code words for opening up the opportunities for the bosses to increase their profits through untrammeled exploitation. The new "Italian miracle" of Fininvest magnate Berlusconi means just this: freedom to carry out mass firings, to batter the unions, to lower taxes on profits, to ransack state industries (partly to pay for Fininvest's huge debt, exceeding *$2.2 billion*) and to destroy pensions and the public health system so as to return to private health care. In fact, the right-wing victory heralds a brusque return to the 1950s, when it was enough to be a member of the Communist-led CGIL union federation to be kicked out of the factory. Northern League leader Bossi speaks of wage "ceilings" and, together with the former liberal Pannella, has launched a referendum to abolish unemployment pay, the only means of survival for hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers.

Unemployment in Europe already exceeds the *20 million* mark (there are over 3 million officially unemployed in Italy). To implement its "blood, sweat and tears" program, facing predictable resistance from the working class, the fascist-racist-Berlusconian troika is preparing to use an iron fist. The bourgeoisie needs a *strong state* which will bring the working class to heel. Their program can and must be stopped by mobilizations of the working class and its allies, immigrants, women, pensioners and students. But in order to effectively fight reaction, the working class must free itself of its treacherous reformist misleaders. The most conscious elements of the working masses must be won away from the PDS and RC and to the fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party, the key to victory against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

The bourgeois anti-worker program of the "Progressives" must be opposed with a program for class struggle. Defend jobs through a sliding scale of hours: all available work must be divided among the workers, Italian and "immigrant." Defend living standards against inflation through a sliding scale of wages! For the separation of Church and state! For free abortion on demand, including for minors—For quality public health care for all! For open admissions and free higher education, with adequate stipend for students! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! For workers defense guards to defend picket lines against scabherding and to smash racist/fascist attacks! Such a program of transitional demands can turn the coming defensive struggles against the rightist regime into an offensive battle leading to a workers government based on workers councils.

"Unity of the Progressives"—Obstacle to Workers Struggle

As the MSI's electoral score has gone from 6 percent in 1992 to aròund 14 percent today, there has been an accompanying growth of fascist assaults. The PDS/RC spread the illusion that it is possible to stop the fascists at the ballot box. This paralyzes the workers movement and impedes the mobilizations of the proletariat and its allies which alone are able to stop the fascist squads. Rifondazione Comunista, which is so eager to get "anti-fascist" votes, is almost completely absent from the militant anti-fascist demonstrations. For example, at the February 26 demonstration in Ostia outside Rome protesting a murderous skinhead attack on a Tunisian worker, RC didn't even bother to send a contingent.

A month later, the MSI capo Buontempo was elected in Ostia with 52 percent of the vote. Encouraged by the electoral results, fascist thugs stabbed three members of RC (one of whom is in serious condition in the hospital), burned down the RC local office in Primavalle and carried out another attack in Monteverde, all within a few days' time. RC's reaction was to appeal to the "forces of order"—i.e., the police. These are the same "forces of order" who accused RC member Lussurgiu of supposedly placing a bomb at the Confindustria office. It is truly suicidal to appeal to the state to defend the offices and the members of the workers movement and the victims of fascist terror.

The murderous fascists must be driven out of their holes and smashed before they smash the working class! While the RC puts its faith in the articles of the Constitution "born of the Resistance," we Trotskyists call for the formation of workers defense squads. As the 24 March LTd'I leaflet noted:

> "The working class must remember its history, such as the demonstration in Genova in 1960 which stopped the MSI from holding its congress and which routed the fascist mass murderers.
>
> "Behind parliamentary 'anti-fascism' stands the program of class collaboration. In an interview with *Corriere della Sera* (19 March), RC leader Bertinotti admitted that this 'Progressive' alliance is a 'popular front, such as that of Léon Blum in France and that of the Republicans in Spain during the '30s, or that of Allende in Chile in 1973.' The French Popular Front disarmed the working class and prevented it from taking power in June 1936. The betrayals of the Stalinists and Blum's SFIO (social democrats) led the Popular Front to the point of dissolving and handing over power to the Vichy regime, allied with the Nazis. In Spain, the People's Front opened the road to the fascist troops of Franco (supported by Hitler and Mussolini), after bloodily repressing hundreds of thousands of workers during the heroic Barcelona insurrection of 1937 and decimating the most combative sectors of the Spanish proletariat. And in Chile, one week before the coup, Allende, who was putting down strikes, appointed as head of the armed forces Pinochet, the butcher who then overthrew him and massacred tens of thousands of workers and political opponents. The popular fronts, wherever they have occurred, have opened the road to the right and disarmed anti-fascist struggles. RC militants who do not want to repeat these tragic experiences, *explicitly* endorsed by their party secretary, must break with the treacherous leaders and undertake the path of building an authentic Leninist party."

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

At the recent January congress, a third of the RC delegates expressed, in various ways, their opposition to involvement in the "Progressive Pole." These opposition currents, a bloc between ex-leaders of Democrazia Proletaria and the PCI, leaders of the COBAS (Rank and File Committees, syndicalist opposition groups in the factories) and pseudo-Trotskyists like Livio Maitan, Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando, are nothing but the left wing of the popular front. Grisolia and Ferrando dedicated an entire issue of their magazine (*Proposta* No. 3) to arguing how it is necessary to vote for the "Progressives." In *Liberazione* (newspaper of Rifondazione Comunista), Ferrando appeals to the supporters of "Motion 2" to not leave RC.

The workers at Alfa-Romeo, Fiat and Olivetti must have felt uncomfortable voting for a coalition with Olivetti chief De Benedetti and the mayor of "Fiat city" (Torino), Castellani, while they are being laid off in the thousands. And now the first to get a flavor of the Second Republic were 620 Enichem workers in the southern city of Manfredonia. Within hours of the closing of the polls they received letters informing them that they were being sacked.

Today, under the shock of the right-wing electoral victory and disoriented by the popular front, some workers and youth may believe that Berlusconi & Co. are strong and cannot be resisted. On the contrary, they are very unstable, and not only because of their sharp internal squabbles (Bossi is now accusing Berlusconi of dictatorial ambitions, referring to him as "Berluskaiser" and calling his anti-party party "Farsa Italia"). The central reason the right was elected was because of the utter *political bankruptcy of the reformist left*, which sells out the workers in vain hopes of ministerial seats while the DC/PSI sold their services for bribes. The Berlusconi phenomenon appeared out of nowhere and swept to victory with lying promises of jobs. But this political adventurer cannot provide those jobs.

There is an inescapable parallel to the victory of the Gaullist right in France a year ago. After an election campaign whose hottest issue was *unemployment*, the French *right* won only because the Mitterrand popular front (in power for the last dozen years) obviously had no answers. The left was reduced to a small minority in the French parliament; Prime Minister Balladur's popularity soared. Yet within months, the Balladur government was reeling when Air France workers rose in rebellion against plans to privatize the airline and cause thousands of layoffs. Following this victory, the right-wing government backed down on its plans to aid private schools. And now French students have forced Balladur to abandon his plan to slash the minimum wage for newly hired workers (which is an explicit model for Berlusconi's heralded "new Italian miracle").

These struggles show that working-class resistance can win. The Italian labor revolt over the sellout of the *scala mobile* in the autumn of 1992, in which militant workers hurled worthless coins and bolts at the sellout union leaders, demonstrate that the will to struggle is there. What is needed above all is a fight to break the stranglehold of the reformists, who place the working class in the straitjacket of the popular front, binding it to its class enemy. An authentic communist party must be forged that is infused with the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, a party irreconcilably opposed to class collaboration and indissolubly wedded to the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia fights to build this party. ■

Spartaco

Rifondazione Comunista, left face of the popular front.

Spartaco

Workers at Fiat subsidiary Alfa-Romeo protest layoffs, while being bound by misleaders to popular front.

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

Russian "peacekeeping" forces in UN blue helmets were moved in to police the deal. The now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs. This would create a German-dominated Greater Croatian federation with Bosnia, while Russia would have influence over a Serbian client state for whatever purpose. We warned that this deal would "make the Balkan wars even bloodier than they already are."

The Serb shelling of Gorazde was itself a response to an escalating Muslim military offensive. While accepting Russia's good offices to put pressure on its Orthodox "little brothers" in Serbia to toe the line, the U.S. wants to make it utterly clear who calls the shots. Yeltsin loudly complained that he was not "consulted" over the latest bombings, but nevertheless appealed to the Serbs to pull back from Gorazde and called for UN occupation of the town. We demand: All U.S./UN/NATO forces, including the Russians, out of the Balkans now!

The Balkan war threatens to become a theater of operations for ever more dangerous imperialist and nationalist intrigues, as the trip wires are put in place for renewed interimperialist world war. Addressing a protest in Berkeley today, a Spartacus Youth Club member declared: "Students and class-conscious workers alike the world over must come to the defense of the Serbs against the attacks by the imperialists, who are the blood-drenched enemies of all mankind." *U.S. hands off Serbia!* ■

FMLN Buys Into "New World Order"

El Salvador: Death Squad Elections

PART ONE OF TWO

They were billed as "the elections of the century"; on March 20, for the first time in decades, Salvadorans would get to vote for president, National Assembly and local mayors in "peacetime conditions." The elections grew out of the "peace" accords signed in January 1992, and the former guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) would be running. But after a campaign during which 38 members of the FMLN were gunned down by right-wing killers, the fascistic ARENA (National Republican Alliance) came just short of winning the presidency on the first round. Its candidate, Armando Calderón Sol, is widely known as a principal organizer of the death squads. And with a run-off scheduled for April 24, the killing has begun again. On March 27, Heriberto Galicia, a union official and left-wing candidate in the parliamentary elections, was shot dead near his home in the city of San Miguel.

According to the official vote totals, ARENA's Calderón received 49 percent of the vote for president while Rubén Zamora, candidate of the leftist coalition of the FMLN and Democratic Convergence (CD), got 25 percent. The Christian Democrats were down to 16 percent. In the Assembly, ARENA took 39 seats while the FMLN/CD won 21 and the Christian Democrats 18. But almost half (47.5 percent) of the eligible voters did not cast ballots because of massive obstacles placed in their way by the rightist-controlled election board. Some 300,000 people who received voter cards were not listed on the rolls, and another 75,000 were refused registration because they could not produce birth certificates. These were overwhelmingly new voters from areas that had been held by the FMLN during the 12-year civil war (how could they get certificates from city halls which were burned down?). In addition, thousands were left standing in line when the polls closed.

The press was full of talk of the "free play of democratic forces," of exchanging bullets for ballots. Yet the tightly knit Salvadoran bourgeoisie has simply entrenched its bloody rule through the use of its military force and its electoral system. As soon as the TV cameras and international press depart and the United Nations observers' (ONUSAL) mission mandate runs out in June, the killing will begin in earnest. Not that it ever stopped —on the contrary. Coinciding with the opening of the election campaign last November, rightist commandos escalated their murderous activity, shooting down one FMLN commander after another, on a weekly, then daily, basis. Among those killed were FMLN leader Heleno Hernán Castro, and five days later Francisco Veliz, an FMLN candidate for National Assembly killed while taking his year-old daughter to a day-care center.

Cambio 16

McConnico/AP

ARENA candidate Calderón (above) organized death squads, which stepped up their terror during "free elections."

The death squads were back with a vengeance. In December, FMLN Assembly candidate José Mario López was shot down. A February assassination attempt on Nidia Diaz, member of the FMLN political commission and a candidate for National Assembly in San Vicente, failed although her chauffeur was killed as machine-gun fire strafed her car outside the University of El Salvador. Five years ago, Washington pushed for the election of coffee baron Alfredo Cristiani for president, projecting the image of a "moderate" oligarch. But this time around, ARENA's standard-bearer was a throwback to the "caveman" reactionaries, a hardline right-winger massively funded by Salvador's top businessmen. ARENA election rallies were punctuated by chants of "Death to the Communists!" while Calderón led audiences in singing the party anthem with the refrain, "El Salvador will be the tomb where the reds meet their end."

Calderón replaced the late Roberto D'Aubuisson, ARENA's founder, described by former U.S. ambassador Robert White as a "pathological killer," as godfather of the death squads. He had a statue of the deceased mass murderer erected in front of ARENA's headquarters. U.S. documents released last fall show that a 1981 plot to kidnap the president of the Salvadoran Soccer Association was hatched at Calderón's home. And, according to eleven jailed military men angry over not being freed in last year's amnesty, in 1980 he together with D'Aubuisson was part of a "Broad Nationalist Front" which planned and carried out bombings of the agricultural ministry shortly after an agrarian reform was initiated.

Not surprisingly, these supposedly "free elections" were really fear elections. *El Salvador Proceso*, published by the Jesuit-run University of Central America, reported on opinion polls where the categories were support for ARENA, Christian Democrats or FMLN/CD, "don't know" and "afraid to say." Twelve percent of those polled chose "afraid to say." The voting itself was an exercise in fraud. *Proceso* editor Guillermo Ramos commented ironically that "our elections are so democratic that even the dead vote." While the official U.S. government observers saw only a few "deficiencies," British observer David Browning cited "large scale disenfranchisement" and problems which "did not result solely from 'fumbling ineptitude'." For example, the left-wing coalition got over 34 percent of the vote in the capital, San Salvador, where observers were present, while in the former guerrilla stronghold of Morazán they got less than 16 percent.

The low vote was also ascribed to "voter apathy." Even the *New York Times* (6 March) noticed that, in the face of blood-curdling election propaganda by ARENA, "many Salvadorans are puzzled by the left's failure to fight back, which has stirred some voter apathy." A subsequent (22 March) article reported that many voters said the FMLN, "straining to take on the appearance of a mainstream party and avoiding language that revived memories of the war, seemed much like any other party. These voters said that they placed little stock in the promises being made by politicians of any stripe." FMLN officials said they "decided not to confront ARENA directly so that they can promote an image of conciliation," and not alienate new supporters in "the center." What center? The so-called "center" was a counterinsurgency ploy, artificially inflated by U.S. dollars to create and finance the Christian Democrats which disintegrated as soon as U.S. aid dried up.

Behind the abstention and "voter apathy" is widespread disillusionment among the FMLN ranks. So many comrades dead, so much suffering for the desperately poor masses in order for the FMLN tops to sip cocktails at the Camino Real and engage in political horsetrading in the National Assembly while the death squads continue to operate? FMLN commander Ana Guadelupe Martínez admitted they were having a hard time selling the new line: "All our lives we told our combatants that elections were useless and that armed struggle was the only way to change things. Now, when we go out to distribute propaganda, it seems unnecessary and useless to some of them" (London *Independent*, 19 March). Yet the fundamental issue was not "armed struggle," but what class interests the struggle served. Even as they waged guerrilla war in the hills of Morazán and Chalatenango, the FMLN *opposed* a military victory and sought to negotiate a "political solution" with the Salvadoran bourgeoisie.

At bottom in El Salvador there was a sharp *class war*, pitting the desperate, land-hungry peasants and brutally exploited workers against a rapacious bourgeoisie that would stop at nothing to squeeze the last dollar in profits from the toil of the masses. This explosive

Reuters

Democracy, Salvador-style: Thousands were left standing in line after polls closed, hundreds of thousands were left off voter rolls.

struggle was misled by petty-bourgeois nationalists, who sought to confine it to a "democratic" capitalist framework. As we wrote in an article headlined "Reagan's Junta Holds 'Elections by Death'" (*WV* No. 300, 5 March 1982), in this "country where 'electoral' is used only as an adjective describing fraud," "The heroic worker and peasant fighters are not shedding their blood to get more electoral farces but to break the chains of oppression that bind them.... Workers revolution will establish genuine democracy for the exploited and oppressed."

El Salvador has just come out of a decade of bloody civil war, during which 75,000 out of a population of 5 million people were killed, and a million others fled the country. No isolated "regional conflict," El Salvador was a prime hot spot of the Cold War. It was the place where Ronald Reagan after taking office in 1981 vowed to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" in the Americas. The U.S. financed the Salvadoran army to the tune of a million dollars a day, pouring in arms and advisers, while simultaneously running the "contra" war against Sandinista Nicaragua. But the leftist guerrillas fought the Salvadoran army to a stand-off. The FMLN's November 1989 offensive brought the war to San Salvador; at the same time, their hoped-for uprising fizzled as the regime mercilessly bombed poor areas of the capital.

A couple of months later, the Sandinistas were voted out in Nicaragua as the tightening imperialist economic noose fed war-weariness. With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and with Cuba cut off from Soviet aid and besieged by U.S. imperialism, the FMLN saw its international support evaporate and decided to throw in the towel. Washington, in turn, no longer seeing Central America as the front line of its global anti-Communist crusade, ordered its Salvadoran puppet regime to the negotiating table. At the time, the FMLN claimed the "peace accords" were a victory. In contrast, we wrote:

> "The heralded 'New York Accords' will not bring 'peace and stability' to El Salvador.... For the Salvadoran ruling class is one of the most brutally oppressive in the Americas, indeed the world; its blood-drenched guard dogs in the military and security forces are pathological killers. No piece of paper will stop them. And the imperialist overlords in Washington, for all Bush's talk of 'international law,' launched their 'New World Order' by wantonly slaughtering over 100,000 Iraqis in the one-sided Persian Gulf 'war.'...
>
> "And the peace accords will surely be used to cover the depredations of the notorious death squads, who target leftist political and labor leaders and activists, just as they mercilessly shot down Jesuit priests and conservative Archbishop Romero, bombed union halls and executed thousands of militants over the last decade. These hit squads are not 'rogue elements'—they act on orders from the top levels of state power. And the only 'peace' they want is the peace of the grave."
>
> —*WV* No. 542, 10 January 1992

What "Peace Accords" Have Wreaked

"The right got what it wanted, a disarmed FMLN and that is all they were really interested in," said FMLN/CD presidential candidate Zamora, a former dissident Christian Democrat (*Washington Post*, 20 November 1993). Now, two years after the accords, the guerrillas have turned in their arms, but oligarchic rule is intact: while they've reduced the bloated army and shuffled some of the officer corps, ARENA's hold on the state apparatus is unchallenged. The judicial system continues to protect the military mass murderers. The replacement of the notorious National Police by the newly formed "National Civilian Police" is being dragged out, and whole units from the kill-crazy security forces are being incorporated into the new force (including the notorious DNI intelligence group which compiled the "hit lists" for the extermination of thousands of leftists, unionists and peasants).

Under the economic reforms promised in the peace accords, peasants in FMLN-held areas were supposed to be able to keep the land they were occupying. But in the fine print, it said they had to pay the absentee owners, with mortgages lasting for years. Only 12 percent of the 47,000 people eligible for the land-transfer program have received land (*Houston Chronicle*, 28 January). Now with the onset of "peace," unemployment has skyrocketed as demobilized soldiers roam the cities and countryside. Marauding gangs, known as *maras*, brazenly board buses and stop private vehicles in broad daylight, demanding money and jewelry. (Ironically, these gangs were set up by Salvadorans deported from Los Angeles after the end of the war.) In San Salvador, thousands of men, women and children are in the streets selling clothes, fruit, lottery tickets, candy, anything, and still don't earn enough for a meal.

A 1993 UN report says almost two-thirds, some 63 percent, of the 5.2 million Salvadorans live under conditions of poverty, with high indices of malnutrition and lack of basic necessities. More than 2 million have no access to health care at all. This is the basis on which a coffee oligarchy of the "14 families" ruled this tiny Central American country through a succession of military-based regimes for the 60 years after the 1932 *Matanza*, the slaughter of 30,000 people in repression after the Communist-led peasant uprising. The idea that there could be a "negotiated revolution" to bring "democracy" to El Salvador, that decades of rule by this genocidal murder machine could be replaced through a "peace accord," is a suicidal illusion. Especially since the Americans, who hosted the negotiations, were the patrons of the killers in uniform and out of uniform.

Genocidal Killers Made in U.S.A.

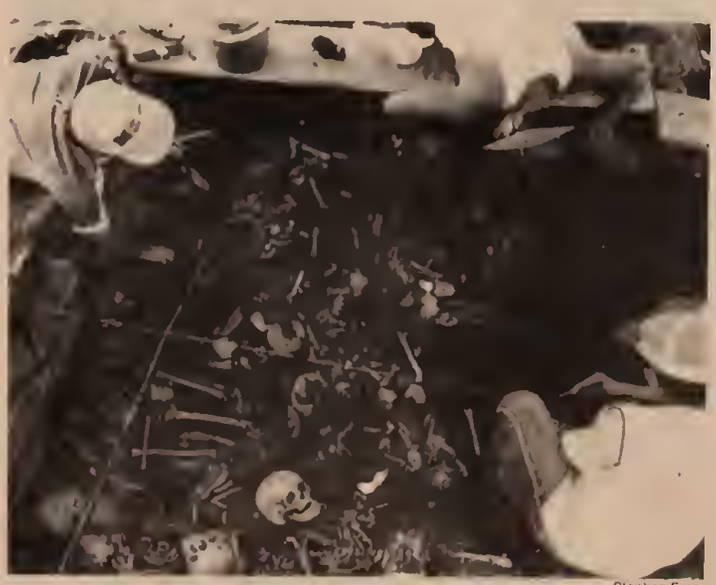
As a sort of consolation prize to the guerrillas for turning in their arms, so they could be led like sheep to the slaughter, the peace accords agreed to set up a "Truth Commission" which would tell what really happened during the 12-year civil war. The report of the Truth Commission was released in March 1993, and in November some 12,000 pages of declassified CIA, State Department and Pentagon documents were released under the Freedom of Information Act. Although still heavily sanitized, these sources detail and amplify what was known all along—the American rulers knew all about the workings of the death squads and genocidal army massacres, because they were financed, trained and monitored by the U.S. The cover-ups of the grisly deeds were orchestrated from the CIA's MILGP (military group), based in the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, to the highest reaches of the White House *and* Congress.

Reuters

FMLN supporter in March 12 demonstration against ARENA campaign terror.

Perhaps the most infamous is the massacre of the entire population of the village of El Mozote and several surrounding hamlets in Morazán province in December 1981. The army's elite Atlacatl Brigade, whose commander and most of its soldiers were trained at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas (then located in Panama and later moved to Fort Benning, Georgia), carried out the massacre. Searching for "communists" of the FMLN, the army herded the civilian population—old men, women, children, into the center of town, tortured and killed them. Excavators for the Truth Commission unearthed over 700 identifiable bodies, among them the skulls of 112 children.

The 6 December 1993 *New Yorker* published the definitive study of the El Mozote massacre, written by Mark Danner, who based his article on the Truth Commission's report and went far beyond it. Danner documents how the Reagan administration went ballistic over the fact that three American journalists, Raymond Bonner from the *New York Times*, photographer Susan Meiselas, and the *Washington Post's* Alma Guillermoprieto made their way to El Mozote, saw the bodies, photographed them, and reported on their interview with sole survivor Rufina Amaya, who hid in the woods, left for dead by the army, as she heard the screams of her children being killed. The U.S. had no fewer than ten American advisers working with the Atlacatl Brigade at the time. As word of the massacres began to leak out, the embassy sent a team of "investigators," but they stopped a few miles outside of El Mozote and refused to go any further, so they could say they were "unable to confirm" what Bonner, Meiselas and Guillermoprieto saw!



Stephen Ferry

El Mozote massacre: UN excavators uncover site holding skeletons of 38 children, among hundreds gunned down by U.S.-trained killers of Atlacatl Brigade.

Danner writes powerfully of how the army butchers went into Morazán determined to cut out the "cancer" of communism in El Salvador by killing off the people among whom such ideas took root. The Atlacatl's driving force was Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, who was being specially groomed by the High Command for the job. "He had taken all the courses the Americans offered, including those for the paratroopers and the commandos." Danner describes how Monterrosa trained his men for El Mozote:

> "'They shot animals and smeared the blood all over their faces, they slit open the animals' bellies and drank the blood,' a lieutenant in another unit told me.... 'According to one reporter, the men of the Atlacatl celebrated their graduation by collecting all the dead animals they could find off the roads—dogs, vultures, anything—boiling them together into a bloody soup, and chugging it down. Then they stood at rigid attention and sang, full-throated, the unit's theme song, 'Somos Guerreros' [We Are Warriors]."

In El Mozote, they practiced their brutality on people. Babies were thrown into the air and bayoneted. Small children were gunned down as they screamed in terror. Men and women were ordered to lie face down in the dirt for hours, and then slaughtered.

After the Truth Commission report, the *New York Times* wrote that they felt vindicated over Raymond Bonner's initial report, which was trashed by the Reaganites as FMLN propaganda. What the *Times* didn't print was how, at the first quack of protest from the White House, Bonner got a phone call in his hotel room in Managua ordering him back to the New York Metro desk. The *Times'* editorial counterrevolutionary A.M. Rosenthal later justified yanking Bonner, saying "I brought him out because he didn't know how to be a correspondent" (quoted in *Extra!* January/February 1993). Shortly after, Bonner was kicked to the financial pages and later pressured into resigning from the *Times*.

The Reagan administration was particularly embarrassed because Bonner's and Guillermoprieto's accounts of the massacre came out three days before the U.S. Congress was to vote on a Salvador aid bill, based on a White House "certification" that human rights were being respected in El Salvador. With Reagan ambassador Deane Hinton's "denial" of the massacre, Congress passed the bill, although everyone knew perfectly well what was going on. The *bipartisan commitment* of both capitalist parties to the anti-Soviet war drive led the Democrats to turn a blind eye to funding the death squads and mass murderers. Danner cites right-wing ideologue and Reaganite pointman Elliott Ahrams: "If Congress felt so strongly about human-rights abuses, it could have simply cut off aid. But Congress didn't cut off aid, because it didn't want to risk being blamed, if the guerrillas won as a result for 'losing' El Salvador."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

to stop workers from winning strikes.

Other workers respect the Teamsters and want them to win: they see this strike as *their* fight too. Wherever Teamster picket lines have gone up, they have been eagerly honored, for example, by ILA longshoremen on the East Coast and ILWU longshoremen on the West Coast. Working people across the country are fed up and want to fight back! This strike can spark that fight.

To win this strike, you have to spread it: to other Teamsters; to the ports on the East, West and Gulf Coasts; to the railroad "intermodal" facilities.

But Teamsters are being forced to fight with their hands tied behind their backs because both wings of the union leadership, both president Ron Carey and the old guard, bow down before the bosses' sacred laws. Some may think Clinton will come to the rescue. Don't hold your breath. And if he does, watch out. The Democrats are no friends of labor any more than the union-hating Republicans. These are capitalist parties.

What's needed now are roving pickets to shut down all key transport links and hubs; *All Teamsters out!* Organize mass pickets to shut down all terminals tight. To hell with the busses' injunctions: *Picket lines mean don't cross!* Organize flying squads for trouble spots. These are the tactics that made the Teamsters a puwerful nationwide industrial union. These same militant tactics must be used now to *win this strike*.

At the time of the last, limited national freight strike in 1979, there were 300,000 Teamsters covered by the MFA. Now there are less than 120,000. In that same period, Teamsters have seen their real wages eroded by one-quarter. The bosses' Trucking Management Inc. (TMI) is demanding huge concessions: replacing thousands of full-time workers with $9-an-hour part-timers (with reduced benefits outside the union welfare funds), shifting huge amounts of freight to "intermodal" service, and taking away the right to strike over grievances.

As they appeal to the rest of labor, militants must wage a fight *inside* the Teamsters to mobilize the entire union. IBT president Ron Carey, who was installed in a government-run election, called out workers at only 22 companies—less than 75,000 out of the 120,000 Teamsters working under the MFA. Moreover, he is inviting smaller and regional employers in TMI to sign "me-too" agreements and send those strikers back to work, leaving 65,000 strikers at the "Big Four": Yellow Freight, Roadway Express, CF Motor Freight and ABF.

With just 22 employers in TMI struck, the union is shutting down less than 18 percent of the nation's total freight. Chuck Mack, head of the Northern California Teamsters, announced to a meeting on the first day of the strike that "We're not trying to shut down the United States of America. That's not the goal." But shutting down *less than a fifth of freight traffic* is to condemn the strike to a slow death.

The vital task is to reverse the inroads that non-union outfits have made. But to wage that kind of organizing battle means using the weapons of class struggle that built the union—especially the secondary boycott (hot-cargoing) that the bosses outlawed under the Landrum-Griffin Act. Part-time and casual workers must be brought up to full-time and full benefits with a struggle to shorten the workweek for all at full pay—for a sliding scale of wages and hours! There must be an unlimited local right to strike over grievances, and the unqualified right to refuse to work under unsafe conditions or with unsafe equipment!

The venal old guard bureaucrats and the pro-government reformers alike will never take on the capitalist state. Teamsters must forge a new leadership that will defy the strikebreaking injunctions and fight for the independence of the unions from the bosses' government. This means breaking with the partner parties of American capitalism—Democrats and Republicans—and forging a workers party based on the unions, minorities and all the oppressed to fight for a workers government!

At the big terminals in New Jersey, where hundreds of Teamsters work within a few hundred yards of one another, workers were solid for the strike, but worried how to *win it*, especially with the leadership they have. They saw Carey fold the strike against UPS' dangerous 150-pound weight limit in just ten hours, with nothing gained. Many understand the urgent need to *extend* this freight strike to the entire industry—including UPS, Carey's base, and shutting down the "double-breasted" firms, the non-union subsidiaries of the union carriers.

The Jersey locals have seen government intervention up close. In 1982, Local 560, the largest in the state, was the test case for the government's use of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) against labor. It was a model for the feds' later cases against other unions, and eventually the IBT International. From the feds' 40-year vendetta against the Teamsters to the Carter/Kennedy deregulation, Teamsters have a healthy hatred for the bosses' government.

As a Spartacist League sales team approached a picket line in Chicago, an incensed striker said, "TDU socialists—get the f—k out!" The Teamster mistook our comrades for "Teamsters for a Democratic Union," the opposition group which worked hand in glove with the Reagan "Justice" Department in the feds' assault on the union. When pickets learned of the SL's principled opposition to the intervention of the capitalist state in the labor movement they bought copies of *Workers Vanguard*.

A whole host of counterfeit socialists have backed TDU to the hilt. One of these social-democratic outfits, the International Socialist Organization, whose longtime supporter Pete Camarata is a leader of the TDU, cynically recounts how they "decided we would back a union bureaucrat—Ron Carey" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1992). Another, Solidarity/Labor Notes, are virtual press agents for Carey, saying that the TDU will "be the 'shocktroops,' carrying out the new administration's overhaul of the union" (*Against the Current*, March/April 1992).

Around the country, Teamster strikers have been on the receiving end of the government forces for whom the TDU are "shock troops" and who would dearly like to "overhaul" the union. At CF's key Mira Loma sorting center in Riverside County, Southern California, IBT Local 63 in Southern California protested: "With no warning and no regard for women, more than 50 baton-swinging police in Southern California charged the Local 63 strikers...spraying the peaceful Teamster members with pepper spray." Steward Cathy Schatz said, "they just kept spraying and swinging." The Partisan Defense Committee has protested this attack, and demanded that charges against the seven arrested pickets be dropped immediately.

In Marietta, Georgia one striker told *WV* that a UPS driver had scabbed to make a delivery. On the West Coast, strikers' morale was boosted in Long Beach when members of the ILWU and the Machinists honored their picket lines at the Sea-Land terminal. But most of the port was working, unlike last fall when heavily Latino independent truckers virtually shut down the port and appealed for aid from Teamsters Local 692. Yet these truckers were rebuffed by both the Teamsters and the ILWU, who criminally crossed their picket lines!

In the guise of opposing NAFTA, all wings of the Teamster bureaucracy have spread protectionist poison against Mexican truckers. This same line is echoed by anti-NAFTA liberals, like Jesse Jackson who intones, "American workers are not afraid to compete with Mexican workers. We can't compete with slave wages." This chauvinist crap pits U.S. workers against their brothers and sisters across the border. Labor must fight the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico by waging common class struggle!

What the Teamsters, and millions of other American workers, face is the result of years of betrayal and sabotage of workers struggle by the nakedly pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The AFL-CIO tops' program is the defense of profit and capital. Their "strategy" is the "selective strike," the "corporate campaign" and the impotent consumer boycott. Their advice is to bow down to Congress and the Labor Board, to knuckle under to anti-strike injunctions.

Capitalism's war on labor takes many forms. Currently, drug and alcohol testing is blatantly used as a weapon to regiment the workforce. The Department of Transportation has announced new testing which will subject 7 million workers, including 6.5 million commercial drivers, to stringent alcohol testing. Meanwhile, unionists who defend their strikes are railroaded as criminals. Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworker

International Teamster

Ron Carey after becoming Teamsters president in government-run election, flanked by TDU vice presidents. TDU aided feds' attack on union.

Illinois Cops Assault Picket Line

CHICAGO, April 11—Escalating threats of cop violence against striking Teamster pickets at the huge Roadway trucking terminal in south suburban Sauk Village erupted into a full-scale cop siege this morning. Nearly 75 cops from at least eight nearby Indiana and Illinois towns, as well as Illinois State Police with canine units, arrived on the scene and drove the 300-strong Teamster pickets from the access road leading to the Roadway terminal. This came in the wake of the arrest and beating of six Teamster strikers after the mass picket attempted to stop a scab van.

One of the arrested strikers later returned to the picket line after being released from jail and received a hero's welcome from his comrades. He described how, when the pickets surged forward with the approach of the scab van, he was carried forward against a cop who had earlier threatened to arrest him. The striker was immediately knocked to the ground and handcuffed by two cops, when a state cop set upon him, punching and kicking him. Asked by an ABC Channel 7 reporter what he had done to deserve such a pummeling, the Teamster responded, "I was trying to stop that truck from crossing our line along with everyone else." Asked if he would take a beating to defend his job, he replied, "I would, I just did. But I won't ever forget."

Another striker, Steve Coates, was beaten by police wielding riot batons. He was still hospitalized with head wounds at the time of this report. One striker was shocked with a high-voltage "stun gun." Strikers told *Workers Vanguard* that the arrests were no accident. The cops used the phony excuse that a brick had been hurled in the direction of the van to go after some of the more militant pickets. All six strikers were subsequently released after being charged with disorderly conduct. Drop all charges against the Sauk Village Six!

As Teamsters heard radio reports of the attack, the picket line swelled to nearly 350. With threats of National Guard deployment hanging in the air, the Teamsters were not intimidated. Several small trucks similarly intent on picking up struck cargo were turned away. The cops and the State Police turned the parking lot of the adjacent Carolina trucking firm into an armed camp. Strikers were incensed that the cops were using Carolina, which the Teamster leadership has exempted from the strike, as a staging area to attack and beat strikers.

Obviously sensing this anger, several of the union officials on the scene claimed that discussions were being held with the national Teamster leadership to pull out the Carolina workers. Clearly, there is felt desire among Carolina workers to join their union brothers and sisters on the line. Bob Falco, Business Agent for Teamsters Local 710, told *WV* that a delegation of Teamster dock workers from Carolina visited the picket line and donated $450 that had been collected on the Saturday night shift.

On Sunday, when a scab trucker got out of his cab to confront a picketer, a Sauk Village cop drew his gun, cocked the hammer and aimed at the striker. He later pointed the gun with the hammer still cocked, in the direction of the nearly 75 pickets on duty. A *WV* team, visiting the picket lines at Yellow Freight in southwest suburban Chicago Ridge later that same day, was told of a similar police mobilization replete with mounted cops, attack dogs and helicopters circling overhead. Channel 7 TV reported tonight that Illinois Firefighters Federation officials were outraged that unionized firefighters in Chicago Ridge were under orders to use high-pressure hoses against strikers in the event that they were called out to assist police.

Teamster strikers are getting a first-hand lesson in the role of the police as the professional armed thugs of the bosses. As one Roadway picket told *WV*, referring to the victims of this morning's attack, "This is our Rodney King." ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

in Sharpeville—on the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in which 69 blacks were murdered by the cops. Speaking on a dirty field by a foul-smelling industrial waste pond local residents call "Miami Beach," Mandela said: "The majority of police are made up of honest people, black and white, who want to serve our country. We need them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 March).

Power and privilege for the current white rulers has been enshrined in the agreement under which the elections are being held. "One person, one vote" this isn't. A "sunset clause" ensures whites a decisive say in governmental affairs for five years. Any party that wins at least 5 percent of the seats in parliament receives a cabinet place. The catch is that cabinet approval will be required on major questions and two-thirds approval on "certain issues." Thus the Nats and the Democratic Party, the leading white capitalist parties, would have effective veto power over all major decisions.

A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form. The workers and all the oppressed must be mobilized independently of the capitalist masters.

White Fascists and Bantustan Chiefs

Powerful right-wing forces have been mobilizing against the election. Going into March, the "Freedom Alliance," consisting of racist whites fighting for a separate Afrikaner "*volkstaat*" and the leaders of several of the bantustans, including KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha party, were boycotting the election, threatening to prevent it from taking place in large sections of the country. Then dramatic events in the bantustans blew the Freedom Alliance apart.

The bantustans, or tribal "homelands," were desolate parts of the country set aside by the government under their apartheid scheme as dumping grounds for blacks. Black people were not accorded citizenship rights in South Africa. They were classified by tribal origin, then made "citizens" of one "homeland" or another. So simultaneously as capitalism detribalized society through urbanization and bringing together different peoples to work in the factories and mines, the ruling class sought to exacerbate tribal divisions and conflicts, enabling it to "divide and rule." The bantustans were ruled by venal black quislings who were propped up financially and militarily by the apartheid regime.

In March, the puppet ruler of one of these bantustans, Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana (commonly known as Bop), lost control as government workers started demonstrating against him, fearing that after the ANC came to power it would cut off funds to Bop and Mangope would plunder their salaries and pension funds. They were soon joined by others and even the bantustan cops went over to the opposition.

On March 11, on an appeal from former SADF general Constand Viljoen, a leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), thousands of heavily armed white racists, including the fascist Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging (AWB), descended on the Bop capital to "defend Mangope." For the better part of the day they terrorized the town, killing dozens of blacks. Mandela and De Klerk decided it was time to call in the SADF to "restore order"—including to suppress "looting" by the impoverished black population. The army escorted the white fascists out, but not before a carload of them was killed by Bop's police.

De Klerk, Mandela, the South African bourgeoisie and their Western partners all heaved a collective sigh of relief that the SADF actually went into Bop and didn't side with the racists. They are all counting on the SADF to obey the orders of an ANC government after the elections. The ANC's reliance on the apartheid army is deadly ominous in its implications for the workers and oppressed of South Africa. When the SADF goes into action after the elections, they'll probably go after black unionists or township dwellers, as they always have.

The slogan of the ANC used to be "SADF out of the townships!" But given the rising expectations of the black masses that the ANC will seek to contain, *the ANC will be calling upon the SADF to defend the interests of the capitalists against the black masses*. The SADF is riddled with fascists, and indeed, the command structure of the SADF's Rapid Deployment Force is said to be loyal to the AVF, and already has a plan to seize control of communications and "neutralize" unsympathetic generals in the event of social conflict.

The South African Police is widely viewed as even more reactionary and racist than the SADF. The police were always the first line of defense for the apartheid regime. Now they are in open rebellion against De Klerk. On March 18, Judge Richard Goldstone announced the results of an investigation into the clandestine funding, training and arming of Buthelezi's Inkatha by a secretive "Third Force." To no one's surprise, the "Third Force" turned out to be the South African Police. Top police generals collaborated closely with the leaders of Inkatha, including Buthelezi, orchestrating anti-ANC "destabilizing" operations —e.g., the horrible commuter train massacres—that have resulted in tens of thousands of deaths over the last few years.

WV Map

The black shock troops of the white diehards are Buthelezi's Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement, which draws its main support from the most backward, tradition-bound villagers in rural Natal. (In the urban areas a majority of Zulus reportedly support the ANC.) Like all of the bantustan puppet leaders, Buthelezi's fate and funds are tied to the survival of the apartheid system. He has been a darling of his apartheid masters and the Western imperialists for over a decade. Since the unbanning of the ANC four years ago, his Inkatha organization has escalated its war against the ANC both in Natal and in urban areas throughout South Africa. Mandela and De Klerk have now sent the racist army into Natal as Buthelezi wages a campaign of terror against the elections. We warn that the South African army is a *poisoned means* to ensure elections take place. Bitter experience will demonstrate anew that the armed forces of apartheid capitalism are deadly enemies of black rights.

South Africa is the one country in sub-Saharan Africa with a large urbanized black proletariat which has partly overcome tribal affiliation. Yet in mobilizing against Inkatha, the ANC/SACP has to a certain extent appealed to anti-Zulu tribalism, especially among the Xhosas (who constitute a disproportionate share of the ANC leadership). When murderous battles between Inkatha and ANC supporters first broke out in the black townships, we wrote:

> "What is needed is formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both the right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist terror."
>
> —"South Africa and Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

However, the ANC/SACP leaders necessarily *oppose* the formation of such workers defense guards, since these would also become the front line of proletarian struggle against the Randlords whom Mandela & Co. now serve.

Smash Neo-Apartheid! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The Pan-African Congress (PAC) has long postured as the militant nationalist alternative to the ANC, while at the same time offering to collaborate with any and every force—however reactionary—opposed to the ANC/SACP. Thus the PAC's military wing bragged about committing a heinous tavern bombing in Cape Town a few months ago that killed four whites. Meanwhile, they're begging the bantustan parties *including Inkatha* for money to finance the PAC's own election campaign.

A far more serious threat than the PAC to the Mandela/De Klerk "power-sharing" deal are the unionized black workers now bound to the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. The black head of industrial relations at the huge Anglo American mining conglomerate notes that it is crucial to address questions of economic as well as political democracy, otherwise "it's a recipe for revolution." His fears are well founded. The key ingredient missing is a revolutionary party to break the proletariat from the misleadership of the ANC.

In South Africa, the poorest 40 percent of the population has 4 percent of the income. There is *46 percent* unemployment. Millions are homeless. The black population is mired in ignorance, disease and poverty. The privileged white population has houses tended by black maids, gardens tended by black gardeners, children tended by black nannies. But the working class is powerful, and very well organized and conscious of its power. It is the only force that can bring democracy to the toiling masses of South Africa, through proletarian revolution.

In the course of the past year, strike activity has continued at roughly the same massive levels as the previous few years. The strikes are not simply over economic issues. In March alone, 11,000 employees of the massive Kloof gold mine went on strike against a ban on political activity on company property, and black and white railway workers went on strike for equal pay between black and white workers.

The SACP says that workers should not expect too much too soon. This is just the first, "democratic" stage in their two-stage scenario, and the socialist stage is for some time in the future. Yet South Africa today expresses the quintessence of Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which holds that the most basic democratic demands—one person, one vote; land to the tiller; ending slave-like oppression in the mining compounds—can only be achieved when the workers come to power. Political alliances between the workers and the bourgeoisie can only lead to bloody defeat. This is the lesson of history, confirmed in the positive in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and in the negative in the popular-front alliances in Spain and France in the '30s, and Allende's Chile in the early '70s.

Over the past few decades the heroic struggles of the nonwhite workers and plebeian masses have eroded the apartheid system. Now, the white ruling class is seeking to shore up its system of racist oppression and superexploitation by co-opting as agents the very men who claimed to be the leaders of the liberation struggles—Mandela, the SACP's Joe Slovo and COSATU's Cyril Ramaphosa. To truly liberate themselves, South Africa's black African, coloured and Asian toilers must break from the nationalist and reformist misleaders. For a racially integrated Trotskyist party to fight for a black-centered workers republic! ■

Robert Buck has been in prison for three years because he refused to wear a wire for the feds and spy on his union. But while the feds claim to be "cleaning up" the Teamsters, one of the most venal IBT heavies, former president Jackie Presser, was a certified, Grade-A FBI informant.

From Robert Kennedy's vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa to today's RICO suit against the union, their target has always been *Teamsters power*. But both the TDU and Teamster bureaucrats bow to the bosses' laws like the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley law. Carey says you can't win with strikes: "Just walking up and down the street with picket signs won't do it today" (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 March 1993). Yet Teamsters militants who study the history of their union will know that it was built on the picket lines, led by communists who understood the need for hard class struggle.

Many Teamsters look back to Hoffa's reign as the golden years of the union. Hoffa himself said that what he knew about union organizing he learned from Farrell Dobbs, a Trotskyist Teamster who was one of the leaders of the 1934 truck drivers strikes in Minneapolis. Those strikes shut down the city, faced down the National Guard, backed down the governor and made Minneapolis into a union town. Dobbs founded the Central States Drivers Council which first organized over-the-road truckers. But IBT chief Dan Tobin, with the help of the feds (and Hoffa), set him up for a purge and imprisonment (along with six other Local 544 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party) in the early 1940s. It was the action of these "reds" that laid the basis for transforming the Teamsters from a federated craft union into a militant industrial union.

The rebirth of militant class struggle in the unions in this country must immediately take on the question of the state—the capitalist courts, cops and laws which exist to derail and defeat labor struggle. That is a key lesson that class-conscious Teamsters must draw from union history...and their own experience in this key strike for all labor. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

South Africa Elections: ANC's Deal with Apartheid Bosses

De La Mauviniere/AP

Silva/AP

Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk receive "peace prize," but blood flows in South Africa. Here, corpses outside ANC headquarters in Johannesburg after Inkatha tried to storm building.

For 350 years, the white-supremacist rulers have lorded it over the black people of southern Africa. First came the Boer settlers, bringing with them forced labor in the fields, slavery and genocide for the indigenous peoples. Then came the British colonialists, who destroyed the Zulu kingdom using fire and blood and starvation, then forced their defeated subjects into gold and diamond mines to extract fantastic wealth for them. Finally, apartheid slavery was imposed, and all nonwhites, but especially blacks, were robbed of what was left of their land, their families, the fruits of their labor.

The superexploitation of black labor is the bedrock upon which South African capitalism rests, but black labor is also its Achilles' heel. Apartheid capitalism has created its own gravediggers, the black working class, which has the power, organization and self-interest to sweep away the Randlords and those who would defend them. What it needs is revolutionary leadership. There can be no end to the system of apartheid slavery short of socialist revolution. Those who labor must rule!

After years of bloody struggle, the South African masses have forced the creators of the apartheid system, the National Party (NP), to allow blacks to vote. Black South Africans believe that they are finally about to gain their basic democratic rights, opening the road to black majority rule, and in some vague sense "freedom." But these elections are carefully designed to maintain the essentials of white minority rule by putting a new layer of black front men in the exploiters' government.

The African National Congress (ANC), the sure winner in the upcoming elections, has committed itself to maintaining the capitalist order. The elections are a calculated gamble by South Africa's ruling class and its Western imperialist senior partners. A report by the International Commission of Jurists states: "The only thing that is keeping the country from exploding is the prospect of elections" (*Africa Report*, March-April 1994).

But what about after? There is no way South Africa can sustain a capitalist "democracy" given the vast gulf separating the desperately impoverished black toilers and the privileged white ruling caste. A coalition government between the ANC and Nats must be highly fragile and unstable, facing both the demands of the black masses which it cannot meet and disruption by diehard and well-armed white racists.

Even now, tens of thousands of racist whites, abetted by some bantustan chiefs, are aiming to disrupt the elections. As part of the neo-apartheid deal with the ANC, the tribal bantustans—a key element of the old apartheid system—are to be dismantled. Those bantustans whose chiefs have resisted being demoted as the regime's puppets—Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu—are occupied now by the South African army, called in at the behest of both the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the National Party's F.W. De Klerk.

Despite the hopes of millions of its supporters, the petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC will establish not a government of liberation, but a government that tries to keep the lid on an increasingly tense and volatile society. The ANC leaders and their allies in the South African Communist Party (SACP) are chaining the oppressed populations in a nationalist "popular-front" alliance with De Klerk and the "*verligte*" (enlightened) capitalists. Desperately needed is a Bolshevik party which can lead the oppressed masses in the factories, the townships and the bantustans in forging organs of proletarian dual power in the fight for a black-centered workers government in South Africa.

The ANC has long since abandoned any pretensions of being "liberators." Conciliating the oppressor is the order of the day for them. They have made it quite clear that after they are in power, there will be no nationalizations, as they once promised, or even land to the tiller. The workers are being told that they are going to have to help put the capitalist economy back on the road to profitability and efficiency. The ANC's program for women has been diluted—to the point of being practically meaningless—to accommodate both the backward traditional leaders in the countryside and the backward chauvinists among whites.

The ANC has promised that the South African Police and the South African Defense Force (SADF) will remain intact. In fact, Nelson Mandela went out of his way to praise the police, grotesquely,

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South African Workers Need a Bolshevik Party

AFP

Racist South African army moves into Natal, where apartheid-funded Inkatha party wages terror campaign against elections.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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29 April 1994

South Africa Elections

ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom

Reuters

Mottala/COSATU

Buthelezi, De Klerk and Mandela shake hands on elections. "Power-sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled through nationalist popular front with bourgeoisie.

APRIL 25—Yesterday a powerful car bomb exploded near the headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC) in Johannesburg, killing ten and injuring over 100; damage extended for five blocks. Today more than a dozen taxi stands and polling stations were bombed in several areas of South Africa. These vile racist attacks are almost certainly the work of hard-line white right wingers assisted or planned by recalcitrant elements within the army or the intelligence services.

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!
For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The bombings, aimed at the ANC, the organization supported by the overwhelming majority of the black population, come one year after the murder by state-connected fascists of South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hani, who was also head of the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The bombings are an attack on the very idea that the black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian peoples of South Africa should have any democratic rights at all.

The elections to the new, common National Assembly, which will be held over three days beginning tomorrow, are the first time that a vote of any kind has been given to the black African majority who make up *three-fourths* of the total population. The white ruling class has been forced into this concession by the long years of determined struggle by the oppressed South African masses, first against the British colonial rulers and

continued on page 4

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

APRIL 24—In an ominous move, the imperialist powers are threatening to become active combatants and sharply escalate the three-year-old war that is ravaging the former Yugoslavia. On April 22, NATO issued an ultimatum to the Serbs demanding that they immediately pull back their forces besieging the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia—and refrain from attacking four other UN-declared "safe areas"—or face aerial bombing. NATO's war threat has now been endorsed by Yeltsin's Russia. While the Bosnian Serb forces have reportedly begun withdrawing artillery, the imperialists could launch military strikes at any moment.

The Western powers are increasingly frustrated at their inability to impose

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Mellace/Reuters

Defend Serbia Against Imperialist Attack!

Counterrevolutionary Breakup of Yugoslavia Unleashed All-Sided Nationalist Bloodbath

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Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

The New York Times
23 April 1994

Waiting for a Purpose

The little girl ran up and sat on her grandfather's lap, saying, "Dear, dear Granddaddy, tell me how it was in your days."

"Well," said the old fellow, leaping from his rocker and hurling the dear child across the room and into a faraway sofa before resettling in his chair, "in the old days you could let your dear little grandchildren sit on your lap and not have to worry about being locked up for child abuse."

The little girl whimpered, not because of the brutal de-lapization she had just suffered, but because she had hoped her grandfather would speak of less modern subjects. She was tired of always hearing about incest and safe sex and just saying no.

These were important things for a child to know, and she was glad she lived in a time when everybody was willing to tell her all about them. Still she had the child's primitive yearning to hear tales of yore.

Her grandfather's dear old heart was sorely touched by the sight of the lone tear coursing down his tiny granddaughter's cheek. "Would you like to hear about the bad people who lived in the old days?" he asked.

The child clapped her hands in glee, which set the old man off into one of those flights of tedious reminiscence about which his doctors had warned him, pointing out that, in a society that was armed to the teeth, threatening people with death by boredom could be counterproductive to longevity.

"In those days," he said, "the country was swarming with dangerous people, and they were always threatening to destroy the free world."

"Was that the same as the smoke-free world, Granddaddy?"

"Smoke-free? It wasn't smoke-free that we worried about in those days, sweetheart. It was Communist-free that we fought for. All America, you see, was infiltrated—"

"You mean like the cigarettes, Granddaddy?"

"The cigarettes weren't infiltrated, darling. They were filtered. What was infiltrated was the free world, and what was infiltrating that wnnderful free world was Communism."

"Was Communism like smoking, Granddaddy?"

The old man had trouble controlling his temper. What were they doing to American kids nowadays? All that money for education and they couldn't even come up with a halfway decent menace to replace the great old Communism of his day.

"We had real menaces in our day, honey," he said. "Communists. They had to be rooted out before they destroyed us."

"Don't you think sidestream smoke is just as bad as Communists?" asked the little girl with a disturbing inflection in her voice that reminded him of something from the old days.

Yes, that was it: It was that same gallows-trap inflection he remembered investigating Congressmen using when they asked potentially dangerous Americans if they didn't think Communism was the most rotten idea ever born.

Bad things had always happened to people who said no to questions asked in that voice. So instinctively he told his darling granddaughter, "There is nothing more dangerous these days than sidestream smoke, sweetheart, and anybody who resists doing whatever may be necessary to root it out ought to be—"

The child looked at him in dismay. She'd heard of repressed memory. All the kids were talking about it, and some were already repressing tons of memories so they would have some good ones to retrieve later when mid-life crisis sent them into therapy.

"Granddaddy," she asked, "are you retrieving repressed memories about the old days?"

The old fellow knew the child had him. He didn't hate her for it. No, not her. It was the whole dismal post-Communist age he hated. Ever since Communism collapsed the country had been drifting. No foreign policy left. Just joggers like Clinton refusing to be beastly to thugs on four continents. No real menace to make your blood run cold. Nothing but smokers to satisfy the national addiction to nightmares.

Yes, he had retrieved an awkward memory. In this new day and age, he had better consider what to say when avenging Congressmen asked, "Are you now or have you ever been a smoker?"

"My sweet," said he to his granddaughter, "I have an exciting tale to tell you. You see, my dear, when I was a smoker for the F.B.I.—" ■

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Bolshevism and the First Balkan Wars

The intervention of various imperialist powers—in the guise of "peacekeeping" forces—in the nationalist wars raging in ex-Yugoslavia poses the danger of escalating and extending the conflict and is a harbinger of heightened interimperialist rivalry in the post-Soviet world. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 served as a springboard for the unprecedented slaughter of World War I. Leun's Bolsheviks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) denounced these imperialist intrigues, particularly the pan-Slavic pretensions of the tsarist autocracy which were used to justify Russia's great power ambitions in the region. In building the revolutionary-internationalist party which led the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks asserted, as German socialist Karl Liebknecht later declared, that the workers' main enemy is at home.

All Europe wants to take part in the events in the Balkans! Everyone favours "reforms" and even "freedom for the Slavs". Actually, Russia wants to snatch a piece of Turkey in Asia and to seize the Bosporus. Austria has designs on Salonika, Italy on Albania, Britain on Arabia, and Germany on Anatolia.

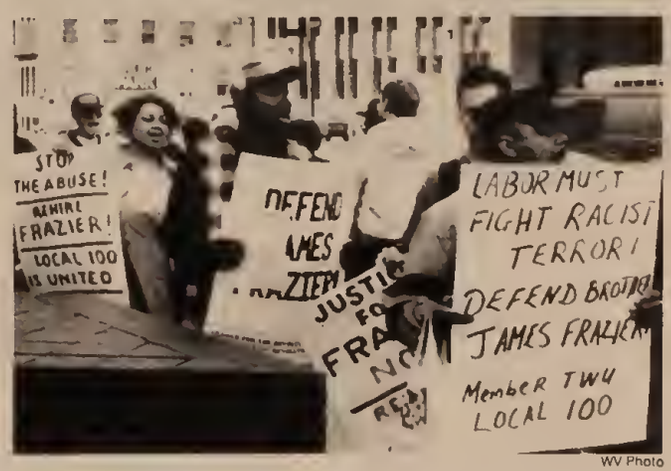
The crisis is mounting. Hundreds of thousands and millions of wage slaves of capital and peasants downtrodden by the serf-owners are going to the slaughter for the dynastic interests nf a handful of crowned brigands, for the profits of the bourgeoisie in its drive to plunder foreign lands.

The Balkan crisis is a link in the chain of events which since the turn of the century has everywhere been leading to sharper class and international contradictions, to wars and revolutions. The Russo-Japanese war, the revolution in Russia, a series of revolutions in Asia, mounting rivalry and hostility between the European states, the threat to peace over Morocco, and Italy's plundcrous campaign against Tripoli—such has been the preparation of the current crisis.

Wars and all their calamities are produced by capitalism, which keeps millions of working people in bondage, sharpens the struggle between nations, and turns the slaves of capital into cannon fodder. A world-wide socialist army of the revolutionary proletariat is alone capable of putting an end to this oppression and enslavement of the masses and to these massacres of slaves in the interests of the slave-owners.

In Western Europe and America, there is a sharpening struggle by the socialist proletariat against imperialist bourgeois governments, who are increasingly inclined to plunge into desperate escapades as they see the working-class millions inexorably marching to victory. These governments are preparing war but at the same time are afraid of war in the knowledge that world-wide war means world-wide revolution.

—RSDRP Central Committee, "To All the Citizens of Russia" (October 1912)



WV Photo

Defend Transit Worker James Frazier!

BROOKLYN, April 19: Transport Workers Union Local 100 members and other supporters of track worker James Frazier rallied outside Transit Authority headquarters today after earlier attending a court hearing. Frazier was the victim of a racist cop shooting last October which cost him his eye and his job. Protesters demanded that the D.A. drop the trumped-up charges against their union brother, and that the TA reinstate him immediately. The next court hearing, in which the cops who shot Frazier are expected to testify, is scheduled for Friday, June 17. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU are calling for a full mobilization of the union's power to defend brother Frazier. Be there!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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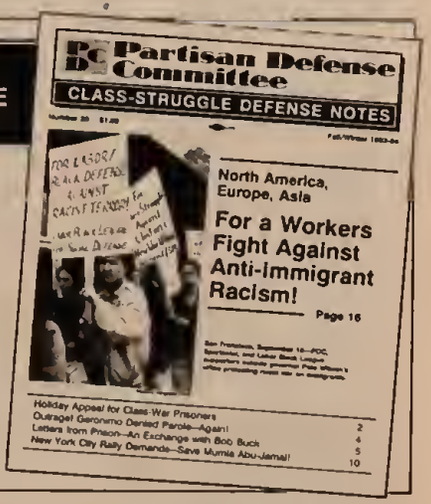

El Salvador: Death Squad Elections

FMLN Buys Into "New World Order"

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard *No. 598 (15 April). On April 24, the second round of voting was held in the fraud-ridden Salvadoran presidential election. Armando Calderón Sol of the fascistic ARENA party was elected with 68 percent of the vote, while Rubén Zamora of the leftist FMLN/CD coalition received 32 percent.*

The "democratic" rulers of El Salvador are a veritable Murder, Inc. with state power. The Truth Commission appointed by the United Nations documented that the Reagan administration had evidence that ultrarightist leader Roberto D'Aubuisson orchestrated the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, even as it was denying the same charge by former Carter ambassador Robert White. At one point, according to the released documents, U.S. special envoy Vernon Walters traveled to San Salvador to personally warn D'Aubuisson not to kill Ambassador Pickering... or the U.S. would cut off funding! Later,

PART TWO OF TWO

the U.S. government documents reveal: "As of early August 1990, Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party members close to Roberto D'Aubuisson were discussing ways to assassinate President Alfredo Cristiani" (also an ARENA leader). Among the plotters was Cristiani's vice president, Francisco Merino.

But while the death squads might occasionally kidnap an oligarch, their real targets were the potential leaders of worker-peasant insurgency, whom they killed by the thousands. This was no rogue operation by "out of control" right-wing elements, but a systematic program to eliminate leftist oppositionists. It was a "privatized" version of its forerunner, Operation Phoenix in Vietnam, where the U.S. murdered tens of thousands in order to eliminate the "Viet Cong infrastructure." And the orders came straight from the top. This was shown by the assassination of the six Jesuit priests in November 1989, at the height of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) offensive against San Salvador. At the time, the government tried to pass the murder off as a guerrilla action; later a couple of lower-ranking officers acted as fall guys. In fact, the crime was ordered at a meeting of the military command, whose decisions were then approved by President Cristiani.

According to a draft report by the Truth Commission (published in *Estudios Centroamericanos*, November-December 1993), the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Salvadoran Armed Forces met on 15 November 1989. Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colonel René Ponce, announced there was "authorization to proceed with the elimination of

Der Spiegel

Rubén Zamora, candidate of leftist popular-front coalition, sells accommodation to death squad "democracy."

ringleaders, trade unionists and well-known member-leaders of the FMLN in their respective areas of responsibility." Ponce added: "I don't want reports by radio, tomorrow you can report to me." One of the military chiefs led a prayer citing Romans 13: "Everyone must submit to the authorities who are in power, because there is no authority that does not come from God." After checking with Cristiani the Atlacatl Brigade made a midnight raid on the University of Central America, gunning down six priests, a housekeeper and her daughter. The Jesuit academics were supporters of "liberation theology" and considered by the military to be intellectual gurus of the guerrillas.

The U.S. Embassy MILGP (military group) ran the cover-up. The Truth Commission detailed how the Americans had ten people inside the headquarters of the Atlacatl Brigade, how they funneled information to General Ponce, warning him he was a suspect in the investigation, so he could press a key witness to change his testimony. Moreover, U.S. "adviser" Major Eric Buckland knew of the army plot to kill the Jesuits *ten days before the murders occurred*, but the Americans did not disclose the information; after the murders, they withheld Buckland's testimony from investigators for another year. And what became of the perpetrators of the Jesuit massacre? Ponce was promoted to defense minister as a "moderate," and was allowed to retire in 1993. Two lower-level officers went to jail briefly, only to be released in the amnesty ordered by ARENA in the aftermath of the "peace accords."

From start to finish, these brutal assassins were financed, trained and advised by the U.S. Based on names cited by the Truth Commission, a *CovertAction* (Fall 1993) article detailed various well-known massacres, showing that the U.S. Army's School of the Americas (SOA) should more aptly be called "School of Assassins":

- *Archbishop Romero assassination* (March 1980): Of three army officers cited in the assassination, two were SOA graduates.
- *Murder of three American nuns and a Catholic layworker* (December 1980): five army officers cited, three were SOA graduates.
- *Sheraton Hotel murders of three land-reform and "AFL-CIA" operatives* (January 1981): three army officers cited, all three were SOA graduates.
- *El Mozote massacre* (December 1981): 12 army officers cited, ten were SOA graduates.
- *Jesuit massacre* (November 1989): 27 officers cited, 19 were SOA graduates.

FMLN's Lurch to the Right

Today, the Salvadoran officer corps is still in place, not even cosmetically "purged" of a few notorious killers. Significantly, among their defenders are none other than the former guerrilla leaders of the FMLN. After the Truth Commission report was issued in February 1993, the ARENA-dominated Salvadoran legislature hastily passed a general amnesty of political killings. This move to absolve the top military leaders was *supported* by top FMLN leaders. When the minister of defense, General Ponce,

continued on page 8

Chauvel/Sygma

Nickelsberg/Woodfin Camp

LeMoyne/NY Times

Massacres Made in U.S.A.: U.S.-trained killers carried out massacre of Jesuit priests in 1989 (left). Center: American ambassador Hinton presents flag to death squad chief D'Aubuisson. Right: U.S. Army's notorious School of the Americas trained dictators and mass murderers from all over Latin America.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

later, after 1948, against the Afrikaner-dominated system of apartheid.

The threat of white-supremacist revolt against the ANC-dominated government which Mandela will head after the elections is real and dangerous. But the enormously wealthy white mine owners, industrialists and financiers and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—the real owners and rulers of South Africa—are staking their future on the National Peace Accord, their deal with the ANC leadership. They correctly calculate that the ANC (already installed in the corridors of power since last December through the Transitional Executive Council—TEC) will uphold and administer capitalist rule in government. Speaking last week at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Mandela declared: "The economy must be built on sound and market principles. If you look at our program, there is not a single sentence about nationalization."

The white capitalist rulers know that the ANC's vast political authority is the strongest tool at their disposal for suppressing and denying the hopes and demands of the black masses. And the expectations are enormous. The huge formerly disenfranchised nonwhite majority sees these elections as opening the road to "freedom" and a share of the wealth produced in South Africa. A comment by one grandmother in a squatter camp in the Western Cape indicated the limits of the "patience" of the downtrodden: "We will be patient once he [Mandela] is elected, and so maybe the first improvements won't be seen here for one or two months" (*New York Times*, 21 April)!

Although the elections are billed by the ANC as the "transition to democracy," in fact they are a far cry from "one person, one vote." *Whatever the outcome*, the main party of the white ruling class, the National Party, led by President De Klerk, is guaranteed a place in a "Government of National Unity" for a five-year period. This is included in the "sunset clause," agreed to by the ANC, which gives a cabinet seat to any party obtaining 5 percent or more in the ballot, and then imposes the need for approval by two-thirds of the cabinet on "certain issues." The National Party and the other main white party, the Democratic Party, will thereby have effective veto power over all major decisions.

Mandela has bent over backward to reassure and conciliate the capitalists, whose junior partner he has now become. All the radical talk of the years of struggle—the rhetoric of "socialism" by the SACP and the COSATU union federation—has evaporated, to be replaced by the language of "moderation" and compromise. The rights of capitalist property are incorporated into a "Bill of Rights"!

The South African Police and the South African Defence Force (SADF)—the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto and the former colonial occupation forces of Namibia and Angola—will be left under their existing command.

Der Spiegel

South Africa's army of racist killers will be preserved under neo-apartheid regime.

Meanwhile the ANC's military wing, the MK, is dissolved and partially incorporated into the SADF or the impotent National Peacekeeping Force, charged with policing the black townships. And at one of his final campaign rallies Mandela "vowed that gun control would be firmly enforced by the new government that he expects to lead" (*New York Times*, 24 April). This means leaving blacks defenseless in the face of racist army, police and fascist paramilitary killers.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Zulu Inkatha movement has allied with the Conservative Party and white reactionaries even further to the right, has for months been attempting to sabotage the elections. Inkatha forces have whipped up and perpetrated horrendous attacks on ANC supporters, seeking to exploit tribal divisions. But last week Mandela guaranteed Buthelezi's cousin, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini, the status of a "constitutional monarch," complete with king-sized personal subsidies, in a successful effort to get Inkatha to end its boycott of the elections.

The capitalists are gambling on an ANC-led government as their best hope of obtaining stable conditions for continued extraction of southern Africa's natural resources and superexploitation of its black proletariat. The dominant white caste, making up 13 percent of South Africa's population, owns 86 percent of the land, 90 percent of all productive wealth, and on average has an annual income ten times greater than that of the blacks. Three out of every five blacks live in rural areas where over 80 percent have no electricity and over 90 percent have no sewage. Fully *half* of the black labor force has no permanent regular employment.

Faced with these appalling conditions, the ANC is promising a five-year "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP), including building one million new homes, supplying electricity to 2.5 million households, ten years of free schooling for all, and the creation of two million jobs through the public works program. But the bourgeoisie has no intention of financing this scale of public works. The chief economist of the Johannesburg Nedbank pointed out:

> "With limited resources and limited taxable capacity it can't be done. The problem facing the incoming government is whether the new electorate is going to accept the shortfall between what they expect and what is actually going to be delivered."

Genuine universal suffrage, universal schooling, equality of all the peoples of South Africa, full citizenship rights (including the right to vote) for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers drawn from neighboring countries and their families, equal pay for equal work, the right of the rural black population (particularly in the barren bantustans) to land stolen over the centuries, first by Afrikaner colonial settlers and then by the British imperialists, equality for women—to realize all these elementary democratic demands requires that capitalist rule be overthrown by workers revolution.

South African capitalism's viability, its ability to compete in the world market, is based on the system of superexploitation symbolized by the lives of the mine workers. The core of the economy has been and remains gold mining. With the richest veins having run out, the "Randlords" like Anglo American are left with vast quantities of low-grade ore that they can mine profitably only by paying slave wages. Over the last 90 years, nearly 90,000 South African miners have died at work: apartheid capitalism is blacks' blood transmuted into gold. And for the apartheid bosses, that is not negotiable.

ANC/SACP: Black Front Men for Neo-Apartheid Capitalism

The understanding that in a country like South Africa it is impossible to satisfy the many unfulfilled revolutionary democratic tasks short of the seizure of power by the socialist proletariat is central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This was demonstrated by Lenin's Bolshevik Party as it led the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in October 1917. Securing basic democratic rights, let alone the huge economic expansion and redistribution required to give a decent life to all the people of South Africa, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing houses through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for an economy planned under the rule of workers councils.

South Africa requires a *black-centered workers government*, not the installation of aspiring black exploiters in the antechambers of *verligte* [enlightened] apartheid power—which is what the ANC offers and desires. As we said last issue:

> "A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form."

From being a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement in opposition, the ANC is in the process of integrating its leading elements into the South African ruling class as it becomes a bourgeois-nationalist ruling party. The *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) reports, "Blacks Enter South African Boardrooms." South African corporations, especially those looking for government contracts, are falling over each other to recruit ANC cadres as managers. They are also prepared to buy off sections of the black middle class and skilled workers by widening pay differentials in the black workforce.

Today the ANC leaders are no doubt getting fitted for top hats and morning coats on London's Saville Row. Nelson Mandela will perhaps ride to his presidential inauguration in the red Mercedes-Benz armored limo built for him by the combative Mercedes workers in East London before the ANC tops with the aid of the SACP sold out their militant 1990 strike. As the ANC tops become increasingly estranged from the township masses, the SACP and COSATU leaders are playing a vital role in defusing discontent. The SACP's Stalinist theory of "two-stage revolution" (democracy first, socialism in the sweet by-and-by) is a reformist rationale for subordinating the working class to the nationalist ANC.

The ANC sellout to the South African ruling class is so blatant, including the open repudiation of its liberal-nationalist Freedom Charter, that most groups claiming to be Trotskyist have criticized the Mandela/De Klerk "power sharing" deal. But, mesmerized by the popular support for the ANC and the SACP, several of these groups share the practical conclusion of the Stalinist reformists. The Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), which sees itself as part of the ANC, calls for voting ANC. "Kick out the Nats!" they headline, proclaiming: "The elections give us the chance to crush the party of apartheid and dictatorship. Every vote must be used to close the door on the old South Africa" (*Congress Militant*, February-March 1994).

The MWT are the co-thinkers of the British Militant Labour group, which likes to posture as a thoroughly orthodox Trotskyist tendency. Yet one of Trotsky's crucial fights in the formation of the international Left Opposition to Stalin was against the latter's policy of entry into the Kuomintang (the bourgeois-nationalist party in prerevolutionary China). The Stalinist policy led straight to disaster in the bloody Shanghai massacre of 1927 in which thousands of worker communists were slaughtered by KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek.

Reuters

Mandela at Johannesburg Stock Exchange reassures racist rulers of ANC's commitment to capitalism.

Organizational *separation* and political independence from the nationalists are the bedrock of a working-class revolutionary party. And those who today call for votes to the ANC are assuming the political responsibility for the inevitable massacres of South African workers by the ANC/De Klerk neo-apartheid regime.

Other smaller groups have also directly capitulated to the ANC/SACP in these elections. The International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), acolytes of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, call for a vote to the ANC. ISSAer Terry Bell, in an article in *Work in Progress* (reprinted in *Socialist Organiser*, 21 April), argued:

> "In this particular battle, the working class is lined up behind the ANC alliance against the NP [De Klerk's National Party].... Since revolutionary socialists stand for the self-emancipation of the working class, the Left should argue that

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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we vote—without illusions in party or parliament—with the class on April 27."

So since many workers have illusions in the bourgeois nationalists, these consummate opportunists call...for feeding their illusions.

One small South African grouping, the Comrades for a Workers Government (CWG), who publish *Qina Msebenzi* and are affiliated with the British Workers International League, has in the past been identified with the demand for a "mass workers party." But as the elections approached they switched gears and came out for a "Vote ANC" line which echoes that of the MWT. Describing themselves as "supercritical" supporters of the ANC, the CWG points out: "The ANC will not be able to implement even the most minimal social demands of its RDP and the popular demands of the masses because the ANC leaders have bound themselves hand and foot to the capitalist class." From this premise they draw the conclusion that the "ANC leaders must cut ties with the bosses!" and that "the bosses must be driven out of the ANC" (whoever and whatever that means).

The CWG's punch line is: "We must put demands to the ANC leaders and the in-coming ANC government—demands such as the scrapping of all power-sharing agreements; the expulsion of the open bourgeois elements in the ANC and in the ANC-led election front." In effect, they treat the bourgeois-nationalist ANC as if it were a reformist workers party which had entered a popular front, rather than a force outside the workers movement. The bottom line is that an ANC government—like other bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World, such as Peronism in Argentina, the Mexican PRI, the Ba'athists in Iraq and Syria—could (and may be driven to) *smash* the unions, whereas for a reformist workers party, which bases itself on the labor movement, this would be suicidal.

Meanwhile, the militant nationalists of AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation), derived from the "Black Consciousness" movement, are calling to boycott the elections. While the ANC/NP "power-sharing" deal, on which these elections are based, violates even the elementary principles of bourgeois democracy, nonetheless the black masses are determined to participate in their first-ever chance to vote in any way on the South African government. Proletarian revolutionaries seek to use the elections, as the Bolsheviks sometimes did with the votes for the tsarist Duma, as a platform for their communist program. In particular, Marxists would counterpose the fight for a workers party to voting for the ANC, the co-rulers of a capitalist "new South Africa."

Critical Support to the Workers List

One of the groups running is the Workers List Party (WLP), initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). After examining the program and statements of the WLP that are available to us, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) call for *critical support* to the Workers List Party in the April elections. The platform of the WLP can be summarized by its opening sentence:

> "The WLP enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a 'Mass Workers Party' (MWP). We believe that only such a Workers' Party will be able to carry forward the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses of South Africa. We do not believe that any of the white or black nationalist parties can solve the crisis of unemployment, homelessness, disease, illiteracy and poverty that afflict the urban and rural poor; those who live in the crime-ridden townships and squatter settlements of our cities, in the rural slums in the Bantustans and in the slave-like conditions on the white farms and in the dorps [small farming towns]. These parties cannot do so because they accept the capitalist system."
>
> —"Manifesto of the Workers' List Party of South Africa," reprinted in *Socialist Organiser* [London], 17 March

The WLP calls for "nationalisation under workers control of the monopoly companies, banks, mines and land without compensation." The party's manifesto also "reject[s] the idea of a Government of National Unity that includes the racists." It says that a "genuine constituent assembly could be no more than a stepping stone to a Workers' Government." (We have in the past polemicized against WOSA for "constituent assembly fetishism" when it failed to connect this revolutionary-democratic demand to the fight for workers soviet rule.) The WLP claims to be standing some 80 candidates in all regions. With an electoral system based on national and regional party slates (rather than constituencies), a vote for the WLP will be counterposed to a vote for the ANC.

Sharifi/Work in Progress

COSATU union federation met in 1991 under banner of "socialism." Today ANC wants black unions to prevent strikes on behalf of "government of national unity."

The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC.

At the same time, we emphasize that the platform of the WLP is left-reformist. *Never once* does it define itself in reference to the ANC, nor even mention it, which takes some doing in South Africa today. Nor does it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid ANC/NP capitalist regime. While calling for "self-defence and a workers' militia," the WLP platform does not call for smashing and replacing the existing capitalist state machine which is the direct continuity of the apartheid state. Union-based workers militias, composed of all ethnic groups, are needed to overcome the Inkatha thugs, defend strikers and smash white racist terror.

While the WLP speaks of "a socialist democracy" and "democratic planning process," this is in the spirit of European social democracy rather than the kind of revolutionary regime based on workers councils (soviets) that would be needed in order to expropriate the wealth of the Randlords and crush the bitter-end resistance of the apartheid racists backed by international imperialism.

Yet in South Africa today, more directly and immediately than anywhere else on the planet, virtually every social and democratic struggle necessarily poses the question of workers revolution. WOSA/WLP has campaigned heavily on the right to a job, and reportedly plans a march for jobs on May 6, at the opening of the National Assembly. But while their platform calls for "a 35 hour week without loss of pay, an end to retrenchments [layoffs], scab labour and lockouts," it presents these demands in a pressure campaign directed toward the capitalist parliament rather than calling for sharp class struggle such as plant occupations, establishing genuine workers control (dual power in the workplace), and demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to create jobs for all.

Although the WLP makes ritual reference to "internationalism," in reality this tendency has long stood for a certain species of South African "nation-building." WOSA's principal leader, Neville Alexander, has written: "The existing South African state forms the boundaries of the potential nation, not the particular existing cultures" (in Alex Callinicos, ed., *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists* [1992]). The WLP platform's call for "a united socialist nation" reflects an understandable reaction to the divide-and-rule policies of apartheid (most visible in the alliance of the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha with the most reactionary, fascistic supporters of an Afrikaner *Boerestaat*).

The colonial-derived South African state consists of different national, racial and ethnic groups, with the whites on top, the black Africans on the bottom and the coloureds and Indians occupying an intermediate position. The goal of communists is not to forge "one nation" in the borders of the 1910 Union of South Africa but to achieve political and social equality for *all* of South Africa's diverse peoples. This requires a racially integrated Leninist party. We call for a socialist federation of Southern Africa, with regional autonomy, should they desire, for such peoples as the Ovimbundu in Namibia/Angola, the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe and the Zulus in Natal.

In giving critical support to the WLP slate, we note that we are not able to judge the reality of its campaign on the ground in South Africa. We also point out that groups with centrist politics like WOSA (whose demand for a workers party is consciously confined within the framework of a social-democratic labourite program) are highly susceptible to calls to pressure the popular front, or to vote for the "workers parties of the popular front." One may ask: under a constituency-based electoral system, were WOSA and its allies unable to stand candidates everywhere, would the WLP have opposed the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, including its COSATU/SACP allies? This goes to the heart of the debate over a workers party in South Africa which has been raging in the black union movement over the last year.

In an article last fall, we noted that in pushing this issue, WOSA consciously looks to the example of the Brazilian PT (Workers Party) of Luis Ignacio da Silva ("Lula"), as a Third World variant of the British Labour Party. We noted that many "workerists" within COSATU, the main political current toward which WOSA is now orienting, talked of forming a workers party only *after* the April elections, in order to *not* break with the ANC at this crucial juncture. "We emphasize that the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism," we wrote, "but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution" (*WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993).

A party of the Bolshevik type, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International, is necessary for the South African masses, like the workers of all countries, to make a successful socialist revolution. A revolutionary workers party can come about only through the intervention of a Marxist nucleus, committed to sweeping away every vestige of apartheid capitalism and dedicated to the cause of international socialism. There can be no justice in South Africa until the non-white majority has power in a revolutionary workers state which would unite Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, with ample room and full democratic rights for those whites who would join in building a society based on genuine equality.

A proletarian revolution in the industrial powerhouse of South Africa would be a beacon to the whole of sub-Sahar Africa, helping to lift the continent out of imperialist-enforced starvation and poverty. It would be an inspiration to the hundreds of millions—black, Asian, Latin American—across the world who have suffered the violence and degradation of racial arrogance at the hands of the haughty white ruling classes of the Western powers—whether in the colonies or within the imperialist metropolises themselves. Black people in the U.S. in particular see in apartheid slavery the mirror of their own oppression. Socialist revolution in South Africa is not just a matter for South African workers—no less than the Russian Revolution of 1917 it would be the cause of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

For a black-centered workers republic! For a socialist federation of Southern Africa! For a South African Trotskyist party as part of a reforged Fourth International! Those who labor must rule! ■

Labor/Black Struggle League • Spartacist League Forums

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

South Africa Elections: ANC's Deal with Apartheid Bosses

South African Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!

The superexploitation of black labor is the bedrock upon which South African capitalism rests, but black labor is also its Achilles' heel. Apartheid capitalism has created its own gravediggers, the black working class, which has the power, organization and self-interest to sweep away the Randlords and those who would defend them. What it needs is revolutionary leadership.

Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member ATU Local 308

Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League

Sunday, May 1, 3 p.m.
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 South Michigan (at Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, April 30, 4 p.m.
Call for location
For more information: (510) 839-0851
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BAY AREA

Young Spartacus

Champaign-Urbana: Salvadoran Cop Training Canceled!

Abolish the Police Training Institute!

FLASH—26 April, as we go to press, we've learned that in response to our call for a protest, the Police Training Institute (PTI) canceled their plans to train cops for the bloody Salvadoran regime. University vice president Robert Resek told a *Daily Illini* reporter, "We can't guarantee that the police that would be coming here would be free of war crimes." SYC member Julia Behn responded, "We have struck a blow in solidarity with the working masses of El Salvador. But we want to see the PTI abolished because the cops still beat up and jail poor people, black people, Latinos and working people every day in this country and internationally. The demonstration against the PTI is happening!" We print below an excerpted leaflet issued by the Champaign-Urbana Spartacus Youth Club on April 24.

The University of Illinois administration wants to bring the heirs of the Salvadoran death squads to Champaign-Urbana. These butchers for imperialism are responsible for tens of thousands of deaths during El Salvador's 12-year civil war. Their atrocities included the Salvadoran military's 1981 massacre of the entire village of El Mozote, in which more than 700 people, including at least 122 children, were killed. More deadly still were the Treasury Police, who tortured and "disappeared" tens of thousands. Among those to be added to the "new" Salvadoran National Civil Police are over 1,000 former Customs Police notorious for their brutality, and members of the DNI intelligence group which compiled "hit lists" for the extermination of leftists, unionists and peasants. Their host in Champaign-Urbana will be the U. of I. Police Training Institute, which wants to train these kill-crazed cops.

The idea of training capitalist police to be "humane" is a disgusting hypocrisy. U. of I. vice president for academic affairs Robert Resek said the training would help Salvadoran cops become like U.S. cops, who "are trained to believe in human rights." Tell that to Rodney King, who was beaten nearly to death by LAPD thugs following their standard operating procedure; the Branch Davidians in Waco, incinerated by the sinister Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; and striking Teamsters, who have been beaten and gassed by police for defending their picket lines from Chicago to Southern California.

The Salvadoran National Civil Police force resulted from the 1992 "peace" agreement that disarmed the FMLN guerrillas. Under the plan, former FMLN members are to be allocated spots in the police along with members of the military and a percentage from neither group. But the composition of the force doesn't matter; what is key is whose interests this force will protect. The "new" police force protects the same ruling-class interests as the old, and while the FMLN has disbanded its army, the Salvadoran capitalists are not dissolving their armed forces, just shuffling them around and trying to clean up their image.

The so-called "peace" accord came after a decade of civil war in which the FMLN, a large and very popular guerrilla force, controlled vast areas of the country. Despite their revolutionary posturing, however, the FMLN always favored a negotiated settlement to guarantee the maintenance of capitalist rule instead of a revolutionary struggle to sweep away the landlords, the blood-soaked military and police and the "14 families" of the ruling capitalist oligarchy. During the war, most of the U.S. left opposed the call for military victory by the leftist insurgents and built popular-front coalitions with Democratic Party liberals.

AP

Brutal Salvadoran cops drag off leftist demonstrator last spring. U.S. imperialism gave cops "professional" training in savagery.

The recent "free elections" in El Salvador illustrate that the "peace" is a cruel farce. Indeed, the death squads got very busy when the election campaign opened last November, gunning down at least 40 FMLN and union leaders. The Illinois Police Training Institute is of an ilk with the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Ft. Benning, Georgia—training ground for Salvadoran death squad leaders and the worst Latin American dictators, butchers and war criminals. It was liberal democrat JFK who initiated the "Alliance for Progress"—a cover for "counter-insurgency" actions and training throughout Latin America. Meanwhile, Kennedy tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to overthrow the Cuban Revolution while sending in 16,000 elite Green Beret "advisers" to Vietnam in the early '60s to head off revolution.

Schooling the enforcers of imperialism on campuses is nothing new. Through ROTC, CIA recruitment and government-funded research, bourgeois universities are training grounds for the future leaders of the capitalist ruling class. Indeed, far from being Ivory Towers dedicated to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, universities are tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist state. Anti-imperialist students once had ROTC on the run. From 1967 to 1969, during the height of Vietnam antiwar protests, ROTC was withdrawn from more than 100 campuses. Shortly after the removal of American ground troops from Vietnam in the early '70s and the Watergate scandal, the ruling class renewed its drive to get and keep ROTC on campuses to combat the "Vietnam Syndrome" and to refuel its anti-Soviet war drive.

Only the social power of the working class can sweep away the blood-drenched imperialists and their tin-pot dictators once and for all. But driving these war criminals off campus can strike a small but real blow at the imperialists' designs in Central America. And a blow against U.S. imperialism at home is a blow to the advantage of those who defend the Cuban deformed workers state, fighters for the oppressed worldwide and the international working class. **No cop training for Salvadoran death squad regime! From Los Angeles to South Africa, cops are the bosses' paid killers: Abolish the Police Training Institute! Be there to demonstrate, Thursday, April 28, at noon on the Quad.** ■

Interracial Boycott of Alabama School

A Tale of Two Proms

A racist principal's schemes to stop interracial dating turned prom night into protest night at Randolph County High School in the east-central Alabama town of Wedowee. The April 23 official prom at the high school included a heavy police presence. This cop provocation was at the behest of principal Hulond Humphries, who argued interracial dating leads to "trouble." A protest prom was organized by civil rights organizations and students who have been waging a school boycott in protest of Humphries' attempt to impose the social mores of the defeated slavocracy on high school youth today.

Back in February, Hulond Humphries called an assembly to ask students if anyone was planning to attend the prom as part of an interracial couple (38 percent of the school's students are black). When more than a dozen hands went up, Humphries threatened to cancel the dance! The president of the junior class, Revonda Bowen, whose father is white and mother is black, had planned to take her white boyfriend to the prom. She rose to challenge the principal's absurd racist threat, and asked: "Who am I supposed to take?" Revonda burst into tears as Humphries replied, "That's a problem, Revonda. Your mom and dad shouldn't have had you. You were a mistake" (*New York Times*, 16 March). Humphries said he was trying to prevent others from making the same "mistake."

This grotesque incident produced an outcry from students. Five hundred black and white Randolph County residents signed a petition calling for Humphries to be fired. But the racist Randolph County School Board backed up their man Humphries, first suspending him *with pay*, then reinstating him on March 31. Racist reactionaries organized a 100-car motorcade in support of Humphries, and the "grand titan" of the Alahama Ku

continued on page 11

AP

Revonda Bowen, victim of racist school principal, with her parents.

Boston University Forum on Chiapas Revolt

ISO Glad-Hands Mexican Consul

Young Spartacus

Boston, March 25: ISO spokesman Whitehouse (right) shares platform with consul of bloody Mexican government (left).

The cry of rebellion from Chiapas, Mexico resonates among all those who challenge the imperialists' "New World Order." Coast to coast, demonstrations in U.S. cities protested the Mexican government's bloody repression of Mexican peasants. The news of the rebellion, which denounced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a "death sentence" for Mexico's indigenous peoples, found an echo across the ocean in Europe, where militant Alfa-Romeo workers in Italy raised signs proclaiming "Viva Zapata!"

Any leftist with a gut hatred for the capitalist government's pillage and repression of the Indian uprising would want to solidarize with the *victims* of bourgeois state terror. But the reformist pseudo-socialists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) recently marked the Chiapas rebellion in their own grotesque way, joining a round-table discussion with a spokesman for the Mexican government on March 25 at Boston University.

Before the "dialogue" began, David Whitehouse, the ISO's spokesman, went up to shake hands with Mr. Ortíz, the Mexican consul in Boston. This representative of the bloody Mexican government was the lead-off speaker. He carped about Chiapas even being on the agenda, claiming the forum's title, "The Military and the Guerrilla in Latin America," shouldn't encompass Chiapas and protested that Mexico is a "democracy." ISOer Whitehouse followed with a bloodless, academic assessment in which the word "NAFTA" wasn't mentioned once, since the ISO has *never opposed* the imperialist plundering promised by this trade pact, against which the Chiapas peasants rose in revolt.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have consistently called for international working-class opposition to the NAFTA rape of Mexico. The ISO, in refusing to oppose NAFTA, gives *de facto* backing to the intensification of imperialist exploitation by their own ruling class.

The "New World Disorder" of heightened economic rivalries and military intervention by the U.S. around the globe is a product of the capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist conciliation of imperialism. This was a huge *defeat* for the international working class *which the ISO hailed.*

In contrast, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fought to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. While the ISO cheered Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 coup for Wall Street, we fought and continue to fight against the "free market" misery Yeltsin's counterrevolution has brought to the land of the Bolshevik October 1917 Revolution.

Not only are the State Department socialists of the ISO silent on NAFTA—while their Canadian "comrades" oppose it—*the bloody repression in Chiapas also didn't elicit a word from Whitehouse.* And no wonder. The ISO's newspaper, *Socialist Worker* (March 1994), grotesquely alibis the butchers of Chiapas, stating: "If the government follows through on all of its promises, the accord will represent significant gains for Indian peasants."

Castillo/Mic Photo Press

January 1994: Captured Zapatista rebels were summarily executed by Mexican government forces in Chiapas province.

Spartacist supporter Tom Downing rose to denounce the chummy alliance between the ostensible socialists of the ISO and the Mexican consul. Turning his back on them, he faced the audience and said:

> "We would not enter into a dialogue or a debate with a representative of the government which has been conducting murderous repression against the working people and the peasantry of Mexico, particularly in Chiapas—unlike counterfeit socialists like the International Socialist Organization. We say that it is absolutely necessary to fight using the methods of class struggle to spread the rebellion in Chiapas to the cities, to the proletarian centers, to the concentrations of oil workers, to fight for workers revolution to overthrow the blood-drenched Mexican capitalist government."

These remarks were met with applause by the audience, while the various panelists turned red with rage or shame. One consular official went apoplectic, launching into an attack on Trotskyism and dismissing socialism as "an interesting paradigm." Mr. Ortíz sought to refurbish his fake-left credentials, protesting that the ruling party in Mexico had granted asylum to Trotsky and endorsing the ISO's limp "socialist alternative," for "reform" and "restructuring." The ISO stayed mute on the issue of the bloody terror against the Zapatistas (several hundred of whom were slaughtered by the Mexican army) and concluded with a mouthful of cold porridge about "pressure from below" "to open up new freedoms."

After the forum, Whitehouse again glad-handed Mexican consul Ortíz and they shared a cozy tête-á-tête. Asked later about all the hand-holding, Whitehouse said he shook Ortíz' hand the first time because he "didn't know who he was." And the second time? Well, um, "he sort of slipped his hand into mine without asking." Yikes! By the ISO's rules of etiquette, this must be...political "date rape."

The ISO is looking to cash in on liberal disaffection with the racist Clinton administration by raising a radical-sounding program to do the impossible—reform the rotten capitalist system. Young militants who look to the example of Chiapas as proof that it is right to rebel against capitalism should join the Spartacus Youth Clubs in the fight for socialism. ■

NYPD Truancy Squads Hound Youth

Stop the Roundups!

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is giving New York City youth an education in racist police repression. Since the first week in April, cops assigned to special truancy patrols throughout the city have been rounding up hundreds of teenagers a day, demanding identification, frisking them and loading them into waiting police vans. The youths are then delivered to "collection points" at designated schools, where their parents and school officials are notified...if they're lucky.

These "truancy officers" are fully armed cops in a city where it's practically a crime to be young and black. We remember Shuaib Latif, the unarmed 17-year-old son of a black Muslim cleric, killed by the police last January, and countless other victims of the trigger-happy NYPD. Despite the phony "sensitivity training" they received for this assignment, these cops are a deadly threat to youth. Young blacks and Hispanics, who are sure to be the primary targets of this repressive measure, are especially threatened by the racist roundups.

These new "truancy sweeps" are a full-scale assault on the civil liberties of young people, giving cops police-state powers to stop, question, search and detain them at will. Frisen Rodriguez, a young barber in Brooklyn, complained, "Every cop that goes by stops me. Everyone stops and asks me where I go to school" (*New York Times*, 7 April). And what happens when a teenager responds to this latest attempt to regiment the populace with natural adolescent rebelliousness? As a junior at Brooklyn's Midwood High noted, "A lot of kids—especially minority kids—don't trust the police."

The new crackdown—the first city-wide program against truancy in three decades—represents in part an attempt to revive the repressive social climate of the 1950s, with the capitalist state acting *in loco parentis.* But today no one is even pretending that the aim of truancy laws is to ensure that kids get an education. Giuliani's roundups are being explicitly promoted as a way to keep youth off the streets. "A significant number of truants are involved in criminal activities of all types, ranging up to robberies," Police Commissioner William J. Bratton told the press. "It is quite clear we're having an increase of youth criminal activities during school hours."

So in the eyes of the racist cops, any supposedly school-age youth on the street during school hours *for whatever reason* is not merely a truant but a suspected felon. The vaguest suspicion of criminal activity is all a New York cop needs these days to try out his new deadly hollow-point bullets. And if it ever gets to court, the felons in blue uniforms just make up their story—the systematic police perjury dubbed "testilying" in the precincts, according to a leaked report from the Mollen Commission on cop corruption. You can bet that "draft" will never see the light of day.

For most poor, working-class and minority youth in this city, public schools are not educational institutions but *holding pens.* With the gutting of

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 3)

resigned three days before the report was published, FMLN leader Juan Ramón Medrano declared that Ponce "had played a positive role"; FMLN coordinator Shafik Handal, the secretary general of the Salvadoran Communist Party, declared that Ponce "supported the negotiations" (*New York Times*, 13 March 1993). The "moderate" general they praised was the same Ponce who ordered the assassination of the six Jesuits!

The rightward turn by the guerrilla leaders has astonished many liberals and leftists, and it has been dramatic. The refounding of the FMLN as a political party in 1992 took place at a meeting in the plush Camino Real Hotel. Reflecting the FMLN's reconciliation with Yankee imperialism's "New World Order," the party's program doesn't mention the word "socialism" and instead speaks of "revolutionary humanism," of the "revolutionary-democratic ideal for change" and of the need to uphold the "fundamental value of the family" (*Pensamiento Propio*, November 1992). The election platform of the FMLN and Convergencia Democrática (CD) states, "the coalition pledges to develop a market economy" and "an economic policy based on genuine competitiveness" (*La Prensa Gráfica* [San Salvador], 16 March). The leftist presidential candidate Rubén Zamora declared, "there will be no nationalizations" if he is elected, and even "price controls can only be allowed for a limited time" (*La Prensa Gráfica*, 3 March).

Zamora has always been a Christian Democrat, although he broke with the official party led by Washington's man José Napoleón Duarte after his brother, Mario Zamora, then attorney general, was assassinated in 1980 by a death squad (following a death threat by D'Aubuisson on national TV) and the government did nothing. Another former Christian Democrat is now returning to his ideological roots, namely Joaquín Villalobos, leader of the ERP (formerly Revolutionary People's Army, now renamed the Expression of Popular Renovation) faction of the FMLN. Villalobos recently declared, "We were never Marxists." True enough—we repeatedly emphasized that despite their leftist trappings the Salvadoran guerrillas were petty-bourgeois nationalists. And now the ERP leader wants to put his youthful leftism behind him, saying "The civil war was our puberty, now we have grown up." Having hung up his AK-47, Villalobos declares his current goal to be turning the FMLN into "the counterpart of the Democratic Party in the U.S." (*Der Spiegel*, 16 April).

In a book published in late 1992, *Una revolución en la izquierda por una revolución democrática* (A Revolution in the Left for a Democratic Revolution), the "older but wiser" Villalobos says goodbye to the "dogmatic childhood of the FMLN." Denouncing "left-extremist criticism," he comes out for "democratic socialism." This born-again Clintonite social democrat declares the market to be "a component in the progress of civilization," and a value that is "inherent to the human being." In El Salvador, says Villalobos, "in the context of the market, a democratic struggle between big monopoly capital and small producers" will take place. In addition, the left must "preserve values, which were erroneously ignored by the revolutionaries: family, property, nation, religion, individual freedom, respect for nature, democracy, etc." This political pacesetter for the FMLN denounced "forced collectivization and levelling," adding that "enrichment is permitted."

Villalobos summed up: "We must correct the idea that socialism means the elimination of private property, the market, opposition, etc." To carry out this "correction," he calls for an "ideological purge" of the FMLN to get rid of "a mentality that is hostile to the system" (in "From People's War to People's Capitalism," *Arbeiterkampf*, 5 May 1993).

Former guerrilla leader Villalobos now hails capitalist market economy, hobnobs with generals whose troops mowed down tens of thousands of workers and peasants.

Valtierra/Cuartoscuro

Ideological purges and eliminating opposition are something the ERP leader, whose code name was Attila, knows plenty about. When back in 1975 renowned Salvadoran leftist poet Roque Dalton came out in opposition to Villalobos' "militarist" line and argued for mass work in the cities, the ERP leadership arrested him on charges of being a "right-wing revisionist," a "Cuban agent" and even a "CIA agent." A month later, Villalobos had Dalton executed. In closing the ERP's congress last June, Villalobos "assumed responsibility for Roque Dalton's death and announced that the ERP is trying to locate Dalton's remains" (*Diario Latino* [San Salvador], 21 June 1993). But this "apology" didn't stop the "renewed" ERP from purging a left-wing opposition. One of its leaders complained of the ERP that "every single one of their cadres has arranged to have his own company" with party funds (*Arbeiterkampf*, 9 March).

While this former guerrilla leader is particularly shameless, grotesquely hobnobbing with the generals in their hobnailed jackboots, Villalobos is by no means unique on the Salvadoran left. He is rather a vile example of the Latin American nationalists who mimic the values of their bourgeois rulers. At the time of the 1984 assassination of FMLN leader Comandante Ana María by her factional rival Comandante Marcial (Salvador Cayetano Carpio), we wrote:

> "The struggle to forge genuinely Bolshevist parties in Latin America is an arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*... . For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist 'left,' what goes for a programmatic split is to say, 'Cabrón, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds.' And ol course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents to amnesty their own rulers."
>
> —"Behind Bloody Tragedy of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984

Villalobos has his rivals within the FMLN, and following the elections this coalition of five former guerrilla groups may split apart. But even the supposed left wing, the FPL (People's Liberation Forces), declares that the peace accords are the basis for a "democratic revolution." While continuing to talk of a socialist perspective, the FPL holds that the necessary conditions for it are not present. Closing the party's congress last May, FPL secretary general Salvador Sánchez Ceren declared that the peace agreements "opened the path to democracy, modernization of the political system," and called for a "pact of governability with the country's most important economic, political and social sectors" (*La Prensa Gráfica*, 25 May 1993). In fact, the FPL first proposed the bourgeois politician Ruhén Zamora as the FMLN's presidential candidate (the ERP wanted a right-wing Christian Democrat).

For a Trotskyist Workers Party!

Already at the outset of the guerrilla fighting at the beginning of the '80s, as we marched for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists," the Spartacist League warned:

> "What kind of 'political solution' can there be for the savagely oppressed Salvadoran workers and peasants short of a revolutionary victory over their landlord/capitalist/military class enemies? So long as the bloody officer corps remains intact and a rapacious oligarchy continues to rule the land, the death squads will continue their killing and abysmal poverty will be the fate of the masses in El Salvador. The only ones who stand to gain by an illusory 'compromise' are the capitalist politicians (many of them former junta members) who now seek to play games with the buffoon Duarte. Alarmed by the extreme class confrontation in El Salvador, their main concern is to stave off the 'threat' of workers revolution."
>
> —"Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!" *WV* No. 279, 24 April 1981

Repeatedly, we stressed that "because of their fundamental commitment to defending capitalism," the guerrilla leaders and their bourgeois politician allies such as Zamora "do everything to keep the Salvadoran civil war within national limits. Reformism is inherently national, socialist revolution international in scope.... The petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Central American left also leads it to abandon the working class in favor of peasant guerrilla struggle" ("For Workers Revolution in Central America!" *WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983).

Today, the bourgeois aspirations of the top leaders of the Salvadoran left are even more blatant. In case anyone begins talking about unions in the companies founded by ERP leaders, Villalobos declares: "Production is like the military. You need clear orders that are followed." And during the election campaign, labor was essentially ignored by the FMLN. The National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) sent its platform of demands to the FMLN/CD without effect, and according to *El Salvador Proceso* (5 April), "the FMLN paid less attention to labor leaders in choosing its candidates. In some cases, partly due to the need to get closer to business sectors, the FMLN opted for small business leaders..." While the ARENA government denounced the 7,000 health workers who struck for 39 days last fall as dupes of the FMLN, threatening to fire all strikers, in fact the former guerrillas, avid for respectability, did nothing to back the strike. Nor did they lift a finger when workers at Rosales Hospital went back out during the election campaign.

Their rhetoric of "armed struggle" and anti-imperialist "revolution" obscured the fact that the Salvadoran guerrillas were always at bottom nationalists who sought to bargain with imperialism. With their perspectives limited to tiny El Salvador or even Central America, they couldn't conceive of a struggle to bring down the capitalist-imperialist system. This would require extending the struggle to the millions of combative proletarians to the north in Mexico, who were facing the hammer blows of IMF austerity imposed hy the capitalist government of the perennially ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). Instead, the FMLN leaders looked to the PRI for diplomatic support. And now that a peasant insurrection has broken out in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, the FMLN leaders rush in with sage advice to negotiate a "solution" like they did in El Salvador!

Salvadoran militants who seek to fight imperialism rather than to make a "separate peace" that may enrich a few while the vast majority remain brutally oppressed and exploited are understandably distraught at the FMLN's pathetically "moderate" election campaign. The first lesson they must draw is that this lurch to the right was inherent in the petty-bourgeois program of Stalinist-nationalist reformism. While some may have had illusions of building "socialism in one country" in this statelet, in reality the program of "two-stage revolution" served as a roadblock to socialist revolution throughout the region. And as the impact of the Stalinist collapse in East Europe and the USSR hit Central America, with the Sandinistas' 1990 election defeat in Nicaragua and the cutoff of aid to and from Cuba, the FMLN threw in the towel.

The answer to the FMLN's electoral-reformist popular frontism is not to head back to Guazapa Volcano to take up peasant guerrilla struggle again. A workers party must be built on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution to win the most conscious elements to the banner of Bolshevik *internationalism*, of world socialist revolution. This was the program of the early Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, and it was under this red flag that Farabundo Martí fought. Martí, the founder of Salvadoran communism, was an internationalist to the core, fighting in Guatemala, in New York and Nicaragua, and breaking with Augusto César Sandino over the latter's nationalism.

Above all, what's needed is to take the battle to the heartland of Yankee imperialism. In such a struggle, the tens of thousands who died heroically in El Salvador will not have fought in vain: where the nationalists see only a diminutive country in the narrow waistband of the continent, "the Tom Thumb of the Americas," proletarian revolutionaries see the hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran workers who are today playing an important role in labor struggles from San Salvador to Los Angeles and elsewhere in the U.S. This is the revolutionary potential we of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) look to. ■

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Balkans...

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order in this tinderbox of Europe. The imperialist economic blockade of Serbia, while causing terrible suffering for the civilian population—especially old people, young children and the poor—had no effect on the war on the ground in Bosnia. The previous NATO attempt at using military force—the pinprick raids against Serbian forces around Gorazde on April 10-11—backfired. The Serbs blockaded 5,000 UN "peacekeepers" throughout Bosnia, Serbian gunners shot down a British Sea Harrier fighter, and the offensive against Gorazde was stepped up.

The latest military moves by the Western imperialists reflect divergent appetites in the Balkans. Clinton's White House keeps harping on NATO's "credibility"—and its own—as the U.S. seeks to act as top cop in a "New World Order"...without risking American casualties. Reunified German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Meanwhile, in the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, Russia wants to reassert its "great power" status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

But despite differing long-term interests and short-term concerns—the Americans want to go further and arm the Muslims, the French and British are worried about their troops on the ground, the Russians don't want to see Serbia too humiliated—they are all united for the moment in forcing the Serbs into line and more generally imposing an imperialist carve-up of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

While opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between the Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims, we call upon the working people to defend Serbia against imperialist attack. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in Bosnia pale in comparison to the crimes of the Western imperialists. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were a prelude to the first imperialist world war, which slaughtered millions of working people. The U.S. which spouts about "democracy" is responsible for the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the carpet-bombing of Vietnam and the terror bombing of Iraq. And the German Fourth Reich, which sanctimoniously denounces Serbian "ethnic cleansing," is self-proclaimed successor state to the Nazi regime which murdered millions of Slavs, Jews and Gypsies.

Imperialist hands off Serbia—Down with the starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now!

WV Photo

New York, April 14: Spartacists call for defansa of Serbia against imperialist attack.

AP

AP

Der Spiegel

Bosnian Serbs welcome Russian troops with reactionary three-finger Orthodox Christian salute and hail fascistic pan-Slav demagogue Zhirinovsky (bottom right). Boris Yeltsin and Helmut Kohl (top right) engineered Russian intervention to bring Serbs into line in imperialist carve-up of former Yugoslavia.

Western Imperialism Behind Balkan Bloodbath

Western propaganda blames the war on Serbian "aggression" and "age-old tribal feuding" in the Balkans. In reality, this orgy of murderous nationalism originates in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the U.S., Germany and the other NATO powers. Since the imperialist powers had different policies, they did not intervene in Yugoslavia in a united and decisive way.

In the ethnic-nationalist wars set off by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia in the summer of 1991, tens of thousands have been killed and maimed, and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes. All sides have embraced the most reactionary "traditions," with the Croatians harking back to the pro-Nazi World War II Ustasha regime, the Serbs glorifying monarchist Chetniks and the Muslims unfurling the green banner of Islamic fundamentalism. These were precisely the forces which Tito's Communist Partisans overcame while defeating the German Wehrmacht to create a multinational Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

But the nationalist jackals, all of them, picking at the corpse of Yugoslavia, are not the only forces responsible for the communalist bloodbath. Behind them stand imperialist powers who are increasingly pushing their own particular interests as economic rivalries emerge which were formerly muted by shared anti-Sovietism. Of these, Germany is most directly responsible for the destruction of Titoist Yugoslavia. After buying out East Germany in 1990 from the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist regime, German capital is pursuing important economic interests in the Balkan peninsula, which produces strategic minerals—chrome, zinc, lead, copper, bauxite, silver.

In late 1991, Germany steamrollered the European Community into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia over the objections of Britain and France, allies of Serbia during the interwar period. The establishment of a Croatian nationalist state provoked a revolt by the large Serb minority, backed by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav federal army. The war for eastern Croatia ended—or, more accurately, was temporarily suspended—with the Serbs controlling 30 percent of the territory of that former Yugoslav republic, a region now renamed the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Then came the three-sided communalist slaughter in Bosnia between the Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The Serbs in Bosnia are predominantly peasants and owned 65 percent of the republic's land although making up only a third of its population. The Muslims, slightly less than half the population, are largely an urbanized people. Consequently, when the fighting began the Serb forces gained control of most of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

The *Wall Street Journal* (21 April) pointed to the fundamental dilemma facing Western imperialism, headlining "Serbs Bet That the West Won't Risk the Thing They Fear: Ground Troops." In Bonn, the Kohl government is pushing hard to overcome "constitutional" objections to sending in the German army as "peacekeepers." But Germany has another problem. Such an action would provoke a violent response from those peoples who suffered as the Nazis laid waste to the South Slavic lands. It would certainly inflame anti-German sentiment in Greece, which has backed the Serbs. More generally, a German army in the Balkans would send shudders throughout Europe—East and West.

Unlike Germany, the U.S. has no intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics are divided between the contending Balkan nationalisms. Originally, Washington sought to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the region while preserving a federated Yugoslav state. When these plans were torpedoed by the Fourth Reich, the U.S. had no coherent Balkan policy. However, the Serbs' defiance of Western imperialist diktats, their open contempt for UN resolutions and NATO threats, is an affront to the American would-be masters of the world. Some in the U.S. ruling class have been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson.

But the U.S. has its own constraints... on the home front. The continuing potency of the "Vietnam syndrome" was revealed and reinforced recently in Somalia. The U.S. troops supposedly sent on a UN "humanitarian" mission to help feed the starving people of this East African country were in fact a colonial expeditionary force which massacred hundreds of black Africans. But when Somali clan warriors managed to turn the tables and kill a few dozen U.S. soldiers, the overwhelming response of the American puhlic was: Pull U.S. forces out, now!

While Clinton waffles on Bosnia from one week to the next, the Pentagon generals have been vocally "dovish" about getting stuck in a Balkan "quagmire." Anxious to avoid *any* American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. This was expressed in a particularly open and cynical way by liberal Democratic Senator Joseph Biden:

> "The Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats are perfectly capable of fighting for themselves. There's no need for a Vietnamization. There's not a need for a single American soldier. Let's supply them with weapons and let them go after the Serbs."
>
> —*New York Times*, 18 April

In other words, U.S. imperialism is willing to fight the Serbs to the last drop of Croat and Muslim blood!

Russia: Soft Cop for the NATO Powers

Enter at this stage Russia, the historic patron of their Serbian "Slavic little brothers." Partly to divert popular discontent at home over the economic devastation resulting from the capitalist counterrevolution, the Yeltsin regime—fully backed by the nationalist opposition led by fascistic demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovsky—saw in the Balkan crisis a golden opportunity to posture as a "great power." Moscow's deputy foreign minister and chief envoy in the Balkans, Vitaly Churkin, proclaimed: "The West should learn a lesson from the current Bosnian crisis. The lesson is that Russia should be treated as an equal partner" (*Economist*, 26 February).

But this is not counterposed to acting in concert with Western powers. We noted in "Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe" (*WV* No. 595, 4 March) that the Russians intervened to help broker a German plan to establish a Greater Croatia overlapping a Greater Serbia. The Croat and Muslim regions in Bosnia would link up with Croatia. Krajina Serbs would dissolve their statelet and accept the sovereignty of the Croatian government. In turn, the Bosnian Serbs, with a diminished territory, would be allowed to link up with Serbia. Moscow's slated role in selling this deal was to solace the Serbs, for example, promising the Krajina Serbs that the Russians would protect them against the fascistic Croatian regime of Franjo Tudjman.

When several hundred Russian soldiers, wearing the blue helmets of UN "peacekeepers," entered the environs of Sarajevo in mid-February, they were welcomed by the besieging Bosnian Serb forces, who saw them as protectors against the threatened NATO air attacks. We quoted in our earlier article a commentary by the *Wall Street Journal* (22 February) complaining that the interplay between Russia and the U.S. over Bosnia "looked more like confrontation" than "cooperation." Indeed, the Clinton White House was initially irked by Moscow's move. But the Russian intervention's purpose was to implement a UN ultimatum to the Serbs to pull back from Sarajevo, and Moscow supported a U.S.

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

militant fighters. *All Master Freight locals must be pulled out now*—Carey's "me too" agreements with companies covering over 40,000 truck drivers and inside workers have split the union and undermined the strike. *Spread the strike*—send out *roving pickets* to the "double breasted" non-union subsidiaries of Yellow, Roadway and CF Freightways. Pull out Teamster brothers and sisters at UPS! *For mass pickets* to stop any scabbing and deal with the cop scabherders like the Minneapolis Teamsters did in 1934! Railroad workers and longshoremen have honored Teamster picket lines everywhere they have gone up. Join with them to *shut down the "intermodal" facilities*—at the docks and piggyback yards. This points the way forward to a *militant organizing drive* to reforge Teamster power.

This is what is urgently needed to win this strike. But neither Carey and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) crew on the GEB nor the "old guard" bureaucrats in the regional conferences and joint councils are prepared to take on the employers and their cops, courts and Democratic and Republican politicians. Among the strikers' ranks, however, there are plenty who recognize the need to spread the strike to win. In many areas, strikers have acted to initiate mobile picket squads to stop the movement of scab freight.

At Yellow Freight in Port Newark, New Jersey, when a van tried to pick up scab freight, it developed a bad case of flat tires (all four). So did the tow truck that was sent for it. As cops mobilized, a large number of pickets from TNT Red Star up the road moved in formation, flanked by a few unionists on motorcycles and a pickup loaded with strikers.

The Teamsters strike is seen by workers everywhere as a long overdue chance to hit back. Strikers have snapped up copies of *Workers Vanguard*, with our call to "Spread the Strike": *over 2,000* copies of the last two issues of *WV* have been sold at picket lines, rallies and union halls. In Los Angeles, heavily Latino independent truckers and ILWU longshoremen are honoring the lines. Teamsters picketing Sea-Land stressed the need to organize non-union truckers across the country. They were outraged at the virtual police occupation of the Long Beach port—and the local IBT bureaucrats' support for it—when the independent truckers went on strike last fall.

In Atlanta, when union pickets were dispatched to the CSX piggyback rail facility to stop freight, their lines were honored for 24 hours by railroad engineers, UPS drivers and crane operators from another IBT local. In Jersey, a 40-year veteran called for shutting down Port Newark and Port Elizabeth: "What we ought to do is take all of these pickets out here and go out in front of the whole port and tie everything up."

Feds' Hands Off the Teamsters!

Teamsters are seeing firsthand the deadly results of government intervention in the union movement. Labor-hating prosecutors like current New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani have used the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) weapon to engineer a virtual takeover of the IBT by the capitalist government. Invited in by the "reformers" like TDU (who were backed to the hilt by a host of phony "socialists"), the feds threw out hundreds of officials and ran the union's convention and elections. Under current court orders, the Teamsters will be controlled by a triumvirate of federal overseers until 1997.

This is the culmination of a decades-long campaign by both capitalist parties, and especially the liberal wing of the Democrats, to shackle the power of the Teamsters union. Virtually alone on the left, *Workers Vanguard* and the Spartacist League have opposed on principle any intervention in the labor movement by the bosses' government. We demand: Feds and finks out of the Teamsters!

On April 19, Carey's bureaucratic opponents in the union rallied 2,000 Teamsters in Washington, D.C., protesting Carey and the TDU's latest maneuver—abolition of the IBT's four U.S. regional conferences. The conferences grew out of the organizing campaigns of over-the-road drivers in the 1930s and 1940s, drives that established the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union. Now they are the power base of the remaining "old guard" bureaucrats. But Teamsters have no interest in seeing Carey and the TDU (or the feds) rip up the existing union structure to strengthen their hold on the Teamsters.

Martel/Boston Herald

North Reading, Massachusetts, April 12: Regional police SWAT team wades into Teamster picket line, manhandling president of Local 25.

The old guard is plenty corrupt, but their biggest crime is that they stood by and let the union be decimated. They scabbed on the recent UPS strike and now sit back and treat this as "Carey's strike." But a defeat here would be a major blow to the Teamsters and all labor.

The federal government's intervention came as the strike began affecting delivery of manufacturing parts, especially in auto, with serious shortages reported in Alaska and Hawaii (both dependent on containers shipped through Sea-Land on the West Coast). After "some phone calls" from the Clinton administration, Carey announced at an April 14 press conference that suddenly the Teamster bureaucrats were willing to "discuss" TMI's demand for part-time workers. Within two days of the White House call, Carey had reportedly agreed to hiring of part-timers, only calling them "casuals" and dickering over the wages.

This was followed by reports that "Teamsters negotiators have agreed to allow trucking companies to move more freight by rail" (*Journal of Commerce*, 22 April). The companies' schemes to increase use of "intermodal" service will wipe out thousands of union jobs. Trucking, rail and longshore unions must demand that the benefits of any new technology accrue to the workers, by fighting for a sliding scale of hours, dividing the work among all workers at no loss in pay.

One of the by-products of the government operation against the Teamsters was the installation in the Marble Palace (International headquarters) of a layer of pro-Democratic Party liberals and social democrats from the United Mine Workers (UMWA) and other unions. They brought with them the anti-strike scheme of the "Corporate Campaign." At the press conference, a Carey aide announced that "We will be taking thousands of our members off the picket line" in order to march outside Wall Street banks! They are begging the capitalist leveraged buyout corporate raiders and union-busters to "make amends" and "negotiate in good faith with Teamsters."

Carey is playing by the bosses' rules—and will kill the strike before he defies his government friends. The government is the executive committee of the capitalist class, and it has declared "illegal" every effective class-struggle weapon, from mass pickets to "hot cargoing" (the secondary boycotts that built the Teamsters union in the over-the-road campaigns of the 1930s).

Even as Carey accepted government "mediation," flight attendants at American Airlines were protesting the treatment they have been getting after agreeing to binding arbitration under the Clinton administration. The union tops had begged Clinton to intervene, and portrayed it as a victory when strikers went back to work under arbitration. But American has taken its revenge on the flight attendants, disciplining scores of workers and giving scabs preferential treatment. It is a bitter lesson in the class nature of the state that Teamsters should learn from.

Key to winning the strike and saving the union is unleashing the Teamsters' tremendous *power*. To build a combative labor movement you need a class-struggle leadership that stands unconditionally for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state, that understands that the working class and oppressed need our own party, a workers party that will fight for a workers government. ■

Balkans...

(continued from page 9)

shootdown of four Serb planes in late February. As we wrote last issue: "The now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs."

Speaking to a conference of his Christian Democratic party, German chancellor Kohl bragged about his close cooperation with the Russian leader: "I want to say very clearly that I am happy that with Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government, a new power is now assuming its responsibility." Russian emissary Vitaly Churkin emphasized that they were working together to line up their respective clients: "Some of us have privileged contacts: the Americans with the Muslims, the Germans with the Croats and we with the Serbs. We are seeking to use them for the common good" (*Libération* [Paris], 23 February). Underlining the possibility of a budding alliance with Germany, Yeltsin has now *invited German troops* into the ex-USSR in an interview with *Der Spiegel* (25 April), calling for the deployment of "the Germany army with UN peacekeeping forces" there to carry out "an important and noble mission."

It did not take long for Serbian nationalists to see through the double game being played by their Slav "big brothers." A UN analysis of the situation in Bosnia in late March reported that the Serbs "see everyone winning except them, view the Russians as siding with the United States and against them, feel diplomatic and military pressure on the increase."

At the same time, the German-brokered deal between the Croats and Muslims, who had been fighting one another, freed up Muslim forces to launch an offensive against the Serbs. When the Muslims refused to halt their offensive against Serbian-held territory in central Bosnia in early April, the Serbs responded with stepped-up attacks on Gorazde, leading up to the latest showdown with the NATO powers.

The Serbs' belligerent response embarrassed Moscow. Churkin exclaimed, "The Bosnian Serbs must understand that by dealing with Russia, they are dealing with a great power and not a banana republic." Yeltsin himself declared: "The Bosnian Serb leadership must fulfill its promises given to Russia, stop the attacks and withdraw from Gorazde...enable the introduction of UN forces in the area and unblock the UN personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Clinton praised Yeltsin's stance as "very helpful." Russian workers must oppose the pan-Slav demagogy of Yeltsin and Zhirinovsky and demand: Russian troops out of the Balkans now!

While defending Serbia against imperialist attack, we maintain a position of revolutionary defeatism toward all three sides in the nationalist civil war wracking the former Yugoslavia. However, decisive military intervention against the Serbs by one or more imperialist powers would change the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Muslim nationalist forces and posing the need for revolutionary defensism toward Serbia. In any case, we call on the workers to join in overthrowing their capitalist rulers—in Milosevic's Serbia no less than Tudjman's Croatia and Izetbegovic's Bosnian statelet—in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Important sections of the American ruling class now look on the Bosnia crisis as a test of their ability to control the post-Cold War world amid the devastation and turmoil wrought by counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc and increasing rivalry with German and Japanese imperialism. This view was clearly expressed in an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April): "The Balkans War is not an isolated aberration but a small-scale model of the large-scale security challenges to come. Taking it as that, the major powers can, if they choose, introduce themselves as well as the Serbs to a new world order."

The "New World Order"—proclaimed by Washington as it was terror-bombing Iraq in the Persian Gulf War—is a formula for intensified U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of working people around the globe. If NATO attacks on the Serbs in Bosnia are effective, it will embolden the U.S. rulers to unleash the Pentagon war machine from South America to southern Africa, from East Europe to East Asia. But heavy bombing against the Serbs could bring in its wake imperialist troops fighting on the ground, sucking NATO forces into an ever-widening Balkan war. U.S./UN/NATO out of the Balkans! ■

Drop All Charges...

(continued from page 12)

and incurred head injuries and a broken arm. Striker Hernandez commented: "I feel the same way toward him as I would if someone broke into my home and broke his leg. A scab is the lowest form of life" (*Whittier Daily*, 19 April).

Now, as the scab rests at home, Jesus Acuna languishes in a jail cell. Acuna's union brothers remain firm in his defense. An April 22 appeal for support for Acuna sent by Carlos Arroyo, a shop steward at ABF, says: "Throughout his career as a trucker Jesse has been an ardent supporter of union causes." But, the appeal bitterly notes, the "Teamster leadership has chosen to turn their back on him." Striking Teamsters in Locals 208, 63 and across the country must demand that their union provide full legal defense and mobilize its power to defend Jesse Acuna!

The bosses are trying to turn the clock back a hundred years, to the days when gun-toting company thugs terrorized unionists and strikes were branded as "criminal conspiracies." Today, with Democrat Clinton in the White House, the labor-hating government is increasingly using RICO "conspiracy" laws to strangle the unions and put militants behind bars. Labor's social power could make short shrift of strikebreaking terror and turn court injunctions into scraps of paper.

But the pro-capitalist union misleaders play by the companies' rules. Asked by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter how he would respond to police paramilitary attacks on picket lines, IBT chief Ron Carey vowed to "obey the law." You can bet that if a union tactic works, they'll pass a law against it. Remember: the only illegal strike is a losing strike! What's needed is a fighting anti-capitalist leadership that has the program and guts to *win*.

A representative of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, attended Acuna's April 19 hearing to express solidarity and support, including a contribution to his defense fund. The PDC wrote to the D.A., demanding Acuna's immediate release and that all charges be dropped. The PDC has also protested to the governors of Illinois and Massachusetts, demanding that all charges be dropped against arrested strikers in those states.

The PDC stands on the old labor movement principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. The April 12 protest letter declared: "Whether defending the profit-bloated, union-busting trucking companies or the race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, the police will stop at nothing to defeat the just struggle of working people and the oppressed."

All Teamsters, all labor, must rally to the defense of their union brothers to demand that all charges be dropped. We urge readers to contribute to the defense of Jesus Acuna set up by his family and fellow unionists by sending donations to: Defense Trust Fund, Jesse M. Acuna, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. ■

Showdown Looms at S.F. Newspapers

It's Time to Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—Eight hundred workers massed in the "first ever" general membership meeting of the Conference of Newspaper Unions here on April 17. The eight unions comprising the CNU have worked without a contract since last November 1. The bosses at the *Examiner* and *Chronicle* escalated their war in March, demanding to bargain with each union separately. This breaks a practice going back to the 1968 S.F. newspaper strike of bargaining jointly with all the unions.

Newspaper workers are clearly ready and willing to fight. A *Workers Vanguard* sales team outside the meeting quickly sold *278* copies of our latest issue with the headline "Teamsters: Spread the Strike!" Like the Teamsters, workers at S.F. dailies face an attempt to reduce full-time workers to part-timers without benefits. Last fall, the San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA), which runs the papers, fired 12 union janitors, many Latino, replacing them with much lower-paid workers. The company is out to eliminate youth paper carriers, and hundreds of Teamster drivers as well. One SFNA official has "hinted that management is prepared to unilaterally impose its proposal, possibly as early as June 1" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 23 March).

There was plenty of hot air coming from the union tops. The labor fakers are trying to *stall a strike* in the vain hopes that some sellout "compromise" can be found via government intervention. The strategy laid out at the April 17 meeting was a "subscription-cancellation drive"—a consumer boycott, *not* a strike.

At the meeting, a militant from the Bay Area Typographical Union No. 21 spoke from the floor and called for striking *now*. He noted that the Teamsters walkout is the most important strike in years. He called for Bay Area labor to be mobilized to shut down the newspapers and defend the Teamsters. Joint roving pickets of striking Teamsters and newspaper workers could quickly deal with any scabs who tried to move newsprint and ink.

The heavily white craft unions must reach out to black, Latino and Asian workers and organize the unorganized. There must be *one industrial union* in the publishing industry, with union recruitment and training of minorities. As we wrote last fall, the workers must elect a strike committee to "hammer out a program to *win a strike*":

> "There's only one way to stop the Hearst & Co. media barons: *Strike together to shut down the* Chronicle/Examiner—*including especially their newer color plants in Richmond and Union City—with mass pickets and plant occupations to stop scab operations, and mobilizing Bay Area labor to beat back strikebreaking company goons, Mayor Frank Jordan's SFPD cops and the bosses' courts*."
>
> —*WV* No. 586, 22 October 1993

Cops mass to protect scabs at Roadway terminal in Adelanto, California.

Alabama...

(continued from page 6)

Klux Klan began attending school board meetings. Parents were herded through metal detectors at a tense April 15 school board hearing where black parents were threatened with arrest by a score of deputies, state troopers and local cops for singing "We Shall Overcome."

"We have a principal acting like he's on a plantation in 1925," said a spokesman for the NAACP in Randolph County. Indeed, Humphries is a certifiable racist pig! His record is so obnoxious that in 1989 the U.S. Education Department, which oversees the decrepit and increasingly "separate and unequal" American education system, issued a report criticizing Humphries for systematic harsher punishment of black students ("paddlings" and suspensions) and pushing students to ride in segregated buses! Prior to the flap over this year's prom, parents lodged complaints about Humphries' attempts to stop their children from interracial dating. Since Humphries' reinstatement, over a hundred black students and some whites are boycotting Humphries' plantation and attending a "Freedom School" instead. Revonda Bowen and the Southern Poverty Law Center have filed lawsuits against Humphries and the school board.

The Wedowee story illustrates the cruelty and irrationality of racism and the legacy of Jim Crow—the formal legal segregation of the races that existed across the South until it was smashed by the mass struggles of the civil rights movement. Racist fear and loathing of interracial sex has always been the base rallying cry for lynch mob terror. In 1923, a white racist mob destroyed the entire black town of Rosewood, Florida on the pretext of an alleged rape of a white woman by a black man. The civil rights movement was sparked by the 1955 death of Emmett Till, a black youth from Chicago who was brutally murdered for the "crime" of "reckless eyeballing" while visiting Mississippi.

Until the 1960s, interracial marriage was illegal across the South! In the rural South today, it's still dangerous for an interracial couple to travel together. Recently in Alabaster, Alabama a white cop chased an interracial student couple off a high-school parking lot because he thought he saw them embracing!

In Alabama in the 1930s, when the Communist Party had considerable success organizing among black workers and sharecroppers, anti-communism among whites was fueled by the idea that the "social equality" promoted by Communists meant "free love" and intermarriage between the races. The fact of the matter is that increased interracial marriage and interracial children would go some distance to puncturing racism in America. This was positively demonstrated in the response of many students and parents to Humphries' attempted ban on "race mixing" at the prom. But to fundamentally shatter the racist status quo in this country will require a thoroughgoing socialist revolution to uproot the system of American capitalism which is built on the bedrock of the forcible segregation and subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for an expansion of human freedom in *all* spheres, including and especially the fight against racist reaction which is a key pillar of the whole rotten capitalist system. We seek to be the youth auxiliary to a multiracial workers party that will lead the integrated working class in struggle to a socialist society. ■

NYPD...

(continued from page 7)

New York's industrial base, the financiers and real estate interests who run this city have less and less interest in providing the children of the poor, minority and working people with basic cultural and educational skills. With no jobs left to be trained for, inner-city students in New York's highly segregated public school system are lucky to get textbooks or even classrooms that don't flood when it rains. Little wonder that every day thousands of New York junior-high and high-school students don't bother to show up at school.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights for *quality, integrated public education* and *jobs for all*, demands which can only be met through the overthrow of this capitalist system whose decay is symbolized by what's happening to the schools. As for Giuliani's racist roundups, we say: "Racist cops, hands off youth!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Government "Mediation"—Strikebreaking in Disguise

Teamsters: All Out to Win! Spread the Strike!

APRIL 26—As the Teamsters' national freight walkout is increasingly hurting the bosses, the strike is coming under sharp attacks by the cops and courts, and now by the Clinton administration. The government is moving in because the strike is "beginning to seriously squeeze some businesses," according to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 April). Now is the time to squeeze harder!

In Washington that same day, Labor Secretary Robert Reich complained that the strike is affecting "thousands of shippers and the normal flow of goods by truck and by sea." Reich demanded that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) enter federal "mediation." The employers' association, Trucking Management Inc. (TMI), hopes to use government intervention to get from the Carey leadership what it has been unable to wrest from the workers on the picket line—concessions that will wipe out tens of thousands of Teamster jobs.

Union president Ron Carey, installed two years ago in a government-run election, quickly caved to the feds, entering into mediation yesterday. Late last week, he was reported to be giving in to one after another giveback demand, most importantly the massive use of part-timers. Now the Carey bureaucracy is pointing the strike down the dead end of "Corporate Campaign," with appeals for Wall Street bankers and company directors to come to the aid of the Teamsters!

Right now the main danger to the strike is not on the picket lines where Teamsters are hanging tough in the face of vicious cop attacks, but from the union leadership that is bowing down before the sacred cow of government intervention. For strikers who have been beaten and gassed and arrested, this strike has been a school of hard knocks. They have learned that the cops, the courts and the government are not "neutral" but act to defend the interests of the trucking bosses. In 1978, when Democratic President Carter slapped a Taft-Hartley injunction on the mine workers, they told the government to go to hell and defied UMWA president Arnold Miller, another government-installed flunkey.

To lead the freight strike to victory, Teamsters must *elect strike committees* composed of the most trusted and

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WV Photo

Southern California Teamsters marched on April 15 protesting earlier cop attack on pickets.

Elect Strike Committees! For Roving Pickets!

Defy Government Strikebreaking!

Drop All Charges Against Teamster Strikers!

Across the country, Teamster picket lines have been hit with strikebreaking injunctions, cop attacks and scab provocations. So far, dozens of strikers have been arrested, several facing trumped-up felony raps, one of them an attempted murder charge, aimed at putting them behind bars for decades. They're being victimized for defending the union—and they must not stand alone. It's high time to bring in the power of the Teamsters and the rest of the labor movement to beat back these attacks and win this key battle!

Police attacks on Teamster picket lines revved up when the bosses tried to start moving scab freight. On April 7, some 50 cops set upon Local 63 strikers at Consolidated Freight's Mira Loma sorting center in Riverside County, California. We reported in our last issue how women pickets were beaten with riot clubs while picketers were temporarily blinded with pepper spray. The courts then handed down an injunction limiting pickets to ten per gate. Among the seven unionists arrested was iron worker Philip Ambrose, who faces felony charges, accused of throwing a rock at the windshield of a scab truck. Ambrose had come down to the Teamsters picket line to join his wife Sandy, a billing clerk at CF.

In a couple of cases, the police have sent in regional SWAT teams: on April 11 in North Reading, Massachusetts after scab trucks were stopped from going into the Roadway Express terminal (seven strikers were hauled off and a union man's video equipment smashed to destroy evidence of the cops' dirty work); and that same day in Sauk Village, Illinois near Chicago when nearly 75 cops from nearby towns and state police with canine units attacked a picket line (six strikers were beaten and arrested). At Sauk Village, some of the cops were Teamsters. The police are the guard dogs of the bosses. We say: cops out of the unions!

Also on April 11, Roadway driver Keith Clark in Sacramento, California suffered leg injuries after nearly being crushed under the wheels of a truck as a scab tried to ram through the picket line. Nothing was done to the company or the scab for this murderous assault, yet a judge slapped an injunction on the union limiting pickets to six at each gate, only three of whom can march at one time. Three days later, police maced pickets in Canton, Massachusetts and then slammed four strikers with charges of violating the scabs' "civil rights"!

Free Jesse Acuna!

The most outrageous case of government repression against the union was at ABF Trucking in Pico-Rivera in Southern California where a scab driver tried to run down pickets and *a striker was charged with attempted murder.* Jesus (Jesse) Acuna, 37, a single father of three and a Teamster member for 19 years, faces possible life imprisonment as he awaits trial in L.A. County Jail on $500,000 bail.

At least one picket at ABF had already been hit by a scab truck before this incident. Then, on April 15, scab Glen Yeatts made an illegal turn to gun his semi at the picket line, giving them the finger and mouthing "f—k you." Striker Mike Hernandez described how pickets leaped out of the way: "You're pulling a set of doubles, you're talking 100,000 pounds of steel. He drove right at us, so, naturally, tempers were hot."

Minutes later, one of Yeatts' trailers became unhitched as he waited at a stop light. He got out to check on the truck,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 600 13 May 1994

South Africa
Black Freedom Requires Socialist Revolution

Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule

Reuters photos

On eve of South African elections, ANC leader Nelson Mandela visited Johannesburg Stock Exchange to promise bourgeoisie unimpeded capitalist exploitation of black working masses.

MAY 10—Today Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), was sworn in as president of South Africa. It is only four years since he was released from prison after being locked up for 27 years by the racist regime. Yesterday, Mandela walked arm-in-arm into the newly elected multiracial parliament with his former jailer, apartheid ruler F.W. De Klerk. The inaugural ceremonies drew an international crowd of celebrities and dignitaries, including Hillary Clinton, Al and Tipper Gore, three planeloads of American cabinet secretaries, Congressmen and Senators. There were 46 present and former presidents, prime ministers and other heads of state and government, at least nine kings, princes and sheiks and UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali. This "New World Order" gala was to celebrate a supposed "negotiated revolution." But in the desperately poor black shantytowns from Cape Town to Johannesburg, revolution is yet to come.

The first nationwide multiracial elections in South African history will open up a period of unprecedented political and social turbulence in that country. The heroic struggles of the black masses over the past two decades have forced the white ruling class to abandon the rigid system of racial oppression known as apartheid, in which there was a garrison "democracy" for the privileged white minority and totalitarian police-state repression of the vast non-white majority. Over the past decade and a half, the blows of revolt chipped away at the apartheid edifice, legalizing black unions, eliminating the segregation laws of "petty apartheid" (against interracial marriage, imposing separate beaches and public accommodations) and "grand apartheid" (the infamous pass laws, Group Areas Act and bantustan "homelands"). But the owners of South Africa's mines, factories and farms have by no means abandoned their superexploitation of the black toilers.

Rather they are seeking to perpetuate that exploitation by utilizing as their agent the very organization claiming leadership of the black liberation movement, Mandela's ANC. As if to underline this fact, the *Financial Times* (9 May) highlighted the triumphalism of the gold and diamond mine owners: "Anglo American and De Beers Have Much to Celebrate—African Empire Open to the World." This voice of the City of London bankers commented that the mining magnates are actually coming out ahead after the "difficult years" of international sanctions. And due to the counterrevolution that swept East Europe and the Soviet Union, "this means that Anglo is no longer such a natural target for an ANC-controlled government either to break-up...or nationalise." The Randlords and their imperialist backers believe that they have preserved the bedrock of apartheid capitalism by donning "democratic" trappings.

The outcome of the election was in fact determined well before it took place. There would be a coalition "government of national unity" between the ANC and F.W. De Klerk's Afrikaner-based National Party, the architect and upholder of the apartheid system. For the next five years, minority parties are guaranteed seats in the cabinet and effective veto power over key legislation. Now this has been amplified by a deal to include Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha party, giving him control of Natal province. Black workers are to be held in check by a constitutional clause permitting strikes only over job issues—i.e., a ban on political strikes such as the mass stayaway general strikes that rocked South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle. However, just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid "power sharing" deal between the Randlords and their new black front men.

The whites, who make up 13 percent of South Africa's population, own 90 percent of the land and other productive wealth and on average have an income ten times greater than the black African majority. Given this vast and stark racial inequality, a capitalist "democracy" such as exists in North America and West Europe cannot be established in South Africa. The privileges and dominance of the white ruling class are entrenched in a series of "sunset clauses" in the new constitution which cannot be changed

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Anti-Semitic Bigot and Preacher of Black Capitalism

Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People

See pages 8–12

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

NYC Forum Demands Freedom for Geronimo

Support continues to grow for former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in his fight for freedom. Framed under the FBI's racist COINTELPRO vendetta against the Black Panther Party, Geronimo has spent over 23 years in jail for a crime he did not commit.

On April 21, some 100 leftists, students, trade unionists and former Black Panthers turned out to a Partisan Defense Committee forum, "Free Geronimo ji Jaga" at the Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York City. Joining speakers from the PDC and Spartacist League were Breeze Barrow of the Black Panther Newspaper Committee and Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808. Two days later, on April 23, the PDC participated in and spoke at a demonstration of 300 people at Lamert Park in Los Angeles, initiated by the International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt).

The New York forum opened with the three-part FOX-TV news series detailing the frame-up of Geronimo, including new evidence uncovered by investigator James McCloskey, a lay minister with Centurion Ministries. The audience was told of Geronimo's recent courtroom victory in his battle against ongoing prison harassment. At an April 14 hearing on Geronimo's ongoing lawsuit, filed by PDC counsel Valerie West, federal judge Stanley Weigel stated that there was "evidence of retaliation" by California Department of Correction officials in Geronimo's January transfer to Mule Creek state prison, just days after the FOX series was aired. At Mule Creek, prison officials denied Geronimo his own cell, which he requires due to medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war trauma. Judge Weigel gave the state two weeks to "accommodate" Geronimo, saying, "I don't see why you can't find the prisoner a single cell."

WV Photo

NYC, April 21: PDC forum to defend imprisoned former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt).

Former Black Panther Breeze Barrow told of Geronimo's ongoing commitment to struggle: "He doesn't just think of himself, like 'freeing me.' He raises the question of the whole nature of political prisoners and POWs and puts it on a broader and wider level. He has been dedicated and committed. They've asked him to basically sell out. They've asked him to denounce the movement, and he's not done that." Teamsters official Chris Silvera noted, "The struggle that you witness with Geronimo Pratt and COINTELPRO in the '60s and the '70s continues today, and they call it the RICO Act. Now they're using that to invade the unions and demolish the workers' right to determine their future and demolish our ability to struggle against the state."

Helene Brosius of the SL Central Committee told how "There is no justice for black people in this system. Racism grew and flourished right alongside of capitalism in this country, right along with it from the time of slavery. It's part and parcel of this system, and it's not going to be eradicated until this system is swept away." Brosius also drew some

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Nationalism: Obstacle to Struggle for Black Liberation

The desperate conditions facing black people in the United States have led to a revival of nationalist rhetoric, purveyed particularly by Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. But black nationalism offers no strategy for fighting the racial oppression entrenched in American capitalism. Rather, feeding off defeatism and despair in the absence of social struggle, it is an obstacle to militant struggle for black freedom. The road to black liberation is that of revolutionary integrationism, *for a workers revolution led by a multiracial vanguard party, in which black workers will play a key role. This perspective was advanced by Richard Fraser in the early 1950s fighting within the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Fraser traced the roots of black oppression under capitalism to the defeat of Reconstruction after the Civil War, arguing that the plantation system survived the demise of slavery. What survived were the social relations, by and large in the form of sharecropping rather than gang labor. Fraser was opposing the separatist call for black "self-determination" which later provided a "theoretical" justification for the SWP's opportunist tailing of both Martin Luther King-style liberalism and black nationalism as it abandoned Trotskyism.*

The Negro question appeared upon the scene as a class question: The Negroes were slaves. But alongside of this grew the race question: All slaves were Negroes and the slave was designated as inferior and subhuman. This was the origin of the Negro question.

The abolition of slavery destroyed the property relations of the chattel slave system. But the plantation system survived, fitting the social relations of slavery to capitalist property relations.

Because of these unsolved problems left over from the second American revolution, the Negroes still struggle against the social relations which were in effect a hundred and fifty and more years ago....

Only once during the past 130 years have the Negro masses intimated in any way that they might take the road of separatism. This was the result of a social catastrophe: the defeat of the Negroes in the Reconstruction. This defeat pushed them back into such a terrible isolation and demoralization, that there was no channel for the movement to express its traditional demand for equality. The result was the Garvey movement. This occurred, and could have occurred, only in the deepest isolation and confusion of the Negro masses....

To propose to the mass of workers and Negroes the idea of self-determination would be wrong. For the decisive fact in the acceptance of white supremacy is the acceptance of segregation. *The slogan of self-determination requires the desire for segregation as its foundation.* Upon this foundation national consciousness is built.

In this manner the idea of self-determination cuts across the path of our strategic problem because it encourages the acceptance of segregation; and this is the case whether it is advanced as a slogan or merely held in abeyance in our theoretical analysis....

The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a *whole people* regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class.

—R.S. Fraser, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (January 1955), reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5, "What Strategy for Black Liberation?"

The Massacre of MOVE

This May marks the ninth year since the Mother's Day siege of Osage Avenue in Philadelphia. On 13 May 1985, eleven black people lost their lives and hundreds more were burned out of their homes in the police bombing of the MOVE commune. We noted then that this massacre, ordered by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and carried out by the Philly cops with FBI-supplied explosives, represented "the signature of the Reagan regime." We vowed to sear the memory of this heinous act into the consciousness of the American workers movement.

As we commemorate the MOVE martyrs who perished at the hands of the racist capitalist state that day, it is appropriate to also bitterly recall the government's fiery holocaust which claimed the lives of 86 members of the small, integrated Branch Davidian religious group just over a year ago in Texas. Like the MOVE massacre, the Waco inferno was orchestrated at the highest levels of government by President Clinton and Attorney General Reno, as payback after several federal agents died in the initial raid on the Davidians' compound. And the government's vindictive prosecution and imprisonment of the surviving Davidians echoed the savage treatment meted out to the MOVE members.

Not one of the government officials guilty of ordering and carrying out the calculated mass murder in Philadelphia was ever penalized, much less jailed. Yet Ramona Africa was imprisoned for seven years for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of the massacre; she was finally released in 1992, having served every last day of the maximum sentence.

Nine MOVE members are still behind bars, guilty of nothing but a courageous refusal to renounce their beliefs or their organization. We demand freedom for all the MOVE prisoners! We will not forget the MOVE massacre—the victorious American workers revolution must avenge the MOVE martyrs.

13 May 1985

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No. 600 **13 May 1994**

Defend the Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six!

VANCOUVER—Six anti-fascists face trial here on May 31 on trumped-up assault charges after defending themselves and others against fascist provocateurs. The six—five of whom are trade unionists—were part of a 60-strong emergency protest organized by the Trotskyist League and the Partisan Defense Committee on May 6 last year against a meeting of the white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights" and its founder, longtime fascist Ron Gostick. For well over an hour, the protesters—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, socialists, gays, youth—closed down the meeting, chanting "No Nazis in Vancouver! Fascists off the streets!" Widespread local TV coverage showed demonstrators repeatedly fending off attacks by the would-be Hitlers. Gostick's "host," infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out of the hall armed with an iron bar. The day after, protesters were greeted as heroes at work, on the streets and in coffee shops.

Three months later, six of them were arrested at Cyllorn's behest. One was dragged out of bed at 5 a.m. by the cops and locked up for eight hours. Another was held overnight. The demonstration had been secretly videotaped by the undercover police Integrated Intelligence Unit. The police report states that "charges are warranted in this matter to assist in sending a message...[to] 'pressure groups', or radical activists." The state's "message" to labor and any opponents of fascist terror is dead clear: free rein for the fascists, state persecution for those who would oppose them.

Keep the Nazis On the Run!

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) government in British Columbia wants to squelch any social protest in this province. Vancouver teachers strikes have been broken; meanwhile, the cops brutally beat Asians, Native people, gays and foreign students. This has only emboldened the fascists, who are out to get all those who do not fit their idea of the "pure race." Vancouver has been the scene of stepped-up racist and fascist violence: a Jewish synagogue and cemetery defaced with swastikas, gay men brutally beaten, South Asian and Chinese families firebombed.

The fascists must—and *can*—be crushed in the egg now, while they remain small in numbers. In January 1993, some 3,000 anti-racists prevented the Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net" from holding a rally at the Vancouver Art Gallery. While the official organizers of the protest were intent on an impotent liberal gabfest, the PDC and the TL mobilized disciplined union contingents in response to our widely distributed call, "All Out to *Stop* the Fascists!" That night some 500 anti-racist protesters marched on the fascists' "secret meeting" in a downtown hotel and sent the Nazis scurrying over the walls, scrambling over fences and into the darkness like cockroaches when the lights are turned on. Outrageously, arrested anti-fascist protester Gord Hill has since been convicted while another, Jody Bailey, continues to face prosecution. We demand that the charges be dropped now!

Across Canada support has rolled in to demand "Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!" Union locals, including the Vancouver and Toronto locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and Local 100 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT), have backed the demand. So have dozens of union presidents, executive board members, stewards and other officials. Union locals and individual members have contributed hard-earned dollars to the defense campaign, as have civil rights activists and anti-racist militants.

Vancouver is a union town, an Asian and gay town, not a Nazi town. Now the people who stood up openly against the fascists are being persecuted. Defend them! **Be there, 9 a.m., May 31 at the courthouse, 222 Main Street in Vancouver! Organize your union local, community or student group—bring your banners! Fill the courtroom throughout the trial!**

Join those who have sent protests demanding "Drop the Charges!" to: Attorney General Colin Gabelmann, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, BC, V8V 1X4; fax (604) 387-6411. Send financial contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmark them "Anti-Fascist Defense." Contact the Partisan Defense Committee for leaflets, posters and information at: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6; telephone (604) 687-0353. You can also write to Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON, M5T 2W1, or call (416) 593-4138. ■

Protected by Army of Police

Fascist Klan Group Stages Provocation in South Boston

BOSTON, MAY 7—Under the protection of an army of riot cops, SWAT teams and federal marshals, fascist Nationalist Movement führer Richard Barrett got away with his recruitment rally for racist terror and bigotry in South Boston today and ominously succeeded in recruiting about a score of white racist youth to join him at the steps of South Boston High School. Some hundreds of onlookers from the neighborhood initially jeered Barrett but, ominously, many were snickered in by and ended the day cheering his message of "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country: Go, Southie Go."

The Mississippi-based fascist Nationalist Movement hoped to cash in—*and did*—on South Boston's history of violent racist riots against school busing and the recent storm of anti-gay bigotry which resulted in the cancelation of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade. Yet in the past, the predominantly Irish Catholic residents of South Boston ran out the KKK and Nazi scum when these fascists poked their heads out of the sewers. The fascists are nativist cross-burning anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant terrorists who vow to drive "non-American elements" out of the U.S. It is a bad sign that the racist bigotry fueled by the economic desperation of this white ethnic enclave is such that the fascists now openly recruit in "Southie" among their intended victims.

As an impotent sideshow to Barrett's provocation, about 300 leftists in the "Emergency Mobilization Against Racism" put themselves under the control of the cops and marched in a police pen. They were surrounded by phalanxes of riot-equipped cops and rallied a block away from the fascists inside this wall of police. The Workers World Party, International Socialist Organization (ISO), and National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC) placed their supporters and other anti-fascists inside what looked like a cop sandwich.

Independence from and opposition to the racist capitalist state is the *dividing line* between reformists and revolutionaries and these miserable excuses for "socialists" certainly made clear which side they are on. While effectively relying on police protection, they chanted from within their police pen, "Cops and the Klan go hand in hand!" while the cops fended off reactionary neighborhood residents who sought to run the anti-fascists out of "Southie." While many anti-fascist demonstrators surely wanted to make a statement of strong protest against the Klan, this was a dangerous show of *weakness* in the face of the fascists—and the police. Police superintendent William Clairborne crowed: "we got the counterdemonstrators here after the [Nazi] parade was over. What more could you ask for? We couldn't have planned it better" (*Boston Globe*, 8 May).

WV Photo

Boston, May 7: Anti-racist protesters penned in by massive cop mobilization, as capitalist state protects fascist Nationalist Movement rally.

The Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote in a March 1934 letter to his French comrades on the struggle against fascism:

> "In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists, it wants to 'arbitrate.' Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

To give the fascists "a good beating" requires mobilizing the social power of the integrated working class as an independent political force. But the fake left's opportunist reliance on the capitalist state is directly proportional to their petty-bourgeois despair and contempt for the revolutionary capacity of the working class. We openly declared well beforehand that "Our aim is to *stop* Barrett and his fascist cohorts, not to lead anti-fascist protesters into a trap set by the enemy. If the Klan/Nazis dare to show their faces where labor and minorities can mobilize, then what is necessary and what we seek is a disciplined, militant and democratic demonstration that *overwhelms the fascists*" (see "Fascists Threaten Provocation in Boston," WV No. 598, 15 April).

As Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Morey Seals explained at a May 6 rally at Harvard University:

> "We are not a part of this 'Emergency Coalition' and I'll tell you why. We believe the leaders of the coalition have shown a misplaced faith in the capitalist police, the same police that recently scared black minister Reverend Williams to death in Dorchester. The flip side to this is the light-minded approach they have to the serious business of bringing anti-racist demonstrators to South Boston, a neighborhood made infamous during the '70s busing crisis. If there is a clear opportunity to effectively mobilize against the fascists on Saturday, then what is necessary is the broadest and most massive show of defiance possible. But both groups [ISO and Workers World Party] share a deep pessimism about the possibility of getting the working class in gear to chase the fascists out.
>
> "We in the Spartacus Youth Club are proud of our record of mobilizing against the fascists, not just in this country, but around the world. If we are going to put an end to the scourge of fascism around the globe, we need a socialist revolution to put an end to the system that nurtures it. If you want to live in a world free of Nazi filth like the Nationalist Movement, join the Spartacus Youth Club in our fight for a socialist future. Only when working people rule this land will we be rid of the white hood, the swastika, and all forms of racist and sexist oppression once and for all!" ■

Media Slobbers Over Nixon

Eulogies for a War Criminal

Freeman/Magnum

AP

Watergate scandal forced Nixon out of the White House in 1974, but bourgeois rulers honor him for his heinous crimes against Vietnamese masses, including napalm-bombing of schoolchildren.

"Predatory Shyster Finally Croaks" was *not* the *New York Times*' front page when Richard Milhous Nixnn finally croaked April 22 at the age of 81. Instead, as thousands shuffled through Yorba Linda, birthplace and now grave of the unindicted co-conspirator, the media went on a creepy hinge of adulation for the mad homber and mass murderer of tens upon tens of thousands of Vietnamese and Camhodians. Slavish praise, a "Hero's Farewell," an honor guard composed of every living ex-president and fulsome eulogies by all, from Nixon's Dr. Strangelove, fellow Vietnam war criminal Henry Kissinger, to erstwhile antiwar liberal and current White House occupant Bill Clinton. The spectacle left millions muttering darkly at their TV sets, "But he was a crook."

Nixon's last act—so typical, and the only flash of interest in the whole sordid funerary ceremony—was a pledge from beyond the grave to continue the endless battle to keep the puhlic from thousands of hours of "White House tapes" which have been locked up in million-dollar court suits for decades. So much for the latest, and we presume final, attempted incarnation of the "new (dead) Nixon."

In a nation of crooked politicians, he stood head and shoulders ahove the rest. Going after Nixon for covering up petty hurglary was like convicting crime king-pin Al Capone on tax evasion. Watergate, the plumbers, the "enemies list" and all the "Deep Throat" revelations were small change from our point of view—"Tricky Dick" Nixon merely managed to get caught suhverting the bourgeoi-sie's club rules in a more flagrant way than usual. What Reagan and Bush did around Contragate was ten times worse from the standpoint of constitutional legality, and they got away with it.

Nixon's great crime, Vietnam, was also his great service to this ruling class, which is why he is now embraced by one-time draft dodger Clinton. Nixon promised "a secret plan" to get the U.S nut of Vietnam in his 1968 presidential race. Over the next four years, he invaded Laos and Cambodia, mined Haiphong harbor and launched massive hombing raids against the civilian population of North Vietnam, including the Christmas 1972 hombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. The 1970 invasion of Camhodia led to an explosion of campus protest, during which the National Guard fired murderously on students at Kent State, Ohio. Less often mentioned is the police killing of two student protesters at Jackson State, Mississippi—they were hlack. With the country ready to explode, Nixon and Kissinger managed to extricate U.S. ground troops and thus squelch the liheral "peace movement."

"Do you most heartily forgive Richard Nixon and all his crimes?" has become the new loyalty test in the hourgeoisie's inner circles. The uniformly maudlin media hosannas to Nixon has led columnist Russell Baker to speak of a "group conspiracy to grant him absolution" (*New York Times*, 26 April). Amid the predictable praise from Repuhlicans, "neocons" and Nixon clnnes were the liberal hearts bursting with snrrow over the anti-Communist creep's death. Not surprising. All the Vietnam-era "doves" wanted was to "bring our boys home"—to cut America's losses in its dirty, *losing* imperialist war—and Nixon delivered.

Even the occasional critical reference to Nixon's Vietnam record is framed in terms of "our side." Noting that 58,000 Americans were not the only ones to die in Vietnam, liberal Neil Sheehan tells us that "Nearly 160,000 of Saigon's troops were killed fighting Richard Nixon's war" (*New York Times*, 28 April). And what of the *million-plus* other Vietnamese—men, women and children—who were slaughtered in Nixnn *and Kennedy and Johnson's* war? To imperialist doves and hawks alike, they were "the enemy," the "Cong." *Our* side was the Vietnamese fighters against imperialism. We said: "Military Victory to the NLF/DRV! All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

An anonymous caller to CNN came closer to the truth: "Richard Nixon was responsihle for the deaths of every man, woman and child in Vietnam from January 1969 until he resigned in disgrace. He also killed four of my brothers and sisters at Kent State, and he did all of this in the name of law and order while he and his henchmen were breaking every law in the land." But the ruling class routinely breaks its own "laws" when its class interests dictate. As we noted in "Impeachment Is Not Enough!" (*WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973), from the saturation bombing of Indochina to the imposition of wage controls on U.S. workers, "All this the ruling class would gladly forgive Nixon, for they are deemed necessary crimes committed in the 'holy' cause of maintaining capitalist rule."

When they finally decided to dump Nixon, it was because he had thoroughly discredited the U.S. government in the eyes of just about everyone. Watergate made even middle America mistrustful of high school civics verities, and the "Vietnam syndrome" generated by America's hattlefield defeat continues to haunt U.S. imperialism as it seeks to project its military power in the New World Disorder. Burying that past is what is behind the near-unanimous clamor for "reconciliation" over the First Crook's corpse: Praise Nixon and pass the ammunition.

Well before his death, Nixon had been granted the nehulous status of "elder statesman," adviser emeritus to the Clinton White House on post-Soviet Russia. The Nixon/Kissinger strategy of "détente" plus arms race had, after all, proved to he the way to destroy the Soviet Union and push China onto the road of capitalist restoration. This is hailed as his great achievement, made possihle hy the old Stalinist hureaucracies' betrayals, as they drank champagne with Nixon while their Vietnamese comrades were being bombed.

On Nixon's "China breakthrough," Gore Vidal pointed out in the *Nation* (16 May): "Other Presidents could have done what he did, but none dared because of—Nixon. As pictures of Johnson and Mao come on the screen, one hears that solemn baritone: 'I am not saying that President Johnson is a *card*-carrying Communist. No. I am not even saying that his presence on that wall means that he *is* a Communist. No. But I question...' As Nixon had been

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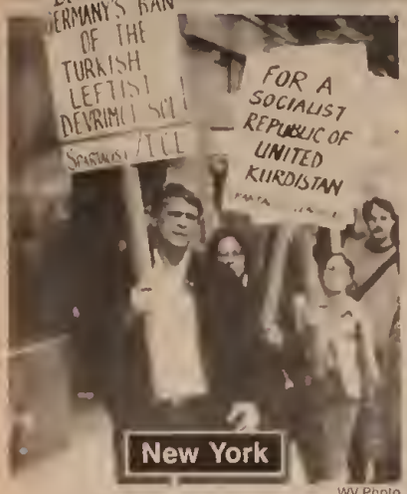
Liberals wanted Nixon out because Watergate affair undermined "credibility" of imperial presidency; Trotskyists called for workers struggle against both capitalist parties of bloody Vietnam War criminals.

International Campaign Protests Repression of Kurds



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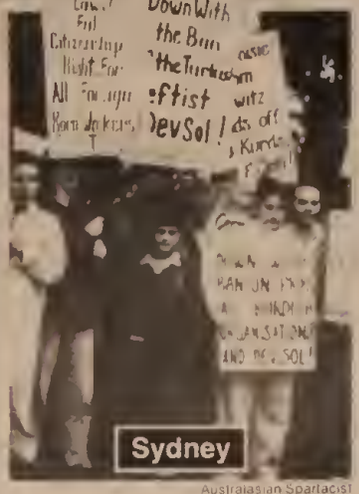
Workers Hammer



Australasian Spartacist

April 14: International campaign of demonstrations protested German government repression and expulsion of Kurds.

Joining in a coordinated series of actions around the world, on April 14 demonstrators picketed the German consulate in New York with chants of "Racist Fourth Reich—hands off the Kurds!" The protest was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to demand an end to the German government's ban of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and 35 other Kurdish organizations, as well as the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol, and to raise the alarm against the threat of mass expulsions of Kurds to near-certain torture and death in Turkey.

In the last year, some 4,000 have been killed in Turkey's genocidal war on the Kurdish national minority of 15 million. To back up its NATO ally, Ankara's imperialist patrons in Bonn outlawed a wide range of Kurdish political, cultural and social organizations last November, subjecting the 500,000 Kurdish immigrants in Germany to a virtual state of siege (see "Protest Germany's Anti-Kurdish Repression!" *WV* No. 598, 15 April). In March, cops in Berlin surrounded the Technical University to prevent a celebration of the Kurdish New Year, beating and arresting people. Several hundred Kurds were arrested for blocking Autobahns.

Meanwhile, five Turkish and Kurdish members of the group Antifascist Gençlik languish in a German prison, grotesquely accused of having killed a Nazi terrorist. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the KfsV defense organization have played a prominent role in protesting every assault by German imperialism on the rights of Kurds, Turks and other immigrants, demanding freedom for the Gençlik militants and calling for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazi thugs.

The urgency of this international protest campaign was underlined by the threat that Kurds arrested in protests face imminent deportation, as demanded by Christian Democratic chancellor Kohl and ordered by Bavaria. While the federal justice minister, Free Democrat Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, expressed reservations about this (she wants speeded-up trials), now the Social Democratic (SPD) candidate for chancellor, Rudolph Sharping, has come out for "deportation of violent Kurds" if Turkey promises not to mistreat them (*Suddeutsche Zeitung*, 9/10 April)! Challenged by a Spartacist League spokesman at an April 14 press conference in New York, Sharping defended Germany's racist attacks against the Kurds.

The crackdown is an election campaign issue in Germany. Kohl wants to send Bundeswehr soldiers to Bosnia and deport immigrant "troublemakers" to Turkey. Aspiring to be co-rulers of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, the SPD wants to show it isn't "soft on Kurds": at least one of the arrested Kurds was reportedly deported by the SPD state government of Baden-Wurtemberg, while more than 30 Kurds have been "forcibly repatriated" by the SPD-led government of Lower Saxony to Turkey where they face what one German foreign ministry official genteelly referred to as "intensified interrogation methods"...not to mention death squads (*Der Spiegel*, 11 April).

The New York protest was one of five that day initiated by fraternal social and legal defense organizations affiliated to sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) outside German embassies and consulates. The Toronto protest brought out a contingent of PKK supporters, as did one in Sydney, Australia, which was also attended by supporters of the Australian Kurdish Association and the Iranian Komala. In London, the demonstration was joined by a number of British leftist groups and a sizable contingent from Devrimci Sol. Turkish leftists from the CIK and ACTIT organizations also took part in the Paris protest. The demonstrations denounced the anti-working-class Turkish regime of prime minister Tansu Ciller, which has mounted a murderous offensive with 300,000 troops for a "final solution" against the Kurds.

This unity in action against the common class enemy represented a significant departure from the sectarianism and nationalism which permeates the Turkish and Kurdish left, including support by the PKK for attacks against Turkish restaurants and cultural centers. As a demonstration spokesman remarked in New York, such indiscriminate terrorism is not only criminal but suicidal:

> "In order to achieve the national liberation of Kurdistan, it will require the overthrow of four capitalist governments in the Middle East. This can only be achieved through the closest revolutionary unity of all the workers throughout the region."

Signs raised the call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" while protesters chanted, "1, 2, 3, 4—Down with Turkey's terror war! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Emphasizing the internationalism of these actions, signs demanded "U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" Protesters in New York chanted, "Haiti embargo—we say no! Racist Clinton's got to go!" In Paris, the Mitterrand/Balladur government was denounced for its attacks on Kurds and police terror against youth of North African origin. Demonstrators in other cities carried signs attacking the racist anti-immigrant policies of their "own" bourgeoisies. Demonstrators concluded by singing the revolutionary workers anthem, the *Internationale*, in several languages. ■

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assigned the part of *the* Nixon, there was no other Nixon to keep him from those two nice excursions, ostensibly in search of peace."

For all the "new Nixons" we've been sold in his checkered career, in fact there was only "*the* Nixon." And what might he have achieved, his Dr. Strangelove recently speculated, "had somebody loved him?" Such a defense is usually reserved for serial killers like Joel Rifkin or Jeffrey Dahmer—though of course that's not exactly inappropriate here.

There are good reasons nobody ever loved "Tricky Dick." Nixon made his debut as a venal, vicious witchhunter in the 1946 California Congressional race against Jerry Voorhis, a typical New Deal Democrat. The Nixon campaign flooded Protestant and Catholic areas with a smear leaflet titled "A Local Jewish Political Plot Exposed," portraying Voorhis as a spokesman for "subversive Jews out to destroy Christian America." Nixon achieved notoriety by tearing down Alger Hiss in the 1948 anti-Communist witchhunts in Congress.

Nixon hit his stride in his vicious 1950 red-baiting Senatorial victory over California liberal Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas, calling her the "pink lady, right down to her underwear," while appealing to "the boys": "You wouldn't wanna vote for a *woman*, would ya?" By the end of the campaign, thousands of white households had received postcards from a supposed "Communist League of Negro Women," hearing the message "Vote for Helen for Senator. We are with her 100 percent." This was the archetype of decades of GOP "dirty tricks" to come. By comparison, George Bush's racist "Willie Horton" ploy—posing the 1988 election as a vote against a "black rapist"—was almost subtle.

Of course, you have to be a monster of some sort to make it as chief executive of U.S. imperialism. Cold War Democrats John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were just as war-mad over Vietnam, not to mention JFK's arrogant Bay of Pigs fiasco. The ruling class honors its own, be they megalomaniacal mass murderers or self-aggrandizing shysters. It will take a victorious workers revolution to finally mete out justice to *all* the imperialist war criminals. ■

UPI

Wide World

"Tricky Dick" with other witchhunters from McCarthyite House Un-American Activities Committee, made his mark as vicious anti-communist redbaiter, exemplified by 1950 smear campaign against California liberal Helen Gahagan Douglas.

Bitter Fruit of Government Intervention

Teamster Contract Stinks

Vote It Down!

MAY 9—Quickly bowing to "mediation" by the Clinton administration, International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Ron Carey "suspended" the national freight strike and ordered picket lines taken down at midnight on April 29. As word reached the lines, strikers were furious with both wings of the IBT bureaucracy—Carey and his government-linked "reformers" who killed the strike, and the venal "old guard" who wanted it to go down to defeat in order to discredit Carey. They even rushed strikers back on April 30 in order to deny them another week's $200 strike pay! Carey is using a mail ballot to try and keep Teamsters dispersed and isolated as they vote this month. This is a union-imposed "cooling off" period. We say: Vote it down!

The three-week strike by 70,000 Teamsters drivers and dock workers was a key battle for labor. Here was a chance to reverse the devastation of the unions after almost two decades of a concerted assault by the capitalists and their government! The Teamsters have taken a beating in recent years, but it's still a powerful union with the capacity to tie the economy in knots. Although the bosses' media pulled a curtain of silence over the strike, class-conscious workers saw this was a chance to avenge countless defeats. But they were frustrated once again by the labor bureaucracy acting as *company cops*.

In many instances during the strike, Teamster strikers set up picket lines at rail yards, at longshore docks and non-union outfits running scab freight. They were greeted by other unionists—who honored their lines in piggyback yards in Atlanta and longshore docks from L.A. to Tacoma. This showed the potential to transform this defensive strike into an offensive battle, to launch an organizing drive to recapture the over-the-road freight industry for the union. We said from the beginning that for this strike to win it had to spread, extending to UPS and the non-union outfits. Fighting to win meant defying all the legal restrictions the government uses to strangle labor struggle. But the interests of the strikers were sacrificed by a union misleadership that is bound by a thousand ties to the bosses' government and the Democratic Party.

WV Photo

Determined Teamster strikers, now being sold out by all wings of the union bureaucracy.

Ron Carey and his regime run by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) were installed in a government-run election, a product of the "racketeering" suit that put the IBT under the thumb of the feds. Teamsters have lately been massively rejecting the sellouts and sweetheart deals imposed by the "old guard." So the regime the government put in, Carey and the TDU, called a limited strike, handcuffed the Teamsters into playing by the bosses' rules, wearing out the strikers and sending them back to work *in order to give the bosses what they wanted from the beginning—a new category of cheaper labor*.

From the beginning, the union tops sabotaged the strike. They refused to call out all the Master Freight locals, keeping 40,000 Teamsters on the job. UPS, used by shippers to move scab freight, was never shut down; 160,000 Teamsters were kept working there. Then, when Teamster pickets tied up freight terminals, they were hit with strikebreaking attacks by state troopers and SWAT teams with gas and dogs. And as soon as Clinton said "jump," Carey asked "how high?" The IBT leaders entered federal "mediation" and quickly called off the strike—just as the business press was beginning to report shortages due to the walkout.

During the strike, the "old guard" continued to practice the grotesque class collaboration which was their signature when they ran the International. Carey opponent R.V. Durham, a North Carolina bureaucrat, postured against the sellout, but pushed to shut down the picket lines and denounced Carey for striking, saying he "should have stayed at the bargaining table." And in the midst of the Master Freight strike, Durham filed union charges accusing Carey of engaging "in an illegal breach of contract strike and picketing against UPS"—a one-day strike that Carey sold out and Durham scabbed on!

As a Teamster in Local 85 in San Francisco told *Workers Vanguard*, this contract "stinks." Caving in to a key demand in the bosses' giveback list, Carey gave up the right to strike over grievances, agreeing to binding arbitration. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 April) gloated that it's a clause "the companies have been trying to kill since Jimmy Hoffa strong-armed it into the 1964 master freight agreement." The amount of freight shipped by "intermodal" (rail) will almost triple, to 28 percent, wiping out the jobs of thousands of Teamsters drivers.

Carey says he won "job security." He lies. The agreement does *nothing* about "double-breasting," where union firms set up non-union subsidiaries. This practice, along with the explosive growth of other non-union carriers, has cost almost 200,000 union jobs under the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) in the last 15 years. According to Carey's bureaucratic opponents, "Roadway Express and CF Motor Freight have been allowed to permanently close 41 terminals," which will result in thousands of transfers and layoffs.

What the trucking bosses wanted was to cut full-time union members and introduce $9-an-hour part-timers to reduce their wage structure. Carey gave them what they wanted in principle: a category of workers that replaces full Teamster jobs. The new "casuals," working less than a full shift, will replace all overtime on the docks. Their pay, $14.45 an hour, will be permanently frozen well below MFA scale, and inflation will cut it back further. Other dock workers lose 15 percent of the raise in wages and benefits, breaking their equality with drivers. The two-tier gap in wages for new hires is increased, and it takes a third longer to reach full pay.

Stabbing some of the best union defenders in the back, Carey took down picket lines *without amnesty* for dozens of militants facing firing and criminal charges. Strikers like Jesus Acuna from Local 208 (Pico Rivera, California), and other unionists like Ironworker Philip Ambrose who defended Teamster picket lines, are being abandoned by the IBT bureaucrats to persecution by the capitalist state in order to make an example of them and suppress militancy. All Teamsters, all of labor, must come to the aid of these courageous brothers and fight to mobilize the unions to demand: Drop the charges against all strikers!

Teamsters must draw the lessons from the strike: any serious class struggle will inevitably face the full arsenal of the capitalists—their courts, cops and anti-labor laws, their Democratic and Republican Party politicians. For that kind of battle you need a leadership that fights for the *unconditional independence of the working class from the capitalist state*. We need workers' leaders who are prepared to defy the laws which were created to hogtie labor struggle—like Taft-Hartley injunctions and Landrum-Griffith prohibitions against "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) scab products. Those were the tactics developed and used with such power by the Trotskyists who led the early over-the-road organizing drives that forged the modern Teamsters union.

Waterboys for the Bureaucracy

Any strikers who might have thought the state was neutral got a quick education from police clubs and judges' injunctions. Teamsters across the country have a deep mistrust of the government designs on their union—many know in detail the history of how the wealthy Kennedy clan went after Jimmy Hoffa in order to break the union's power to shut down freight across the country.

Government intervention in the Teamsters didn't begin with the Kennedy Democrats' 40-year vendetta and Reagan's Justice Department, but goes back to the jailing of the Minneapolis Trotskyist Teamsters in World War II. For the past two decades, the fake-militant

California Teamster Striker
Defend Jesus Acuna!

LOS ANGELES—In a powerful show of solidarity, 150 Teamsters packed a courtroom here on April 28 to stand behind their union brother, Jesus (Jesse) Acuna. Two weeks earlier, at the ABF terminal in Pico Rivera, a low-life scab driving a double trailer tried to run down Teamster pickets. But it was union member Acuna who was charged with attempted murder and held on $500,000 bail! Acuna was finally released on bail in the early morning hours on May 4, after bail was reduced to $30,000. The judge ordered Acuna to stay at least 200 yards from the picket line.

At court hearings, Teamsters from five different Southern California union locals have turned out for Jesus Acuna. He is one of at least six strikers here who were shafted when the union tops in Washington "suspended" the national freight strike without getting amnesty for them and dozens of other strikers around the country. At the April 28 hearing, some retired Teamsters told representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee that when workers were victimized during the 1970 Teamster wildcat, their union locals backed them up and a big group of students from UCLA came down and rallied with the strikers.

The PDC, the class-struggle defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has protested to the L.A. district attorney that "The trumped up charges against Jesus Acuna are an attempt by the trucking bosses to cover up the brutal attacks by police and scabs against striking Teamsters." The next court hearing is on May 12. Los Angeles labor—longshoremen, janitors, hotel workers, drywallers, teachers—must rally to the defense of this brother who faces jail for defending his union on the picket line.

The PDC has contributed to Acuna's defense. Family and union supporters of Acuna are asking that donations be sent to: Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241.

Feds Frame Up West Virginia Miners

Labor: Defend Jerry Dale Lowe!

On June 13, Logan County miner Jerry Dale Lowe goes on trial in federal court in Charleston, West Virginia in a vicious federal frame-up aimed at the United Mine Workers (UMWA) and the entire labor movement. Lowe, the UMWA Local 5958 mine safety committee chairman and a strike captain during the 1993 coal strike, faces up to *50 years* in prison and a *$1 million* fine on charges of "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce." West Virginia labor must defend Lowe. UMWA Locals should declare a "memorial day" on June 13 and turn out in the thousands for his trial. *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

Lowe is one of eight miners from Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine near Yoyln who were framed on *federal* interstate commerce charges for allegedly throwing rocks (!) at a scab convoy leaving the mine on July 22 last summer. Lowe faces additional charges in the death of a scab contractor who was shot in the *back* of the head while *leaving* the mine. The shot came from the area where the company guns thugs from Elite Security were. These goons repeatedly shot at Ruffner miners during the strike.

Seven of the miners accepted a plea bargain on charges of destruction of property, and on April 29, in a court packed to overflowing with West Virginia miners, were sentenced in state court to 120 days in jail and a $500 fine. The feds may seek to use their testimony in Lowe's trial.

The frame-up of the Logan miners is a crucial case for the miners and all of labor. But the UMWA tops have been silent, surrendering the union men who did their duty on the picket line to this vindictive prosecution by the Clinton administration. Not one word of the case has appeared in the *United Mine Workers Journal*. After the ten-month-long "selective strike" last year, union president Richard Trumka pushed through a sell-out contract which specifically *excluded* from amnesty any strikers facing federal charges, in other words, the Logan County miners.

Like the "labor-management cooperation" which is the centerpiece of last December's contract, Trumka's entire program is one of class collaboration. He says the union "must leave behind the adversarial 'us vs. them' mentality of the past," while enforcing humiliating court-ordered "strike training" sessions where miners are told to tolerate scabs. In fact, the feds cited such sessions in their indictments of the Logan miners! Trumka hides behind the anti-labor Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) in refusing to mount an official union defense of the strikers. But that didn't stop Arch Mineral, who employed the gun thugs, from filing a RICO suit against the union for "strike violence."

Jerry Dale Lowe must not share the fate of the four Kentucky miners from the A.T. Massey strike, who were railroaded in 1987 and remain in jail to this day after Trumka and the UMWA tops refused to lift a finger in their defense. Again in 1989-1990, nine miners from Milburn, West Virginia were the target of a frame-up by provocateurs and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms which sent seven union men to jail.

Workers Vanguard has called for a fight inside the union to bring out a massive outpouring of solidarity in defense of the Logan County miners. Drop the charges! Clinton—hands off the Logan County miners!

Jim Nopeiker

Logan County miners picket union-busting Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine during 1993 UMWA strike.

A leaflet from UMWA Region II (covering Districts 17, 28, 29 and 31) calls for funds for the miners' defense to be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave., S.E., Charleston, WV 25304. Earmark for "Ruffner miners." ■

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opposition in the union—the TDU—has repeatedly dragged the union into the bosses' courts and gone running to the federal prosecutors, even pushing to give the government control over union pension funds. And the entire reformist "left"—notably the TDU's press agents in *Labor Notes* and Solidarity's *Against the Current*, as well as their "critical supporters" of the ISO (International Socialist Organization)—cheered them on.

The Teamsters for a "Democratic" Union buried any fight against racial and sexual oppression, even refusing to defend the Farm Workers union when it was under attack by the growers and the Teamster bureaucracy. The TDU never even opposed the IBT tops when they organized cops and prison guards! As a token of their "good faith" toward the capitalist state, TDU wrote into its constitution a prohibition against "politics." Of course, that doesn't stop prominent TDUers from appearing at gatherings festooned with Clinton campaign buttons.

Carey was installed in the Marble Palace through the December 1991 elections which were run lock, stock and barrel by the feds, and the TDU got over half the seats on the General Executive Board. One TDUer bragged to the *Chicago Tribune* (15 December 1991): "We carried the water and chopped the wood." Now these waterboys for the bureaucracy and the feds have gotten their payback.

In contrast, the Spartacist League and *Workers Vanguard* have fought down the line against government interference in the labor movement and for class independence from the capitalist state. We oppose Carey just as we oppose the venal, pro-capitalist bureaucrats who ran the Teamsters before the Carey/TDU pro-government crowd were installed. When it comes to putting labor's muscle on the line against the bosses and their government, the "new" Teamsters are indistinguishable from the "old." And delivering the union into the hands of the capitalist state is about as corrupt as you can get. We say the union must clean its own house—feds and finks out!

As we warned early in the history of the TDU:

> "The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the *major* obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course."
>
> —"Hands Off the Teamsters!" *WV* No. 158, 20 May 1977

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

The national freight strike sharply illuminated the crisis facing the working class. The AFL-CIO union tops have presided over the dismantling of hard-won union gains and even the destruction of the unions themselves. Why? For the most part, the present ossified bureaucracy—a bunch of aging fat cats who can barely make it into the pool at Bal Harbour and couldn't run a serious strike if their dues checkoff depended on it—were installed in the post-World War II purge of the "reds" who built the industrial unions in the 1930s. They are beholden to the Democratic Party, and their fundamental loyalty is to their capitalist masters, not to their union members.

It's a commonplace today to say that the PATCO air traffic controllers "shouldn't have been left to stand alone" back in 1981. But the pattern was repeated time after time—at Hormel, Greyhound (twice!), Eastern Airlines, Pittston mines—as the AFL-CIO chiefs and their own union leaders knifed strikers in the back. This was *class war*, or more specifically, "one-sided class war," as one of the top union misleaders put it. So why was it one-sided? The Spartacist League and our newspaper *Workers Vanguard* called on the unions to "Shut Down the Airports!" in '81. That would have stopped Reagan cold. But that meant going right up against the capitalist state, and this the labor fakers will not do. Why not? Because they are the bosses' agents within the unions, literally the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

So when American capitalism was in crisis in the 1970s and the bosses needed to increase their rate of exploitation—the amount of profits they rake off your labor—the union tops did the dirty work for them. Mass layoffs and plant shutdowns, massive givebacks and two-tier wages, smashing militant locals and standing by as whole unions were smashed (PATCO)—if the bosses asked for it, the bureaucrats did it. Social-democratic union leaders like the Machinists' Winpisinger or UAW's "Solidarity House" were no different from and frequently outdid the rest of AFL-CIO officialdom in ripping up union gains: taking *$5 billion* from the workers' pockets to give to GM and Chrysler in return for a seat on the board.

The Teamsters have had a reputation as a "maverick" union, and Jimmy Hoffa could talk tough to the likes of Bobby Kennedy. Under the guise of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies," the IBT International regularly endorsed Republicans, from Nixon to Reagan and Bush. But while they had tremendous potential power, the Teamster tops feared to use it. It is telling that the last national freight strike was in *1979*. The Teamster tops, too, were loyal to capitalism, as Dave Beck whined before the McClellan Committee; Fitzsimmons did whatever his boss in the White House told him to, Presser was an FBI agent, and *Hoffa never called the all-out national trucking strike the Kennedys feared*. That is why the Teamsters, too, have lost their former strength.

Leon Trotsky, who led the Russian Revolution together with Lenin, wrote in 1940 that "Either the trade unions of our time will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers and to obstruct the revolution or, on the contrary, the unions will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). Under the pro-capitalist misleaders, the labor movement has in fact acted as an instrument for subordinating the workers to capital—with disastrous results for the unions themselves.

As we said in "Feds Hands Off Teamsters!" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991):

> "A rebirth of class-struggle unionism would directly confront the state. The sellouts and finks and social democrats who just beg for crumbs from the capitalist table think they can use the government as it is using them. But anyone who seriously proposes to fight drug-testing witchhunts, government-supervised union elections, police scab-herding and the like had better have a class-struggle program to mobilize against the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians and their flunkeys. For the complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state! Feds: get your dirty hands off the Teamsters!"

American labor, despite enormous episodic militancy (sit-down strikes, flying pickets), has failed to break from the partner parties of capital. This is key. The two unions which established a reputation for hard-nosed economic struggle—the Mine Workers under John L. Lewis and the Teamsters under Jimmy Hoffa—did so when they were most estranged from the Democratic Party. So instead they supported the hardline anti-union Republicans! The fact is that Lewis drove communists from the UMW in the 1920s, long before the postwar CIO purge, and Hoffa was part of the Tobin regime that railroaded the Minneapolis Trotskyists. Today more than ever the fight to forge a workers party on a class-struggle program is vital to saving the unions and transforming them into organs for workers struggle.

That cannot be accomplished on a narrow economist basis, but requires that the workers movement act as the champion of all oppressed sectors of society, linking up with the impoverished residents of black ghettos and Latino barrios, fighting against protectionist poison that would divide us from our class brothers and sisters from Mexico to Japan, and opposing the capitalist state down the line ■

Anti-Semitic Bigot and Preacher of Black Capitalism

Cummins/Newsday

Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People

Muhammad/NY Times

Louis Farrakhan (top) aspires to be capitalist exploiter of black working people. Nation of Islam rent-a-cops police housing projects on behalf of racist rulers.

When the nightriders and cross-burners of the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations against Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday in eight state capitals last January, the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League went into action to mobilize the power of the labor movement and blacks to stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois. Despite the combined forces of the capitalist state, some 500 people, primarily blacks and unionists, braved arctic weather and turned out to stop the Klan/Nazis. The cops and courts, state authorities and various federal agencies went all out to protect the KKK as they spewed their racist filth. Speaking on the steps of the state capitol, a Klan leader denounced racial integration...and praised Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, as a "real leader for the Black man" (*Chicago Defender*, 17 January).

In recent months, the media has been filled with a barrage of articles denouncing the Nation of Islam (NOI), particularly focusing on the grotesque anti-Semitic ravings of Farrakhan spokesman Khallid Abdul Muhammad in a speech last November 29 at New Jersey's Kean College. In the halls of Congress, the parliament of the U.S. ruling class, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly (with some opposition and abstentions from the Congressional Black Caucus) and the Senate unanimously for special resolutions condemning Khallid's speech, and the New Jersey State Assembly went into special session to denounce him. Among the racist critics were Senator Jesse Helms, who denounces affirmative action for black people as sucking the blood of whites, and Senator Al D'Amato, who referred to the minority poor of New York City as "animals."

The blatantly hypocritical attacks by America's racist rulers on the Nation of Islam don't stop with words. In January, New York City police, given a green light by newly elected mayor Giuliani, launched an assault on Harlem's NOI Temple No. 7-A (see "NYC Cop Vendetta Against Black Muslims," *WV* No. 592, 21 January). More recently, on April 30, Canadian immigration authorities used their "hate crime" laws to ban Khallid Muhammad from visiting Toronto to speak before a black student group. We oppose all such bans on free speech, whether they are imposed directly by the racist capitalist state or through college administrations.

AP

Clinton's racist tirades against "black-on-black" crime in 1993 Memphis speech are echoed by Farrakhan's Nation of Islam.

Make no mistake, the anti-Semitic ravings of Khallid and his ilk are poison, adding to the climate of bigotry and reaction whipped up by the Rush Limbaughs and other right-wing zealots who spew their filth from the airwaves daily. And in this racist country, blacks will be the main victims. The struggle for black liberation requires politically combatting ominous demagogues like Khallid and Farrakhan and exposing them as the *tools of white racist reaction* that they are. The NOI leader literally yearns for a return to Jim Crow segregation. For all his rhetoric about "power," Farrakhan seeks to carve out a profitable niche for black capitalism in exploiting the ghetto market. He peddles his services to the bourgeoisie to head off class consciousness across racial lines and as a guarantor to keep the black masses down.

It is a measure of the extreme crisis of black leadership, reflecting the isolation of the oppressed black population, that such figures are getting a hearing beyond the narrow limits of the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan has drawn thousands of participants to "black men only" rallies in several cities. Many black youth are attracted to his "in your face" denunciations of the white establishment, seeing him as a black leader who confronts the white power structure. In particular, Farrakhan appeals to many black univer-

sity students who find their hopes for advancement frustrated as the openings for the black middle class—which was greatly expanded during the 1970s as the government promoted a "talented tenth" as a buffer against black unrest—slam shut in their faces.

But as the praise from the Illinois Klansman underlines, Louis Farrakhan is in league with some of the most reactionary forces in this country. Farrakhan is praised by fascists, he colludes with them, accepts money from them: in 1985, he invited California Klan leader Tom Metzger to an NOI rally in L.A. and received a $100 donation from this racist terrorist. Farrakhan's real appetites are to be a power broker in and around the Democratic Party: he not only campaigned for Jesse Jackson but even praised yuppie racist Clinton's plan to "end welfare as we know it." Lately, Farrakhan has promoted himself as a *cop* for this racist ruling class against impoverished black youth, joining in the chorus blaming them for ghetto crime.

Farrakhan's message to the capitalists is that the dreadful conditions being imposed on the black population can be more efficiently (and cheaply) enforced by the NOI than by the despised cops and discredited politicians. Farrakhan writes that if the NOI were given "unhindered" reign, "we could effect a change in the lifestyle of our people that would allow us to do more with less wages." He even proposed to America's rulers that "helping us to make a new beginning on the continent of Africa, first with the inmate population"—i.e., to set up a *penal colony* run by the NOI—would be a good way to get rid of many of the black "permanent underclass." This would, he claimed, "gain for America a strong foothold on that strategically important continent" (Louis Farrakhan, *A Torchlight for America* [1993]). In support of this cynical plan, Farrakhan cited Australia, where penal colonies of Europeans grew into a modern nation (after murdering the Aboriginal population or driving them from their land).

Farrakhan's appetite to crack the whip over the ghetto population is shown in his government contracts to police public housing. The NOI used its "Fruit of Islam" security squads in 1988 when it began patrolling Mayfair Mansions and another apartment complex in Washington, D.C. The "NOI Security Agency" then won contracts to guard federally subsidized apartment complexes in Pittsburgh in 1991, in Philadelphia and Los Angeles in 1992, and in Chicago and Baltimore in 1993. The latter two contracts are still in operation, with the Baltimore contract alone expected to bring in $2.8 million. The NOI is part of a joint venture in Chicago currently negotiating a $5 million contract to guard another project on Chicago's West Side. Farrakhan has also contracted to provide low-cost security for such companies as Federal Express and the Ramada Renaissance Hotel in Washington.

We warn: repression of black youth by NOI rent-a-cops serves the racist rulers no less than that carried out by white (and black) official cops. Remember, *Louis Farrakhan is the man who declared that courageous black militant leader Malcolm X was "worthy of death."*

ADL Zionists: Bad for Blacks, Bad for Jews

So why the furor from the racist powers that be against Farrakhan, and why now? The Nation of Islam has been purveying anti-Semitic filth for years. But of late, Farrakhan & Co. have made a big push to go "respectable"—and they have been getting some response. Last September, Maryland Democratic Representative Kweisi Mfume, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, announced a "sacred covenant" with the NOI to support the "war on drugs" and fight "black-on-black crime." It was this official acceptance by mainstream black Democrats that lay behind the frenzied outcry against Farrakhan in the bourgeois media.

The publication of Khallid's speech

Francolon/Gamma-Liaison

AP

Anti-Semitic Farrakhan spokesman Khallid Muhammad (above) earlier worked for Idi Amin (left), bloody dictator of Uganda.

provoked a cynical uproar by the racist bourgeoisie. It is truly obscene to see the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant rulers of this country delivering pious lectures against racism.

Running point for these big-time racists were the Zionists of the "Anti"-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. The outcry over Khallid's speech surged following publication of excerpts

Brent Jones

NOI leader Louis Farrakhan displays his "empowerment"-for-profit wares: plugging "POWER" line of soap and cosmetics products in the mid-1980s.

in a full-page ad in the *New York Times* last January by the ADL. But while they are perennially up in arms against *black* anti-Semites like Farrakhan, the Zionists work hand in glove not only with America's racist rulers but even with ultra-rightist Christian fundamentalist Moral Majority bigots. For years the ADL ran a massive spy operation in collaboration with local police, the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, targeting leftists, Arab Americans and anti-apartheid militants and passing the information on to Israel and South Africa. The Zionists feel right at home with their apartheid allies, whose treatment of the black masses parallels Israel's murderous repression of the Palestinian Arabs. It doesn't bother the ADL that their Afrikaner partners openly supported Hitler as he was carrying out the Holocaust against Europe's Jews.

Indeed, these self-described spokesmen for the Jewish people have a long and sordid history of *working against* militant struggle against anti-Semitism, from opposing mass protests in the U.S. against Hitler's *Kristallnacht* pogrom in 1938 to denouncing anti-fascist mobilizations today. When 2,500 Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, took to the streets of Evanston, Illinois in 1980 to sweep away a gang of Nazis, the ADL opposed this defense against a fascist provocation. And when the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a successful anti-KKK/Nazi demonstration in Philadelphia in November 1988, the ADL tried to sabotage it by launching a vicious campaign to defame the anti-fascist forces as "violent." While condemning integrated anti-fascist struggle, the Zionists are whipping up racist hysteria in an effort to produce a police crackdown against blacks, as they have done for the past two years in New York with their incendiary racist propaganda over Crown Heights.

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

Farrakhan and his followers certainly give plenty of ammunition to the Zionists and Congressional bigots. In his despicable racist tirade at Kean College last November, Khallid Muhammad railed against Jews as the "blood suckers of the black nation" who "crucified Jesus in a kangaroo court." He sounded like a Nazi apologist for Adolf Hitler, claiming the Jews brought the Holocaust on themselves: "You see everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. But don't nobody ever ask, 'What did *they* do to Hitler? They went in there in Germany, the way they do everywhere, and they supplanted, they usurped, and a German in his own country would almost have to go to a Jew to get money." This is an obscene provocation, not only to Jews *but also to black people*, who would have been herded into the Third Reich's gas chambers along with Gypsies, Slavs and others deemed *Untermenschen* (subhuman) by the Nazis.

In this same speech, Khallid urged black South Africans to kill all whites: "We kill the women. We kill the babies, we kill the blind. We kill the cripples. We kill them all. We kill the faggot. We kill the lesbian.... Kill the old ones too. Goddamn it, if they're in a wheelchair, push them off a cliff in Cape Town.... When you get through killing them all, go to the goddamn graveyard and dig up the grave and kill them a-goddamn-gain because they didn't die hard enough." In his vicious rantings, Khallid takes the reactionary and ultimately genocidal logic of nationalism to a hideous conclusion. Not only are these sick fantasies an assault on elementary humanity, but calls to race war in South Africa, where the racists have the overwhelming preponderance of firepower, would force all whites into the apartheid *laager* and could only lead to a bloody defeat for blacks.

Khallid Muhammad has reportedly emerged as the spokesman for "hard-core" elements in the NOI resisting Farrakhan's turn toward (relative) "respectability." His pronouncements are featured on records by "gangsta rapper" Ice Cube. But it's not just fantasies. Khallid boasts that he once worked for the grisly dictator Idi Amin in the mid-1970s, saying he "was in Kampala, Uganda, ready to kill some white folks" when Farrakhan called him to ask him to rejoin his movement (*New York Newsday*, 28 February). The Nation of Islam leader and his lieutenant vituperate against Jews in this WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) dominated country. In Uganda, Amin launched a murderous pogrom against Asian merchants. Tens of thousands were driven into emigration, and their businesses were taken over by Amin's cronies. Like boycotts of Korean grocers in American ghettos, this cynical chauvinism is typical of nationalists of an oppressed group who are the would-be exploiters of their "own" people.

Under pressure from the media and politicians, Farrakhan distanced himself from Khallid, calling his statements "repugnant" and "mean-spirited"; at the same time the NOI leader defended the "truths" spoken by his aide. And what were these "truths"? Farrakhan explicitly endorsed Khallid's absurd claim that 75 percent of slaves in the antebellum South were owned by Jews. (In reality, the not very numerous Jews in the South in 1860 owned a tiny fraction of the four million slaves, and only a tiny proportion of the Atlantic slave trade involved Jewish merchants.) Farrakhan cited the NOI's book *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a pseudo-academic hate-mongering tract which tries to give the impression that Jews dominated the slave trade by stringing together seemingly endless examples of Jewish slavers, lists of ships owned by Jews, etc. This racist trash recalls the infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (also occasionally distributed by the NOI), a Russian tsarist forgery used historically to "prove" a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

Farrakhan's lieutenant Khallid is just a little cruder in presenting the same nationalist poison that Farrakhan has spewed for years. A decade ago, the NOI leader declared "Hitler was a very great man." Farrakhan has claimed he was misquoted. The transcript of the radio address shows that Farrakhan indeed said it, word for word. He also said, "I'm not proud of Hitler's evil against Jewish people," and "don't compare me with your wicked killers." But while saying "He wasn't great for me as a black

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Farrakhan...

(continued from page 9)

person," Farrakhan added: "he was a great German." Farrakhan recognized in Hitler a fellow nationalist demagogue, and emphasized: "He rose Germany up from nothing. Well, in a sense you could say there's similarity in that we are rising our people up from nothing." If Nazis ever come to power in this country, they would try to do to black people what Hitler did to the Jews: genocide. As we wrote in "The Sinister Farrakhan" (*WV* No. 355, 25 May 1984), "Anyone who calls Hitler 'a great man' should be reviled by every black person."

Khallid Muhammad has gone on to continue his anti-Semitic diatribes in a number of other speeches recently, including at Howard University on April 19 (together with anti-Semitic academic Leonard Jeffries). In his rantings, Khallid said of the demented random slaughter on a New York commuter line last December, that he "loves Colin Ferguson, who killed all those white folks on the Long Island train." Khallid's appearances have thrown Howard into turmoil, to the extent that the university president was forced to step down. Last fall, the student newspaper, *The Hilltop* (19 November 1993) headlined, "Muslim Leader Brings Bold Message to University." While the number of hard-core Farrakhanites on campus is limited, and the rabid anti-Semitism and anti-white rhetoric are not broadly popular, the NOI leader is viewed by a significant part of the student body as someone who gives the finger to the system and who's trying to "uplift the race." On the contrary, if this poison triumphs, it will bring black people down—no one will profit but the purveyors of this filth and the white racists themselves.

The NOI seeks to isolate black youth from the possibility of social struggle by diverting the justified outrage against their dreadful oppression into poisonous bigotry. Pushing the fraud of "black capitalism" as the answer to racism, unemployment and police brutality—all inherent in the capitalist system—these pseudo-nationalists want to have exclusive rights to rip off the black population. That's why, behind talk of "self-pride," they do everything to reinforce a defeatist, pessimistic outlook which accepts—even extols—racial segregation. Farrakhan's reactionary perspective has nothing to do with fighting against the ruling class which holds the real wealth and power in this country. Anti-Semitism is sucker-bait and it lets the racist bourgeoisie off the hook. It is capitalism which forcibly keeps black people at the bottom of a vicious racist system of exploitation and oppression. By seeking to set black people against Jews and other vulnerable groups, the racist demagogues of the NOI are stoking the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people.

Apostles of the myth of liberation through "black capitalism": (from left to right) Elijah Muhammad, Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington.

UPI photos

Historical Pictures Service

Farrakhan's Reactionary Program for Black Youth

Today as the U.S. gears up to confront its imperialist competitors in the New World Disorder of trade wars and war on the living standards of poor and working people at home, the liberal Democrats have united with right-wing Republicans to reduce "overhead costs" by slashing the minimal social welfare measures that exist in this country. Intent on cutting the budget deficit fueled by years of Cold War military spending, the ruling class is closing down schools and trying to cut health care costs. The hellish conditions in America's black and Hispanic ghettos are getting more and more inhuman as unemployment, poverty and desperation continue to grow. The capitalist rulers' "answer" to these conditions is to ax welfare and han guns in the hands of the people. Particularly since the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval touched off by the racist acquittal of Rodney King's cop tormentors, there is a bipartisan campaign for more arrests, more prisons and more executions to keep the ghetto and barrio poor in line.

Conditions for black youth have gotten much *worse* today than at the time of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. During World War II, millions of blacks migrated from the South to the booming war industries in the North and West. By the '60s increasing numbers were in unionized, relatively well-paying jobs in heavy industry. When millions were thrown out of work in the mid-1970s recession that turned much of the Midwest into a "rust bowl," black workers were hit the hardest. Many became permanently unemployed. Subsequently many U.S. manufacturing operations were shifted to low-wage plants overseas. Since they're not needed as wage slaves, ghetto youth are today considered by the ruling class to be an expendable "surplus" population. The capitalists see no need for them to be educated or—for the most impoverished and desperate—even to be *alive*.

The bourgeoisie has been introducing cost-cutting "reforms" whose effect would be for layers of the minority population to literally *perish*. President Clinton promises to "end welfare as we know it" for *14 million* people—three-quarters of them children—who live on the brink of survival. The most vulnerable are black youth in the inner cities. Meanwhile, the AIDS epidemic and deadly diseases of poverty like TB ravage the people of the ghettos and barrios while the bourgeoisie closes hospitals in minority communities. And on top of this there is deadly racist repression and regimentation, as Clinton's "anti-crime" bill proposes putting 100,000 more cops on the streets and building ten mammoth regional high-security prisons. The nation's death rows are crammed to capacity, its inmates mostly black and Hispanic. With the dramatic worsening of life in the ghettos, over the decade of the 1980s the death rate for black youth aged 15 to 24 years increased by a staggering *24 percent*.

But while the black poor were being ravaged, a dependent layer of black yuppies, fostered by the policies of both capitalist parties, was able to move out of the ghettos—only to confront vicious segregation in the suburbs. Seeing themselves as the social elite of the black community, they are receptive to the fraud of black-owned business and "empowerment" as the "solution" to ghetto poverty. Today, almost half of all black income is earned by only 20 percent of black families, a degree of inequality which is greater than among the white population. (This fact alone explodes the nationalist myth that the fundamental division in society is race and not class.) The children of this black petty bourgeoisie, facing the daily humiliations of enduring racism and desperately conscious that the opportunities which were available to their parents are largely closing up for them, are turning in despair from the goal of integration and some have provided an audience for Farrakhan's demagogy.

When Farrakhan talks of gaining "power," he's really trying to get influence with the capitalist politicians, today in the Democratic Party. Farrakhan gained national attention in 1984 when he hustled votes for Jesse Jackson's campaign in the Democratic presidential primaries. When Clinton was elected president, Farrakhan called on him to convene the country's "spiritual leadership to spearhead a moral rejuvenation among the American people." Farrakhan also hailed Clinton's plans for welfare "reform" and called on the president to "galvanize America to make a great sacrifice" and "summon great courage" to "cut federal spending" and "raise taxes across the board" (*A Torchlight for America*).

Farrakhan's program sounds like something dreamed up by the far-right John Birch Society. It reflects petty-bourgeois contempt for the masses of black poor and working people. He joins the chorus calling for a get-tough policy to fight "black-on-black" crime, opposes abortion, calls to "change homosexual behavior," and calls for schools segre-

Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead

Robert L. Haggins

Harlem, 1963: Malcolm X appeared with Farrakhan (far right) at his side. Farrakhan (Louis X) and Nation of Islam newspaper later denounced Malcolm as a traitor and pronounced him "worthy of death."

Muhammad Speaks
4 December 1964

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

Muhammad Speaks
10 April 1964

gated by sex. His attitude toward the rights of women can be seen by the fact that women are excluded from many of his meetings (along with the white "devil"). He holds up Saudi Arabia, where people accused of theft have their hands cut off, as a model of fighting crime. But his current angle is to sell his services as enforcer for the bourgeoisie in the ghettos, policing the black population as the ruling class carries out across-the-board attacks on the minority population.

Black Nationalism and Despair

Farrakhan's growing hearing among black youth is reminiscent, on a smaller scale, of Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" movement of the 1920s. As with Farrakhan, Garvey's mass appeal was born of despair and social disorganization in a period of rising Klan terror, police repression and racial segregation. In the North, blacks brought into industry during the First World War were kept out of the trade unions by the narrow, racist craft leaders of the AFL and in many places were kicked out of their jobs. Garvey offered a dream of a reactionary black utopia in Africa, but like the NOI ultimately looked to black-owned small businesses, preaching "self-reliance" and black capitalism.

Garvey's basic ideas were taken up by the Nation of Islam, which began in 1930 when Elijah Muhammad was won to the teachings of a Detroit salesman named Wallace Fard, who he said was the incarnation of Allah. But the accommodationism at the heart of this doctrine was made explicit by Farrakhan, who renounced Elijah Muhammad's call for American blacks to be given a separate state or returned to Africa, instead proposing a program to segregate and exploit the black population within this country. In a 1985 speech, Farrakhan declared:

> "So Elijah Muhammad advocated separation in a state or territory of our own either here or elsewhere....
> "If you say we must return to Africa, what nation in Africa is willing to receive 40 million of us in the condition that we are in? Let's be reasonable....
> "America is not willing to give us eight or ten states, or even one state. Let's be reasonable."
>
> —Louis Farrakhan, *Back Where We Belong* (1989)

Instead, Farrakhan launched "People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth" (P.O.W.E.R.) which marketed the ill-fated "Clean 'N Fresh" line of cosmetics. The NOI's "black capitalism" schemes are in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, the apostle of black "emancipation" through self-help and private enterprise. And in the same way that Washington's National Negro Business League was financed by the white Scottish-born multimillionaire Andrew Carnegie, Farrakhan's perspective is premised on the benevolent acquiescence of the white power structure. In fact, *he advertises himself as an alternative to revolution:*

> "I say to you, it is in America's best interest to permit us to do this. For right now blacks are becoming increasingly disenchanted, and we are a social tinderbox. And if black people rise up in an evil manner, we could foment revolution inside this country, and so weaken America that she could not entertain war with her enemies on the outside."
>
> —*Back Where We Belong*

Black people need jobs, housing, schools, health care and a fight to smash all forms of discrimination and oppression. What Farrakhan offers blacks instead is to become cockroach capitalists or their victims.

The idea that a sizable black capitalist class can develop in this profoundly racist society is, in the words of black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, a "social myth" (*Black Bourgeoisie* [1957]). While some black yuppies may dream of growing rich by setting up high-tech companies, and a few minority contractors are kept in business by government set-aside programs, there can never be a sizable black bourgeoisie in this country. Black-owned businesses account for a mere *1 percent* of the country's gross receipts. According to *Black Enterprise*, five out of the top nine black-owned businesses are car dealerships! Systematically denied loans, blacks start fewer businesses than any other ethnic group in the U.S. And if a black-owned company gets large and profitable, it is simply bought out (as happened last summer to the Johnson Products cosmetics company, a leading symbol of black enterprise).

Even at the upper end, the status of middle-class American blacks is permanently threatened. Race, not economic earnings, is the overriding factor that determines where black people can live, what clubs they can join, and whether they can make it home late at night without being harassed (or worse) by the police. While generations of immigrants of various national and ethnic groups were able, at least partially, to dissolve into the "melting pot" and begin to climb the social ladder in the U.S., black people remain forcibly segregated at the bottom. This is the racist legacy of the fact that, while the Civil War destroyed slavery in the U.S., the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the bourgeoisie in the Compromise of 1877. It will take socialist revolution through integrated working-class struggle to finish the Civil War!

Why the Nation of Islam Wanted to See Malcolm X Dead

When Farrakhan appeared on Arsenio Hall's TV talk show on February 15, Hall said his research department had determined that the "question that comes out of the neighborhood most often is 'Who killed Malcolm X?' Since the movie, there are a lot of people who feel, 'Minister Farrakhan had something to do with that'." Farrakhan replied: "Because of the fact that I wrote an article in the *Muhammad Speaks* saying that Malcolm was 'worthy of death,' and several months later Malcolm was assassinated, the press would like for black people to believe that Farrakhan had something to do with the assassination.... I don't know who murdered Malcolm."

Shortly afterward, Jack Newfield wrote a column in the *New York Post* (1 March) quoting Rev. Charles 37X Kenyatta of Harlem saying that "former Fruit of Islam leader Capt. Yusef Shah (Joseph Gravitt) admitted to him that 'Farrakhan was personally involved in the planning of Malcolm's assassination'." The NOI filed a lawsuit against the paper and Newfield seeking a $4.4 billion award for defamation.

Betty Shahazz, the widow of Malcolm X, has also accused NOI leader Farrakhan of complicity in the assassination of her husband. Shabazz made the accusation on a March 13 WNBC-TV television program in which reporter Gabe Pressman asked her, "Do you think that Louis Farrakhan had anything to do with the death of your husband?" Shabazz replied: "Of course. Yes.... Nobody kept it a secret. It was a badge of honor. Everybody talked about it. Yes."

Pressman also aired an excerpt from Farrakhan's 1993 "Savior's Day" speech shortly after the release of Spike Lee's film *Malcolm X*, which suggested NOI complicity in the assassination. Farrakhan is seen violently thundering in response to his accusers:

> "Did you teach Malcolm? Did you clean up Malcolm? Was Malcolm your traitor, or ours? And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?"

Previously published excerpts of that speech quote Farrakhan declaring:

> "Every prophet had a community of zealots that when you rose up against the prophet the people would rise up and kill you. When you hurt the prophet, the people say, you must die! The Messenger don't have to give no order to kill you. We were already ordered to kill by the love that we had for the man that gave us life!... I'm not no killer! But you messing with that man and I become that because that man gave me life! If you wanna live, leave that man alone where we are concerned. When Malcolm stepped across that line, death was inevitable."
>
> —Baba Kondo, *Conspiracys Unravelling the Assassination of Malcolm X* (1993)

Whoever pulled the trigger, Farrakhan and the rest of the NOI wanted to see Malcolm X destroyed for *political* reasons. Malcolm did more than simply break with Elijah Muhammad's personal cultism. Malcolm was, in a confused and incomplete way, breaking with the bigotry and prejudice inherent in *all* nationalism (for example, he publicly repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial marriage). When Malcolm was cut down by assassins' bullets in February 1965, he had become an *enemy* of the kind of nationalist demagogy and bigotry which is Farrakhan's stock in trade. Malcolm X split from the Black Muslims because he wanted to fight the racist rulers of this country. As he wrote in his *Autobiography*:

> "It could be heard increasingly in the Negro communities: 'Those Muslims *talk* tough, but they never *do* anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims'."

Malcolm let it be known that he wanted to see the Muslims abandon their abstentionism in the face of the historic struggles for black rights that were shaking the country: "I felt that, wherever black people committed themselves, in the Little Rocks and Birminghams and other places, militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there." In contrast, Farrakhan teaches that the mass civil rights struggles of the 1960s were a *mistake*. He recalls with nostalgia the era of Jim Crow segregation, when there was a greater margin for the development of small, black-owned businesses because white-owned corporations scarcely tried to attract black consumers:

> "When civil rights broke down the desegregation laws we began to lose black businesses and spend our money with white businesses. So throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead."
>
> —interview in *Emerge* (August 1990)

The contrast could not be greater with Malcolm X who, by the time of his assassination, had begun to perceive the roots of oppression in capitalism: "You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker."

White Nightriders and Black Separatists

The fact that Farrakhan's principles are directly opposed to those of Malcolm X is clearly demonstrated by his policy toward the racist terrorists of the KKK. The NOI invited Tom Metzger—former Grand Dragon of the California Ku Klux Klan and now the force behind W.A.R. (White Aryan Resistance), a nationwide network of racist skinhead thugs—to its September 1985 forum in Inglewood, California and accepted a $100 contribution from this notorious fascist. According to the right-wing *Washington Times* (30 September 1985), Metzger declared that his tie to the NOI was a "logical one": "They want their own government and their own territory and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves. They speak out against the Jews and the oppressors in Washington."

Historically, there has been a tendency for the black nationalists and the KKK to intersect, since they both stand for maintaining hard racial separation. Marcus Garvey met with Klansmen in the 1920s. But the Nation of Islam has had longstanding links with far-right groups. In particular, the NOI got funding, starting in 1960, from Texas oil millionaire H.L. Hunt, who financed such ultra-right movements as the Minutemen and

continued on page 12

Arnold/Magnum

American Nazi party delegation as invited guests of June 1961 Nation of Islam convention in Washington, D.C.

AP

Bobby Seale (left) and Huey Newton, leaders of Black Panther Party, which was destroyed by government murder and frame-ups of dozens of its leaders.

Farrakhan...

(continued from page 11)

the John Birch Society (Karl Evanzz, *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X* [1992]).

In 1961 George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, attended with his followers a Nation of Islam rally in Washington addressed by Elijah Muhammad, as well as other NOI functions. In 1962 Rockwell was invited to address the NOI's Savior's Day Convention in Chicago. Rockwell, dressed in full Nazi regalia, cried: "Elijah Muhammad is to the so-called Negro what Adolph Hitler was to the German people. He is the most powerful black man in the country. Heil Hitler!" (*The Judas Factor*). Rockwell even wrote a letter to his followers about Elijah Muhammad and the NOI:

> "I was amazed to learn how much they and I agree on things; they think that blacks should get out of this country and go back to Africa or to some other place and so do we. They want to get black men to leave white women alone, and white men to leave black women alone, and so do we.
>
> "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and I have worked out an agreement of mutual assistance in which they will help us on some things and we will help them on others."
>
> —James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart* (1985)

Moreover, while hundreds of civil rights workers were being beaten by the KKK, NOI cultivated relations with the Klan. After his break with the NOI, Malcolm X revealed that he had been ordered by Elijah Muhammad to represent the NOI in a meeting with KKK leaders on 28 January 1961 in Atlanta. The existence of this meeting was the subject of a secret FBI report reproduced in Clayborne Carson's *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (1991). As summarized by Michael Friedly in *Malcolm X: The Assassination* (1992):

> "The reason for the meeting was to institute a nonaggression pact between the two groups since they were both, after all, fighting for the same goal: the separation of the races. The pact was formalized, and the KKK agreed to help the Muslims in their goal of setting aside a couple of states for their homeland after they were freed from the laws of the United States government."

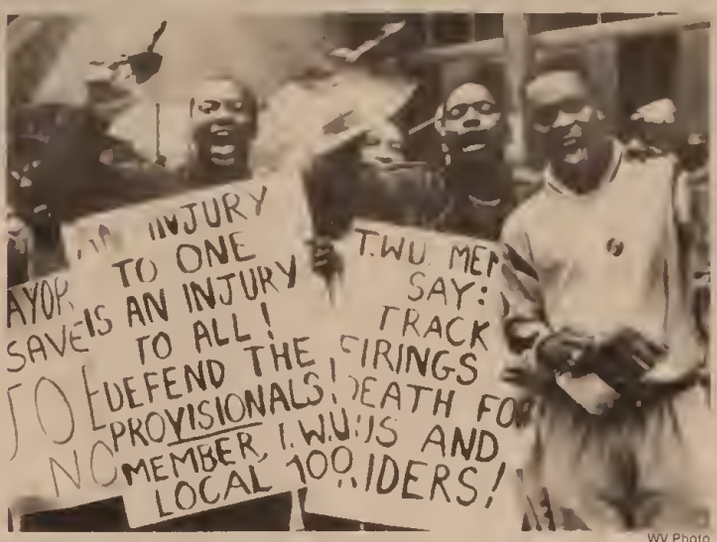
While Malcolm X never adopted a class-struggle strategy of revolutionary integration, he broke with Elijah Muhammad's refusal to confront the KKK and Nazi racist terrorists. In the spring of 1964, Malcolm wired the leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then the most radical wing of the civil rights movement, offering to send some of his people South to "give the Ku Klux Klan a taste of their own medicine" (Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* [1965]). And the following January Malcolm X sent a telegram to American Nazi Party führer Rockwell:

> "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."
>
> —*Malcolm X Speaks* (1965)

The Panthers: "Revolutionary" Nationalism vs. Cultural Nationalism

The Nation of Islam's condemnation of Martin Luther King Jr.'s prostration before his tormentors sometimes struck a responsive chord. The famous cartoon in *Muhammad Speaks* captured King's spirit: "If there is any blood spilled on the streets, let it be *our* blood!" As King led the black masses into a dead end, the NOI's condemnation of Christian submissiveness could appear to some as something it wasn't, namely, a political criticism of King's pacifistic liberalism and ties to the white ruling class. However, the NOI abstained from the historic struggles of the black masses because to do otherwise would deny its very reason for existence.

It was the Black Panther Party, formed in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, which represented the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops. The Panthers considered themselves the heirs of Malcolm X because they were inspired by his advocacy of armed black self-defense against racist attacks and sought to organize independently of the Democrats and Republicans. However, as self-declared "revolutionary nationalists," the Panthers rejected the Marxist understanding that the working class, because it is exploited and concentrated and organized in the process of production, held the potential social power to overthrow the racist capitalist system. Instead the Panthers proclaimed the lumpenproletariat, especially ghetto youth, the vanguard of the American revolution.



WV Photo

Black proletariat will play a vanguard role in integrated working-class struggle for socialist revolution. Above, New York City transit workers demonstrate against layoffs.

The main political opponents the Panthers confronted were what they called "pork chop" cultural nationalists, such as Ron Karenga, who preached "voluntary segregation," black capitalism and rediscovery of African culture as a program for black liberation. (Cultural nationalists like Karenga, incited by COINTELPRO, revealed themselves to be pro-police thugs and were responsible for the murder of a number of Panthers.) The Panthers fought the cultural nationalists' reactionary program which meant withdrawal from struggle. Huey Newton remarked in a prison interview:

> "Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. 'Papa Doc' in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

These remarks could apply equally well to Farrakhan's NOI. And indeed, Black Panther leader Elaine Brown's description of the charged confrontation which took place between Newton and Farrakhan in 1971, at a time when NOI members were slugging it out in the streets with Panther newspaper salesmen, testifies to the depth of political hostility between the two organizations (Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power* [1992]).

The racist capitalist state mobilized its security forces to eliminate the Black Panther Party through arrests, frame-ups and cold-blooded murder. The massive repression against the Panthers and other militant black groups decimated the Panther leadership within a few years and wiped out an entire generation of potentially revolutionary black leaders. Government documents concerning the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy against mainly black radicals reveal a vast operation on the part of the racist bourgeois state. Through nearly 300 FBI operations against black groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail on a string of charges long enough to hold him for years. Former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still in prison, framed up for a murder which the government *knows* he did not commit.

But the Nation of Islam and other right-wing cultural nationalists were left unscathed. Where the Panthers and the early and contradictory "black power" movement initiated by SNCC identified with the colonial enemies and victims of U.S. imperialism, Farrakhan asks America's racist rulers to help him set up jails in Africa where they can dump ghetto youth! The Nation of Islam shares Booker T. Washington's view that the races should be "as separate as the fingers," but it has no qualms about working hand in glove with the white racist state.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Tragically, as the Panthers were destroyed by bloody state repression there was not the communist intervention of a revolutionary party sizable enough to win the best of these radical black youth. In the early 1960s, the core of the future Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), fought for such an intervention into SNCC and other components of the left wing of the civil rights movement. The RT's 1963 document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," insisted:

> "The rising upsurge and militancy of the black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism ... We must consider non-intervention in the crisis of leadership a crime of the worst sort."

The RT was subsequently expelled by the SWP, which continued its abstentionism while tailing both M.L. King and Malcolm X. As a result of the criminal abstentionism of the SWP, the "black power" radicals never found the bridge between their struggles and the program of workers power, with the consequent loss of many thousands of black militants to the revolutionary movement.

The failure of the civil rights movement when it "went North" underlined that the oppression of black people is deeply rooted in the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Genuine black emancipation, fulfilling the promise of the Civil War, is only possible through proletarian revolution. The murderous U.S. ruling class knows this well, and so does Farrakhan—that is why they both stand in dread of militant black struggle. Farrakhan writes that "the condition of black people in America makes us the Achilles heel of this nation" (*Back Where We Belong*).

Nationalism proved to be a dead end for a generation of black militants. Black people in the U.S. are not a nation but an *oppressed race-color caste* integrated into American society while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. The genuine alternative to both the liberal accommodationism of King and the illusory separatism of the NOI is for common struggle of the multiracial working class against the racist special oppression of blacks and other minorities and to overthrow the capitalist system which spawns it. This program of *revolutionary integrationism* must be successfully rooted in the working class and the black masses if the pent-up fury of the oppressed is not to explode in directionless conflagrations or be dissipated into the schemes of pro-capitalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan.

That black nationalism is today getting a hearing—and in its most reactionary expression—is a symptom of the despair of a whole layer of black youth who have never seen successful social struggle. The appeal of separatists is fed by a deep feeling of *black isolation* in a virulently racist (and hypocritical) society. It is telling that today it's left to the communists to fight for even the most basic democratic rights such as the right to be served at restaurants. When the Spartacist League called pickets around the country last summer to protest discrimination against black people by the Denny's chain, the NAACP led by former civil rights activist Ben Chavis was only interested in negotiating an "empowerment" agreement for black franchises, suppliers and managers, and above all a black board member, while Denny's workers slave at minimum wages without union protection.

Yet we noted that the May 1992 *multiracial* revolt in Los Angeles demonstrated that U.S. society can be polarized along *class* lines:

> "But we have also insisted that the desperate condition and increasing numbers of the black ghetto poor must not obscure the fundamental fact that *black workers still play a strategic role in the American economy and even more so in the organized labor movement*....
>
> "These black proletarians can serve as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement. Conditions are overripe for a massive social explosion in this country extending from the ghettos and Hispanic barrios to white skilled workers, many of them one paycheck away from bankruptcy and eviction. The eruption of integrated protests following the acquittal of the racist cops in the Rodney King case signals the potential for just such a new wave of militant social struggle."
>
> —*WV* No. 551, 15 May 1992, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 9

The fight against racial oppression is *key* to workers revolution in the U.S. The labor movement is the one powerful racially integrated force in this society. Their strategic position in the labor movement makes it possible for black workers to lead in bringing down the entire racist, capitalist system through united class struggle. Black women, whom the nationalists seek to keep "in their place" as producers of babies, belong in the forefront of the fight for black freedom. Black and white and Latino and Asian revolutionaries, armed with a communist program and organized in a multiracial communist vanguard party which acts as the tribune of the people, can lead a fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited for workers revolution, to smash imperialist domination throughout the Americas, Africa and the world. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

until 1999. The army generals and civilian judges who enforced apartheid terror cannot be replaced. Police and military officers responsible for massacring blacks cannot be tried for their crimes. Capitalist private property cannot be touched regardless of the democratic will of the black majority.

But the future of South Africa will not be determined by the outcome of these elections or the carefully crafted "power-sharing" arrangements between the bourgeois nationalist ANC and the National Party. Whatever the promises of "moderation" and class collaboration by Mandela & Co., the black masses believe that at long last they have a government which represents their interests and aspirations. In townships from Cape Town to the Witwatersrand, black residents say they will have "patience"—for about two months. It is a telling example of the crisis of expectations that the ANC had to deny rumors that white families' swimming pools would be nationalized. The Mandela/De Klerk regime will confront strikes and protests by workers in the powerful and combative black unions, the occupation of white-owned residential property by homeless squatters, demands to distribute white-owned land to the impoverished blacks long trapped on the bantustans.

Bulow/Black Star

ANC campaign rally in Johannesburg. Black masses' expectations of "freedom" and a better life will be shattered as new government defends interests of capitalist Randlords.

Confrontation Looming with Black Labor

In the vote results, Mandela's African National Congress got some 12 million votes, a little under 63 percent of the total; De Klerk's National Party, 4 million votes, or 20 percent; and Buthelezi's Inkatha supposedly received 2 million, or 10 percent of the vote. The ANC took an overwhelming majority in six out of eight provincial legislatures. In the Western Cape (centered on Cape Town), the Nats won 53 percent against the ANC's 33 percent, by crudely stoking fears among the "coloured" (mixed race) population over the prospect of a black government. In KwaZulu/Natal, where Inkatha is credited with over half the total while the ANC received one-third, there is evidence of massive voter fraud. However, Mandela refused to challenge this, raising speculations of a "deal within the deal," to let Buthelezi have enough votes to bring him into the cabinet. The London *Guardian* (7 May) bluntly asserted:

> "The Independent Electoral Commission and the African National Congress conspired to hand control of KwaZulu/Natal to Mangosuthu Buthulezi in the hope of buying peace in the blood-soaked province."

The composition of the new cabinet tells a story about the betrayal of aspirations for black freedom and the class nature of the state. While Mandela is president and the ANC's chief yuppie Thabo Mbeki is first deputy president (and likely successor to the 75-year-old chief of state), De Klerk is now second deputy president. The ministry of finance will stay in the hands of Derek Keys, former chief executive officer of Gencor, the second-largest mining house in South Africa, who held this key position in De Klerk's NP government. The ANC's 15 cabinet ministers are heavily loaded with members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long played a leading role in the Congress. Longtime SACP chief Joe Slovo is Minister of Housing and Welfare: nothing "red" about him but his trademark red socks. Slovo transformed himself from hardline Stalinist to soft-core "market socialist."

Other SACPers hold down key positions such as defense (Joe Modise, who like Slovo and assassinated SACP general secretary Chris Hani, was a former head of the ANC's armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe), police (Sydney Mufamadi) and foreign affairs (Alfred Nzo), while former COSATU union federation leader Jay Naidoo is in charge of implementing the ANC's "reconstruction accord." De Klerk reportedly complained that the Nats were not given the security ministries, but despite unease in ruling circles over "reds" in strategic positions, the fact is they will preside over the same apartheid army and apartheid police. They are prevented from carrying out even a cosmetic "purge" by the "sunset clause" designed by...Joe Slovo. So after the collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule ushered in counterrevolution across the Soviet Union and East Europe, the CP gets to join in administering a country *in coalition with and in the interests of apartheid capital!*

The ANC came within a couple of percentage points of the two-thirds majority that would enable it to change the new constitution and prevent vetoes by the white-right in the cabinet and new parliament. The ANC showed evident relief at this outcome, as the *New York Times* (7 May) noted:

> "The decisive election outcome fell short of the two-thirds majority that would have given Mr. Mandela a free hand in writing a new Constitution, but today he professed to be pleased at the shortfall.
>
> "'I feel very relieved we did not get the two-thirds majority, because already tensions were building up that we were going to write our own Constitution,' he said."

What Mandela is worried about now is the looming confrontation with the black labor movement. A dispute between the ANC and its union allies broke into the open two weeks before the election, after a call by ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Slovo for a strike moratorium. Under pressure from its ranks, COSATU reacted sharply, saying it "would not in principle support any call for a general moratorium on strike action, even for a limited period" (*Weekly Mail*, 15 April).

Some of the most controversial clauses in the constitution include one that limits the right to strike to purely "economic" issues and another that sanctifies the employers' "right" to lock out workers. Last November, the black unions marched on the "power sharing" negotiations and were preparing for a general strike to knock these clauses out of the constitution. The unionists were strong-armed into calling off their strike by Slovo and COSATU head Sam Shilowa (also SACP), who promised them if they voted for the ANC, with a two-thirds majority they would immediately rewrite the constitution.

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

In South Africa today, a genuinely communist, Bolshevik workers party is urgently needed to champion the aspirations of the black, coloured and Indian masses, as well as many anti-apartheid whites, in struggle against the bogus "power-sharing" deal with apartheid capitalism and to fight for workers revolution. In the April 26-28 elections, in fighting for the principle of proletarian opposition to all the capitalist parties, including the ANC, we gave *critical support* to the Workers List Party. The WLP ran on an "anti-capitalist" platform against the ANC and its "government of national unity," calling for a mass workers party. As we wrote in *WV* No. 599 (29 April):

> "The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC."

The WLP, which was initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) of Neville Alexander, while it did not present a Marxist-revolutionary solution, at least posed the need for an independent working-class party.

Reuters

Racist South African police, notorious for terrorizing township residents and repressing anti-apartheid struggle. They will continue their dirty job under an ANC-dominated government.

In calling for a vote to the WLP, we noted that their manifesto was a standard reformist laundry list of demands. Further indication of this orientation is the fact that they reportedly accepted the election campaign funds doled out by the government for parties on the ballot. This opens them up to financial pressure from the capitalist state: he who pays the piper calls the tune. We also pointed out that nowhere in their platform did the WLP define itself in reference to the ANC, nor did it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid regime.

Without a revolutionary program, the politics of the WOSA/WLP will inevitably amount to pressuring the ANC/NP government. This perspective of reformist pressure politics was made explicit in a post-election WLP statement (printed in *Socialist Organiser*, 5 May), which states:

> "Our first salvo in the war on poverty is our campaign to have the right to work entrenched in any new constitution so that the demand for jobs for all becomes enforceable by law. Only through the massive pressure of the streets will the parliamentary representatives of the voters be forced to bring about reforms that make a difference to the lives of the majority."

The fight for jobs is indeed a key demand in South Africa today, where 40 percent and more of the black population is unemployed. But to pose this in terms of a clause in the neo-apartheid constitution is parliamentary idiocy. What's needed is to mobilize the *power* of black labor in concerted and militant industrial action in the struggle to sweep away the Mandela/De Klerk regime.

The ANC, in effect co-rulers of capitalist South Africa since the Transitional Executive Committee was installed last December, is now formally in office, administering the affairs of the bourgeoisie along with De Klerk's National Party. And the mass organizations of the black workers, the COSATU union federation and the SACP, are directly tied to the bourgeois ANC in a nationalist "popular front." Meanwhile, the military forces of the apartheid regime, the core of the capitalist state, remain intact, simply adding a lightly armed and impotent "peacekeeping" force to patrol the townships.

With the enormous difference that the race question plays in South Africa, this precarious situation recalls the experience of the leftist Unidad Popular government headed by Salvador Allende in Chile in the early 1970s. Like the "sunset clauses" in South Africa, Allende signed a statute of "constitutional guarantees" pledging not to touch the army. In the meantime, the UP enforced capitalist "law and order," attempting to squelch strikes and land occupations, and gradually demoralizing its working-class supporters. After three years in power, the army under supposedly "constitutionalist" general Pinochet launched a bloodbath that killed tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants, and installed a military dictatorship that drove down wages and remained in power for almost two decades. Pinochet himself is still enjoying a "sunset clause" that bans the present "democratic" government from removing this butcher as head of the armed forces.

Thirty million black South Africans did not endure the living prisons of the mines, the "hippo" armored personnel carriers rumbling through the townships, generations of humiliation, torture and exile, just to achieve bogus "power sharing" with the fabulously wealthy Randlords and the Jo'burg stockbrokers. As the ANC military units "integrate" into the South African apartheid army, and COSATU leaders subordinate themselves to the ANC/NP regime, they will be used against the struggles of their own supporters.

Moves by the new regime to repress black struggles will rapidly discredit the ANC leadership in the face of unrest by militant sections of its base. On the other hand, attempts to conciliate the demands of the black masses may lead key sectors of the white ruling class, which retains fundamental control over the army and police, to scrap the "power sharing" deal altogether, raising the spectre of civil war. A resurgence of ethnic conflagration exacerbated by the intervention of the apartheid army could turn whole regions into bloody battlefields. Whatever happens in South Africa, one thing is certain: freedom and equality for the black African, coloured and Indian toilers demands the struggle for a black-centered workers republic under the leadership of a racially integrated revolutionary party. No "power sharing" with the Randlords! Break with the ANC! Those who toil must rule! ■

LAPD Assaults "Cinco de Mayo" Celebration

LOS ANGELES—The nation's largest celebration of Cinco de Mayo, Mexico's Independence Day, this year drew more than half a million people to downtown L.A. Packing a 36-square-block area, the crowd of overwhelmingly Latino families had flocked to "Fiesta Broadway" in anticipation of a sunny May Day of tasty food and vibrant music. But instead, the notorious racist LAPD thugs went on a rampage against the festivalgoers, sending 12 people to the hospital and arresting 14 others.

Itching for the chance to inflict their new "crowd control" tactics, the police forced everyone to go through gates where particularly Latino youth were frisked. Then the cops provocatively shut down radio station KPWR's sound stage just as popular performer Stevie B. was to go on. When the young audience, which had been waiting patiently for hours, expressed their frustration by lobbing a few bottles, the LAPD launched a vicious assault, firing 12-gauge shotguns loaded with rubber bullets into the crowd and setting off a stampede of terrified Angelenos—it's a wonder no one was killed.

As usual, police and city officials are blaming the cops' victims for "provoking" the attack, smearing the youthful crowd as "gang members." The LAPD has always tagged black and Hispanic youth with the "gang" label, in order to treat them as criminals and thus alibi the cops' routine harassment, beatings and street executions of minority youth. The fact is that the huge crowd was remarkably orderly, with few disturbances reported until the LAPD caused their own. Black and Latino residents know full well how the gang in blue uniforms terrorize their neighborhoods.

Downs/L.A. Times

May Day: L.A. cops attack Latino participants at "Fiesta Broadway."

Almost two years to the day since the social explosion that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the racist cops who nearly killed Rodney King, the LAPD—backed up by right-wing Republican mayor Richard Riordan, who was elected last year on an "anti-crime" campaign—has stepped up its repression against blacks and Latinos. The racist rulers of L.A. clearly don't recognize the implications of declaring war on the country's largest Latino community—they think they can blithely continue to ride roughshod over the people who make this city run.

In L.A., the integrated labor movement is the key to defend the ghettos and barrios against racist cop terror. Many largely Latino area unions have themselves been on the receiving end of the LAPD's batons. In militant strike actions janitors, drywallers and hotel workers have come up against these hired thugs of the capitalist state. Last fall the mostly Latino independent truckers shut down the Port of L.A. for more than a week. And just across the border, the powerful Mexican working class labors under the yoke of imperialist exploitation in "free-trade zones" and American-owned sweatshops.

A class-struggle anti-racist leadership must be forged to rouse the multiracial working class to the defense of the besieged masses of L.A. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

bitter lessons from the history of the Panthers, who lost 38 members to the government's campaign of racist murder. "The Black Panthers said they wanted to be revolutionaries, and they did. They were the best of a generation of black youth," she noted. At the same time, "There was another reason that the Panthers were destroyed. They went right up against the limits of their program.... You see in the Panthers a very, very militant organization fighting for a very reformist program."

Last month FOX-TV in L.A. ran two additional segments on Geronimo. One show detailed the role of FBI/LAPD fink Julius Butler, whose lying testimony put Geronimo behind bars. The second segment focused on the two dozen years of mistreatment, persecution and harassment of Geronimo by prison officials. It illustrates how state officials have treated Geronimo with the belief that because he was a Panther they can say any lie and can do anything to him—going all the way back to the big lie that Geronimo supposedly committed the murder of Caroline Olsen in December 1968, at a time when the government knows he was in Oakland attending Panther meetings.

The FOX broadcast shows how, even as he was being held in L.A. County jail awaiting trial, Geronimo's racist jailers attempted to portray him as the mastermind of an attempt to break Panther spokesman George Jackson out of San Quentin prison in 1971. The "jail break," in which Jackson was supposed to have concealed a gun in an Afro wig, was a fabrication by San Quentin guards to justify their cold-blooded assassination of Jackson in the San Quentin yard. The FBI also tried to link Geronimo to the 1974 Patty Hearst kidnapping and to leadership of prison gangs. A lawsuit filed by the PDC against the California Department of Corrections is challenging these outrageous lies.

Geronimo continues to win support from the labor movement. In recent months, SEIU Local 1877 in Oakland and the Central Labor Council of Alameda County are among those unions to write Los Angeles D.A. Garcetti calling for Geronimo's release. On April 22, Jerry Williams, president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 in Chicago, sent a letter to Garcetti stating,

> "On April 12, 1994, Amalgamated Transit Union—Local 308 members voted unanimously to demand the immediate release of Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt.... Geronimo Pratt's only 'crime' was to pursue his vision of social justice. For that the state of California took away 23 years of his life. It is within your authority to right this injustice and we urge you to free 'Geronimo' now."

On behalf of his union, Leroy Collier, president of National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, wrote:

> "We protest the great injustice done to this activist who fought for the liberation of Black people. We protest the continual harassment that ji Jaga (Pratt) has suffered at the hands of the prison officials for more than two decades."

Geronimo has won support from many quarters—NAACP head Ben Chavis, Congressman Ron Dellums, Amnesty International, trade unions like the powerful Longshoremen, Social Service Workers, L.A. Teachers, the Central Labor Council of Alameda County and many others. At the NYC forum, Paul Cooperstein of the PDC noted, "To workers fighting to defend their jobs and their unions, those who fight to defend the right to abortion, who oppose the U.S.' bloody massacres as in Iraq and Somalia, to anti-racists everywhere, we say hard class struggle is needed to defeat the barrage of reaction now hitting minorities, workers, women and youth. The time is now to fight for Geronimo who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system behind bars for too long. Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!"

The fight against Geronimo's ongoing persecution costs a lot of money. We are up against the vast resources of the state. To help defray the costs of litigation we urge you to send contributions to the PDC, earmarked "Geronimo."

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy, send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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- Activists Remember the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Era
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- Vancouver: 3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads
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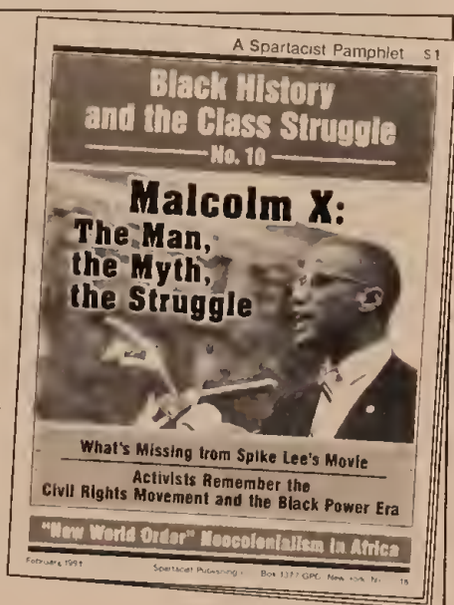

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Killer Cops...

(continued from page 16)

As the Park Hill community took to the streets in outrage, Giuliani and top cop Bratton unleashed their "massive response" policy. On Saturday, 40 youth, some as young as 4 years old, were besieged by over 300 cops. One cop was seen pounding on a protester with his riot shield. By the end of the day, at least eleven protesters were arrested. The night before, when 150 residents protested the killing, cops were mobilized from all five boroughs, arresting four people and beating a photographer from the College of Staten Island. We demand: Drop all charges against the Park Hill protesters! Killer cops out of Park Hill!

Cop terror against minorities on Staten Island is Giuliani's payback to racist voters there who provided his margin of victory against Dinkins. It's his way of saying that if they stick with New York City he'll keep blacks "in their place." Giuliani inaugurated his reign with the cop killing of 17-year-old Shuaib Latif in Brooklyn, while it was Democrat Dinkins who hired more cops than any other NYC mayor in history. Giuliani's "massive response," the truancy roundups of minority youth, arming cops with 9mm guns: all this is part of the *national* racist "law-and-order" campaign sponsored by Democrat Clinton's White House. The federal government declares to residents of housing projects in Chicago and elsewhere: agree to drug sweeps or we'll throw you out on the street!

Racist cop terror *must* be fought, but how? "Civilian review boards" and "independent commissions" pushed by Fulani and other misleaders have done absolutely *nothing* to stop these attacks. The same is true with demands for more black cops, pushed by the likes of Al Sharpton, himself an admitted FBI fink. Ernest Sayon was beaten to death by a black cop. This case shows that this is only a scheme for "equal opportunity" to commit racist terror. A group called the International Socialist Organization (ISO) popped up in the Park Hill protests Saturday, recklessly leading the few dozen defenseless black youth up against the vastly larger police forces and then abandoning the protesters to face the cop attack. This is criminal! Even on paper the ISO misleads militants about the police, saying that these murderous hired thugs of the ruling class are... part of the workers movement! Their British cothinkers support cop strikes and brag about "prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives and would read *Socialist Worker*"!

McDarrah/Village Voice

WV Photos

NYC mayor Giuliani's racist cops launch vicious charge against black youth at April 30 Staten Island protest.

The bosses' cops cannot be "cleaned up" or otherwise reformed. The police are the guardians of a racist *system* that depends on the oppression of blacks and the exploitation of all workers for its survival. The killings of Shuaib Latif and Ernest Sayon are the bloody edge of Giuliani's attacks on all of the working people: massive layoffs, cutbacks in schools, housing, hospitals. Minority communities must *link up* with the integrated labor movement, which has the potential to *shut this city down*. Today, militant transit workers are fighting to mobilize the full power of the Transport Workers Union behind black track worker James Frazier, a victim of a nearly fatal police shooting who was then fired by the Transit Authority bosses and brought up on phony gun possession charges.

What holds back these necessary struggles is the rotten labor "leadership" that works hand in glove with Giuliani and Wall Street on gutting the jobs and benefits of the workers of this city. We need a new leadership, an integrated workers party, to fight for all the oppressed in struggle against the capitalist rulers. Bloody cop terror will be swept away forever when the multiracial working class runs this society—not for the profits of a few, but for the benefit of all. We need a socialist fight to destroy this system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression!

The integrated labor movement must mobilize to defend New York's besieged minority communities. Killer cops out of Park Hill! Drop all charges against the Park Hill protesters!

New York Spartacist League

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

The CHA raids involve police from nine agencies, including the sinister Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF); recently even the Secret Service got in on the act with a plan to "return order" to the projects. As CHA chairman Vincent Lane vowed that the sweeps would continue, Cisneros ultimately admitted the government probably couldn't impose mandatory searches. But extorting "voluntary consent" will be business as usual for the CHA. Lane arrogantly declares: "If you don't like it, you don't live here."

CHA residents must carry a pass reminiscent of the worst days of apartheid South Africa. Hundreds have been arrested and *thousands* driven out through harassment or eviction on pretexts ranging from drug possession to allowing non-residents to spend the night. (Lane even tried making *truancy* grounds for eviction.) In August 1992 CHA guards killed a young black man at the Harold Ickes Homes. When residents and others protested, the cops arrested 22 people. Bill Small, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, faces up to ten years in prison on two counts of aggravated battery. We say: Drop the charges now!

The CHA's chilling police-state methods are catching on across the country. On April 27, nearly four dozen housing cops, federal agents and National Guardsmen staged a dawn raid on three projects in the South Bronx. Armed with firearms, tranquilizer guns, battering rams—everything, it seems, except a warrant—the government commandos conducted a room-by-room search and arrested 31 people on charges of drug possession. Two days later, NYC cops killed a young black man in Staten Island during a drug sweep.

A model for Clinton's plans is the HUD-controlled Geneva Towers in San Francisco, which is surrounded by a ten-foot fence and bristles with surveillance cameras, including on rooftops. To get to their apartments—which are regularly broken into by 60 heavily armed private security guards—tenants and visitors have to pass through a "security room" where they can be frisked or handcuffed and beaten if they look "suspicious" (*Wall Street Journal*, 26 April).

Clinton's attack on the rights of a voiceless and vulnerable sector of the population foreshadows a widening assault against *everyone's* rights to privacy and to bear arms. The 1990 Gun Free School Zone Act, now before the Supreme Court, makes it a federal offense to possess any firearm—loaded or not—within *1,000 feet* of any school building, even if unoccupied. And with the passage of a ban on so-called assault weapons in the House last week, Congress is well on the way to approving Clinton's draconian crime bill, which will mean more killer cops, more prisons, more death penalties and more gun control.

The "war on crime," like the "war on drugs," is nothing but *state terror* aimed at keeping minorities and all working people in this decaying capitalist society in line.

The CHA cop sweeps are part of a policy to depopulate and sell off CHA properties (see "From Chicago to the West Bank," *WV* No. 538, 8 November 1991). Democratic mayor Richard Daley and CHA boss Lane plan to turf residents out of Cabrini-Green on the Near North Side to free it up for capitalist developers expanding west from the Gold Coast. Said one resident, "It's like an Indian reservation. They want the land, so they are going to chase us off" (*Chicago Tribune*, 21 April). Meanwhile, unused luxury housing and office space continue to proliferate in and around the downtown Loop. A revolutionary leadership would mobilize Chicago's powerful trade unions to open up this housing to the homeless and the ghetto poor.

For years the Democratic politicians who run Chicago have blatantly ignored a court order for the construction of integrated public housing in scattered sites as an alternative to the CHA's high-rise "vertical ghettos." Now Lane is cynically promoting a few token scattered-site projects to cover up the destruction of public housing, while assuring suburbanites that they are "not going to be overrun with poor people" (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 April). When Daley proposed relocating most CHA residents to the suburbs rather than among *his* constituents in the all-white Northwest and Southwest Sides, it set off a firestorm of racism. Chicago alderman James Laski raved: "If somebody wants to call me a racist for not wanting scattered-site housing in my community, so be it."

Today even the utterly reasonable demand for massive public works to construct quality, integrated housing for all runs head-on against the limitations of a decaying profit system. More than ever, the ghettos have become holding pens for a whole layer of permanently unemployed black youth condemned to an early death because this racist ruling class deems them to be a "surplus population." It will take a socialist revolution to eliminate the horrors of racism, homelessness and police terror, and unleash the resources of this society for the benefit of all the oppressed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Staten Island

Giuliani's Killer Cops

"War on Drugs" Targets Minorities

The brutal police killing of 22-year-old Ernest Sayon, a black Staten Island youth whose family immigrated from Liberia, has provoked outrage throughout New York City. The Spartacist League has taken part in protests against this racist atrocity, and issued the May 5 leaflet reprinted below.

The death of Ernest "Kase" Sayon was an out-and-out racist killing! On April 29, he was savagely beaten by one Officer Brown at Staten Island's Park Hill Apartments during a drug stakeout. The cops refused to let an ambulance crew administer treatment, and less than an hour later Sayon was pronounced dead at a nearby hospital. One Park Hill youth protester spoke for all: "This is Rodney King all over again."

To the racist rulers of this city, Ernest Sayon's death is just a bit of "collateral damage" in the "war on drugs." It's a war all right: a war on minorities and poor people left to rot by the capitalist rulers who have nothing else to offer us. As Sayon's aunt bitterly expressed, "The mayor said we're trying to clean the community up and these things are unfortunate. What are we, roaches? You don't handcuff someone and kill them. Everyone tells the same story about what happened. It was in broad daylight."

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Ernest Sayon

April 30 protest on Staten Island against NYPD killing of Sayon was met by "massive response" of cop terror.

Clinton Goes After Bill of Rights

Racist Search-and-Destroy Raids on Public Housing

Chicago

CHICAGO—A 4 a.m. kick through the door, and you're surrounded in your own home by uniformed thugs armed to the teeth and screaming racist slurs. Nazi Germany? No, this is Clinton's America. As part of his racist "war on crime," the "Democratic" president is dead set on overturning the Fourth Amendment's guarantee against unlawful search and seizure when it comes to the nation's desperately poor and largely minority public housing residents.

Chicago is the testing ground for a series of repressive measures Clinton announced last month to turn public housing projects across the country into virtual concentration camps. Prepared by the departments of Justice and Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the blueprint calls for surrounding projects with "protective fencing," installing metal detectors at all entrances, speeding up the issuance of search warrants, frisking residents and guests and writing tenant "consent" to no-knock searches into leases. The cop raids would enforce policies calling for the eviction of anyone possessing even a legal firearm.

When a federal district court ruled on April 7 that a five-year-old Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) policy authorizing random apartment sweeps without a search warrant was unconstitutional, Clinton fumed with cynical concern for the "rights" of crime victims. But Ethel Washington, president of the Robert Taylor Homes advisory council, spoke for thousands of CHA residents when she said, "The law is not supposed to be for just the rich . . . They want to tear up the Constitution." A black World War II vet shouted at HUD secretary Henry Cisneros when he visited the Chicago projects, "This is what they did in [Nazi] Germany. Now they're trying to do this to the black man" (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 12 April).

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Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Clinton and cops take aim at inner-city public housing residents.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 601

27 May 1994

Smash the Bloody Junta—For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Yankee Imperialists Hands Off Haiti!

Down With the Starvation Blockade! Stop Racist Seizure of Haitian Refugees!

Late last week President Clinton brandished a rhetorical "big stick" at the Haitian military, talking of a U.S. invasion of Haiti for the second time this century. At a May 19 press conference, Clinton announced that he was "weighing" military action to oust Haiti's junta if the new, more stringent United Nations sanctions failed. Listing six justifications, he began with the classic expression of Yankee imperialist arrogance, "It's in our backyard." Next on his list were drug trafficking by the junta and the spectre of waves of Haitian boat people as the murderous regime steps up its killings of political opponents, seeking to terrorize slum dwellers and peasants.

Clinton's announcement was a response to the heat he's been getting from white liberals and the Congressional Black Caucus, who have been lambasting his Haitian non-policy. The Bush/Dole Republican leadership, the Pentagon and the CIA are quite content with the present gang in power in Port-au-Prince. But facing the possibility of a mass exodus of Haitian refugees fleeing murderous repression and the starvation embargo, even some right-wingers are now sympathetic to the U.S. reinstalling ousted populist president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Right-wing columnist William Safire has gotten into the act, calling for creation of a "Haitian

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Teun Voeten/Impact Visuals

U.S. dumps Haitian refugees on docks of Port-au-Prince, where they face terror by murderous military regime.

The Rwanda Horror

The small central African republic of Rwanda is being swept by an orgy of murderous ethnic violence that since early April has left up to 250,000 dead and driven more than one million people from their homes. The massacres have been directed mainly against the country's Tutsi ethnic minority by the Hutu-dominated army and death squads mounted by the Hutu-based ruling party. Reports from journalists and refugees describe unspeakable horrors as children in schools and orphanages, patients in hospitals, families seeking refuge in churches have been hacked to death with machetes. Some 40,000 bodies dumped into rivers have reportedly floated into Lake Victoria, causing Uganda to declare the region a disaster area because of the health hazard. And the murderous frenzy could easily spread to neighboring Burundi, where last fall some 100,000 were killed, mainly Hutus, by the Tutsi-dominated army.

The hideous carnage in Rwanda has been all over the imperialist media, often portrayed in racist terms of "black-on-black violence." Liberals and African governments have called for United Nations intervention. After Washington's debacle in Somalia, the U.S. is hesitant

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Bitter Legacy of Colonialism

Reuters

A quarter million desperate refugees fleeing ethnic slaughter in Rwanda streamed across border to Tanzania in a single day.

0 74470 81030 8 21

Defend Lansing Anti-Fascists!

Police Pens Are a Trap

Hundreds of anti-fascists are herded into fenced-in enclosures, stripped of their personal belongings and then set upon by an army of black-booted, uniformed thugs. Germany, 1933? No, it's the American Midwest in 1994.

On April 23 in Lansing, Michigan, more than 500 cops in riot gear unleashed a violent assault on anti-fascist militants protesting a Klan recruitment rally. As a score of KKK scum waved Confederate flags on the steps of the state Capitol, the police prepared a trap for the 800 counterdemonstrators. Anti-racists seeking to protest the Klan were herded through two metal detectors into a chain-link pen surrounded by the cops. "Snipers positioned themselves on downtown rooftops while 18 mounted deputies patrolled the area," according to the *State News* (25 April), the student newspaper at Michigan State University. Cops maced anti-fascist protesters *inside the pen*.

After escorting the white-supremacists away under heavy police protection, the cops went after the anti-Klan demonstrators with a vengeance. Volleys of CS tear gas were shot off "to hurry the crowd's departure," in the words of a police department spokesman. Those who didn't run fast enough were attacked by cops wielding nightsticks and riot shields. The police arrested anyone they got their hands on. "Cops placed automatic rifles in their backs while they searched the demonstrators. Rows of police carried out sweeping maneuvers of streets and plazas. In one case a police line racked shells into their pump shotguns" (*Workers World Service*, 9 May).

Eight anti-fascists were arrested. One victim of this cop riot faces a trumped-up felony charge of "assault with intent to inflict great bodily harm." We demand: *Drop all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators!*

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have consistently warned anti-fascist protesters that *police pens are a deadly trap!* These pens are the new, preferred method of anti-fascist "crowd control" by police agencies across the Midwest. Anyone who enters these traps is searched and stripped of any possible means of self-defense. At a demonstration against the Klan in Dayton, Ohio on March 19, cops confiscated not only weapons but cameras, cellular phones, hair picks, jewelry, and excluded people wearing steel-tipped boots. Anti-racist youth who go into these pens are completely at the mercy of the racist cops, with their guns, their gas, their nightsticks and their horses.

The police, armed defenders of the racist profit system, are interpenetrated with fascist groups like the KKK, capitalism's extralegal dogs of race war. When a handful of KKKers blew away five anti-Klan demonstrators in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, the killers were aided by the capitalist state: an FBI agent led them to the site, an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) gave them firearms training, the local cops "disappeared" just in time for the massacre—and the courts let the fascist murderers go free! For anti-Klan demonstrators to place their fate in the hands of such forces is suicidal.

In the new "copspeak," police pens are called "public observation areas" where anti-fascists are permitted to bear impotent moral witness of the deadly Ku Klux Klan and Nazi scum. These pens are a law-and-order "success" only because *anti-racist demonstrators voluntarily enter them*. Here the cops are getting invaluable assistance from an array of "left" groups that herd their supporters into these traps to "protest" the Klan under the thumb of the cops. To ensure that a KKK rally could proceed unimpeded on May 7 in Springfield, Illinois, the state built a costly, high-tech fence over the Capitol grounds, complete with airport-style metal detectors at the cop-controlled points of entrance and egress. Pathetically, the International Socialist

continued on page 5

TROTSKY

LENIN

Sacco and Vanzetti—Class War Martyrs

The frame-up and execution of the immigrant American anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the 1920s galvanized mass working-class protest from Buenos Aires and New York to Berlin and Moscow. On the eve of their judicial murder, James P. Cannon, chairman of the International Labor Defense, pointed out that the two worker militants had already suffered the prolonged torture of seven years in prison with the death sentence hanging over their heads. Today the militant black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has already spent almost 12 years on Pennsylvania's death row, must not suffer the same fate as Sacco and Vanzetti! The Partisan Defense Committee, continuing the tradition of Cannon's ILD, calls for putting all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts. For mass working-class action to save Jamal!

The cause of Sacco and Vanzetti demands of us, of the entire labor movement, militant, unhesitating and united support. We may have different opinions on many problems; but there is one thing we have become sure of in these seven years in which we have said our word for Sacco and Vanzetti. We have become absolutely convinced that the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the case of these two Italian workers in Massachusetts, is not the case of two hold-up men or bandits. We have become convinced that it is the working class against the capitalists. We have become convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti are not only innocent of this specific crime which they are charged with, but that they are innocent of any crime except that of being rebels against capitalist exploitation of the masses....

Despite the hundreds of interminable nights and days of imprisonment, with the ghastly thought of execution constantly in their minds, they have remained as simply true to the worker' cause as they were before this infamous frame-up was conceived in the minds of the Massachusetts reaction. Yes, their persecution has even steeled their convictions, and has already bound them inseparably with the history of the American labor movement.

After seven years they came to court for sentence. I wish every worker in America could read the speech that Vanzetti made there. After seven years of torture, with the death sentence hanging over him, this man stood up in court, not as one guilty, not as one afraid. He turned to the judge on the bench and said to him:

> "You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking with fear, because you are the one that is guilty of attempt to murder."...

Let us demand not only the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti. Let us demand also the impeachment of the monstrous judge who tried and sentenced them. Let us consider ways and means of making our protest more effective. From this great movement, from the words of Sacco and Vanzetti, let us draw inspiration.

We have hope, and we have faith in the workers of America, and in the workers of the rest of the world, who have so often and readily responded to the calls for solidarity and aid for Sacco and Vanzetti. Every worker in the land must be made to realize the monstrosity and significance to the whole labor movement of this crime. Every worker must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brothers to build a solid wall of defense for the victims of the Massachusetts Bourbons who are bent on their bestial revenge. Only the great and inspiring solidarity of the whole working class will succeed in snatching Sacco and Vanzetti from the chair of death.

—James P. Cannon, "A Speech for Sacco and Vanzetti,"
Labor Defender, June 1927

Darrell Taunt

Lansing, Michigan, April 23—Cops herded hundreds of anti-Klan protesters into chain-link pen. They maced the crowd, arresting eight protesters.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Fight for an All-Out Strike to Shut Down CAT and Deere!

EAST PEORIA, Illinois—A strike by 7,200 members of United Auto Workers Local 974 quickly spread among Caterpillar's Peoria-area plants last week after the company indefinitely suspended 37 workers at the company's Mossville facility on May 16. The workers were suspended for refusing to remove balloons from their tool boxes! The balloons carried a call for the ouster of Caterpillar chairman Don Fites.

As word of the suspensions spread, first-shift workers at CAT's Mossville assembly plant immediately walked out in solidarity. The action quickly spread to Caterpillar's two other plants, in East Peoria and Mapleton. A striker told *Workers Vanguard* that Local 974 bureaucrats tried to confine the strike to the Mossville plant, but when they called the Mapleton foundry to order workers to stay on the job, they were informed that pickets were already up. By the third shift all three plants were struck. At the CAT plant in Aurora, UAW tops moaned, "We are having a hard time keeping our members in" (*Peoria Journal Star*, 17 May).

Two days into the walkout, Caterpillar threatened to replace striking workers by recalling laid-off workers and hiring scabs. Management also withdrew health coverage from the strikers and declared that the union could pay the $625 per month premium. The next day, over 500 strikers staged a defiant lunchtime rally at Caterpillar's corporate headquarters in downtown Peoria, chanting, "Bring 'em back!" and "Union!" Caterpillar's claim that 15 percent of the workforce were crossing the line was met by derision from strikers—the parking lots were empty.

But the threat of hiring scabs was all it took to get the UAW tops to call off the walkout on May 20, after Caterpillar agreed to reinstate 34 unionists. The bureaucrats abandoned three workers who remain suspended because of what company spokesmen described as "prior disciplinary problems."

This was the eighth job action at Caterpillar since September, as workers rebel against the measures the company has exacted since the defeat of the 163-day strike that ended in April 1992. In that crucial battle, the UAW's Solidarity House first called a partial strike that dragged on for months. Then, when the company announced they would hire scabs, rather than mobilizing powerful union support from throughout the Midwest, UAW chief Bieber ordered Caterpillar workers back. The strike was knifed just hours after the AFL-CIO executive council voted to endorse "right-to-work" Democrat Bill Clinton for president.

"Sacrifice House" plays by the bosses' rules. In the face of the ongoing union-busting offensive by Caterpillar, the UAW tops have pursued the same impotent strategy that killed the 1991-92 strike. The so-called "in-plant strategy" of slowdowns and "corporate campaign" begging of stockholders is the same setup foisted on Staley workers in nearby Decatur by Ray Rogers and former UAW regional director Jerry Tucker, before the company called their bluff and locked the workers out.

At Caterpillar the company is continuing on a full-scale union-busting offensive. Dozens of workers have been fired since the strike for union-related activities and hundreds of others have been disciplined. CAT workers have continued to fight for their union with courage and determination. After a bitter defeat, brief walkouts can be a useful tactic to reassert the union's capacity to fight. But endless guerrilla warfare will not win against such a determined enemy, and the hard fact is that the *UAW tops have no strategy for a fight to win.*

Now that negotiations with John Deere are coming up this fall, the UAW sellouts are anxious to cut any deal they can with Caterpillar. But the opposite should be the case. What was needed in '91 was an all-out strike by the construction/agricultural equipment workers—Deere, CAT, everybody. And that's what union actions today should be building toward. The "in-plant strategy" that can work is a *sitdown strike*—seize the plants with their valuable machinery and hold them!

The political program behind the UAW tops' "inside game" is to look not to labor's power but to the Democrats in Congress to pass the AFL-CIO's much-ballyhooed bill to supposedly outlaw "striker replacement." Actually, it would only prohibit *permanent* hiring of scabs, while imposing arbitration on all labor disputes! And the capitalist Democratic Party has no intention of passing it, certainly not as long as it has its loyal "labor lieutenants" to sabotage militant strikes from within.

WV Photo

Hundreds of striking UAW workers rally in front of Caterpillar's Peoria headquarters May 19, protesting company's suspension of 37 workers.

The UAW leadership's defeatist strategy was on full review as the union staged a gaudy rally, "Defending the American Dream," at the Peoria Civic Center on May 7. The 15,000 unionists attending, mostly auto workers from as far away as Michigan, were bombarded with flag-waving protectionism and impotent appeals to the Democratic Party.

The UAW's Owen Bieber, while plumping for the "striker replacement" bill, sounded the theme, "Let's Get CAT Back on Track." He abjectly pleaded with the company to "put all this behind us so CAT can keep its competitive position in the world market." Fat chance—the company is raking in the profits, with a projected $760 million this year.

UAW vice president Bill Casstevens announced the union's latest empty ploy—begging CAT to either return to the terms of the 1991 contract as the basis for new negotiations or submit to binding arbitration. But even this groveling by the UAW tops was not enough to satisfy CAT's union-busting appetites.

The *same day* that thousands of unionists gathered in Peoria, the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations in nearby Decatur and Springfield. What was urgently needed was a powerful labor and minority mobilization to *crush* the nightriding KKK and Nazi scum, who also fill the ranks of strikebreaking outfits like Vance Security, used by Caterpillar. But the union tops sabotage multiracial struggle against the fascists: back in January, Illinois state AFL-CIO chief Don Johnson, a featured speaker at the May 7 UAW rally, ordered union locals throughout the state to "stay away" from the labor/black mobilization built by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League to stop the KKK's provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday in Springfield.

As a Mossville worker with 21 years' seniority told *WV* at the rally outside Caterpillar headquarters, "We need to stop walking out of those plants, we should just sit down inside the plant like they did at GM in the '30s." Such class-struggle action is what the Spartacist League fights for: mobilize union power to *win* strikes! And mobilize politically for workers power by ousting the bureaucrat friends of the Democrats, who are no friends of labor, and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership fighting for a workers party.

New York: Immigrant Workers' Strike Rattles the Harvard Club

Over 130 strikers from Local 6 of the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees (HERE) union have been giving members of New York's oh-so-private Harvard Club a lesson in class struggle they probably didn't get at their alma mater. Since April 8, they have kept picket lines up 24 hours a day, carrying signs saying "It's wrong to cross a picket line."

Management wants to take away health benefits and force huge co-payments for medical coverage and make workers go without sick pay and other bonuses. The givebacks could mean a $700 annual pay cut for workers. And the pittance that workers earn in "bonuses" for doing extra chores, such as making coffee "just so" or shucking and garnishing oysters to a member's demanding tastes, are on the chopping block. One proposal is to take away a $10 bonus paid to workers who clean "vomit, blood, excrement, etc." when the members can't keep their boozy lunches down. For the fat cats who probably write off club dues as "business expenses" on their taxes, this is truly rich.

Many of the strikers are Hispanic and Asian immigrants who have more than 30 years on the job catering to the penny-pinching ruling-class elite in the style to which they've been accustomed. Their "patrons" are Harvard-trained capitalist bosses who have plenty of experience in union-busting and corporate blood-sucking from Mexico to Southeast Asia. Cold food preparer Dulal Bhowmik earns $335 a week; many of the lawyers in the club charge that much and more per hour.

Club president Don Shapiro, who also is president of New York Federal Savings Bank, is claiming the club is losing money, while managing a $250,000 annual set-aside to buy the building next to the 100-year-old club on West 44th Street. Shapiro whines that with tax-code changes preventing club members from taking the usual tax deductions, the club simply can't allow for the workers' modest pay increase.

When the rulers of this country talk of belt-tightening, they never mean their own. Local 6 strikers know their *picket line is the class line.* Harvard Club management has hired scabs to keep the blue bloods who cross the lines well fed. These guys may turn crimson at the "unseemly" commotion in front of the club's doors as they sweep toward the maitre d', but strikers must keep the heat on. For starters, how about direct appeals to Teamster liquor truck drivers to cut off the gin and vermouth supplies! Victory to Local 6 strikers! ■

WV Photo

Chanting workers on strike at Harvard Club on 44th Street make blue bloods boil.

Rwanda...

(continued from page 1)

Yan Morvan

Tens of thousands of Hutu refugees from Burundi, fleeing terror by Tutsi army, in camp on hillside in Rwanda earlier this year.

to get involved in (or pay for) a UN "peacekeeping" force in Rwanda. The American ambassador to the UN cynically called for an international force to wait on the borders while the rump Hutu-based "government" and Tutsi-led rebels, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (FPR), fight it out.

Moved by the gruesome scenes of killing fields in these impoverished countries, many, particularly black Africans and black people in the U.S., hope that "international" intervention could put a stop to the bloodbath. But we must urgently warn that the imperialists are no friends of the Rwandan and Burundian masses. A "humanitarian" intervention by the UN—or under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity, that cabal of neocolonial rulers—would produce a racist slaughter like in Somalia. Remember how in neighboring Zaire, UN intervention in the early 1960s served as a cover for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the fight against Belgian colonial rule.

Moreover, the origins of the slaughter are to be found in the "divide-and-rule" legacy of colonialism. The genocidal violence sweeping Rwanda is not, as the capitalist press would have it, the result of "centuries-old tribal hatred." The Hutu and Tutsi peoples, who share a common language, culture and territory, are not tribes. The seeds of explosive ethnic conflict in Rwanda and Burundi were sown by the racist colonial powers—Germany, followed by Belgium—who transformed the precolonial feudal society, one of the most developed in Africa, into a vicious machine of colonial oppression based on hardened ethnic divisions. The Tutsi minority, who had constituted most of the nobility, became the overseers of indirect colonial rule, while the primarily Hutu peasants were obliged to submit to forced labor, severe taxes and beatings.

Eldon/Reuters

Racist "humanitarian" U.S. occupation of Somalia. No to imperialist U.S./UN intervention in Africa!

With "independence," two parallel states were set up. But although the population mix was comparable, in Burundi the Tutsi minority continued to constitute the ruling elite, while in Rwanda, following a peasant rebellion in 1959-62, a Hutu-based regime arose and has remained in power to this day. As throughout Africa, the former colonialists sought to continue their domination, but now through neocolonial front men. However, the situation has been complicated here by the attempt of France to replace the Belgians as the overlords of the region. In recent years, Paris has shored up—financially and militarily—the governments of both Burundi and Rwanda. And now these imperialist manipulators of genocidal violence pose as "humanitarian" saviors!

Imperialism's Bloody Henchmen

During the Cold War, the imperialist powers maintained their blood-drenched killers in power as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa. For example, the bloody Rwandan military has been armed by France, South Africa and the U.S. With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the imperialists began pressuring Africa's dictatorial "Big Men" to head off potential social explosions by allowing their opponents a share of power. But the imperialists' push for "democracy" has in fact led to a series of largely ethnic civil wars across the continent.

Nowhere has the failure of peacefully "reforming" the blood-drenched African regimes been more evident than in Rwanda and Burundi, where "power sharing" agreements, held up last year as models for the rest of the continent, have been swept away in waves of ethnic bloodshed. Elections last June brought to office Burundi's first Hutu president; his murder in a failed coup by the Tutsi-dominated military set off ethnic massacres last October in which some 100,000 people perished. In Rwanda, a peace accord signed last August between the government and the FPR, which called for a "transitional" government, broke down into the present ethnic holocaust.

The signal to launch the slaughter was the shooting down of a plane carrying the presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Melhior Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, both of them Hutus, as they returned on April 6 to Kigali, the Rwandan capital, from negotiations in Tanzania over "power sharing" agreements. Claiming that the double assassination was the work of Tutsis, within hours of the plane crash, troops of the Rwandan presidential guard moved to wipe out all prominent political opponents, Hutu or Tutsi, and their families. Simultaneously, as if by prearrangement, throughout the country local militias linked to Habyarimana's party launched what appears to have been an attempt at mass extermination of the entire Tutsi population, as well as of any Hutu suspected of opposition.

It is not at all clear that the plane was shot down by Tutsi rebels, and Belgian officers in Kigali as part of the UN contingent claim that the two rockets which downed the plane came from the Kanombe military base, which is home to airborne commandos of the Rwandan army. The Hutu militias, called *Interahamawe* ("Those Who Attack Together"), were already responsible for the massacre last year of several hundred Tutsis and members of opposition parties in the president's home region. Habyarimana and his military cronies also organized death squads known as "Zero Network," which killed hundreds of Tutsis and Hutu opponents of the president last February. Habyarimana's inner circle was also reportedly responsible for the 1985 murder of American naturalist Dian Fossey, subject of the film *Gorillas in the Mist*, when she threatened to denounce their lucrative selling of gorillas.

Six weeks of bloodlust instigated by the Rwandan government has reportedly broadened support for the mainly Tutsi FPR guerrillas, as many Rwandans see the rebels as the only force capable of bringing a halt to the slaughter. Further, the FPR, which claims to be non-communalist and has always included Hutus among its leadership (including the chairman), is said to receive significant political and financial support from Rwandan exiles in North America, Europe and elsewhere. Yet like the Rwandan army, the FPR has frequently engaged in indiscriminate attacks on civilians, targeting hospitals, schools, markets and refugee camps. UN observers who drove through rebel-held territory along the Tanzanian border saw rebels shooting refugees who tried to swim across the river.

The FPR is in reality thoroughly subordinate to the harsh Ugandan regime of Yoweri Mouseveni. Formed from among Rwandan refugees in Uganda, the FPR helped Mouseveni's guerrilla force seize power in Uganda in 1986 and then joined his army. According to a report by the

Delentree/La Nouvelle Gazette

Victims hacked to death on street. Hundreds of thousands have been brutally killed in Rwanda.

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Human Rights Watch Arms Project (*Arming Rwanda*, January 1994), when the FPR attacked into northern Rwanda in 1990 many soldiers were still wearing Ugandan army uniforms and most of their arms were supplied by Museveni.

The intervention of French imperialism in the ethnic slaughter in Rwanda and Burundi has been particularly despicable. When FPR troops entered Rwanda in 1990, and again last year when the guerrillas threatened to take Kigali, France rushed combat troops and matériel to defend the bloodsoaked Hutu government. Some 700 French troops directly participated in the war, manning roadblocks, providing artillery support and piloting attack helicopters. A representative of the French defense ministry served as personal military adviser to Habyarimana (who was reportedly a close friend of Socialist President François Mitterrand). Previously, French troops in neighboring Burundi directly participated in the gigantic slaughter carried out by the Tutsi military regime in reprisal for the 1972 rebellion of Hutu peasants.

Western Colonialism Behind African Bloodbath

Prior to the colonial period, Rwanda was a centralized kingdom with a developing feudal civilization based on ties of vassalage, with largely Hutu serfs personally bound to largely Tutsi nobles. The colonialists made this into a rigid system, setting up a society in which racism was the touchstone. The Tutsi (or Watutsi), who tended to be taller, lighter-skinned and have narrower noses than the Hutu, were declared by the ideologues of colonialism to be a "superior" race, destined to rule the "inferior" Hutus. Anthropologists in the service of colonialism "discovered" that the Tutsi were a supposed "Caucasoid Hamitic" race, which—it was claimed—had originally brought civilization to Rwanda. While such racist dogmas were hammered home in the schools and elsewhere, Hutus were excluded from higher education, administrative posts, and most jobs. Everyone was required to carry apartheid-like cards identifying his ethnic group, a system which continues today in Rwanda.

The Rwandan upheaval of 1959-62 was led by Hutu youths, mainly former Catholic seminary students, who had been educated by left-leaning priests. (Under pressure from the UN, which oversaw the Belgian "trusteeship" of the former German colonies, and in order to head off an independence movement, the educational system had been opened up to Hutus after World War II.) The central manifesto of the rebellion called for breaking "the political monopoly of one race, the Tutsi race" (Robert Rotberg and Ali Mazrui [eds.], *Protest and Power in Black Africa* [1970]). A massive peasant *jacquerie* in 1959 overthrew the monarchy and brought the Hutu elite to power as the Belgian colonialists, fearing "another Lumumba," switched their support while granting "independence." But instead of opening the road to the liberation of the oppressed masses, this led to several years of mutual ethnic slaughter in which tens of thousands died.

An important element in the repeated ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi has been the drive by the military regimes to maintain their power, wealth and privileges. Armed and actively supported by their imperialist patrons, they have initiated a whole series of massive pogroms over the past three decades. In Burundi, where the Tutsis continued to hold the whip hand, the army responded to Hutu rebellions in 1965, 1972, 1988 and 1993 with vast massacres of Hutus, killing tens—perhaps hundreds—of thousands and driving more than one million people into exile.

AP

French imperialist troops, here protecting Kigali airport, have participated in massacres by governments of Rwanda and Burundi.

Under imperialism, in which the development of a vigorous national bourgeoisie is prevented by the economic weight of the advanced industrial countries, it is impossible to reproduce the dynamic of the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the classic French Revolution of 1789, peasant revolt was the driving force in destroying the reactionary feudal order, putting the land in the hands of the tiller, and opening the road to (capitalist) economic development. But in the imperialist epoch, the raw force of peasant insurrection in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—if it is not to be dissipated or even turned in a reactionary direction, as in the continuing cycle of ethnic slaughter in Rwanda and Burundi—must be harnessed to the international struggle of the working class for socialist revolution.

Barely one hundred years ago, before the scourge of colonialism was inflicted on Africa, the region of Rwanda and Burundi was one of the most advanced on the continent. Today, these are among the most poverty-stricken countries in the world, buried in debt to the imperialist governments and international bankers and squeezed by the giant trusts which dominate the market—and inexorably drive down the price—of their only significant export, coffee. On top of everything else, an estimated *40 percent* of the population of Kigali and other Rwandan cities is infected with the AIDS virus.

Having done everything imaginable to turn Rwanda into a living hell, the imperialists have now seized on the country's tragedy to establish their credentials as "humanitarians." But burned by the humiliating retreat of the U.S. expeditionary force from Somalia, Washington is now appealing to "post-apartheid" South Africa to intervene. (During the inauguration of Nelson Mandela in Cape Town earlier this month, U.S. vice president Gore tried to float this proposal.) But a capitalist South Africa, despite the fraud of "power sharing," is still the state of the Randlords and an enemy of black liberation. A socialist revolution in that industrial powerhouse, led by the millions of black workers, however, will be a liberating force producing social transformation reaching into the most backward areas of the African continent. ■

Lansing...

(continued from page 2)

Organization (ISO) requested permission to enter the cops' pen *hours before the Klan arrived!*

Among the ISO's "pen pals" are the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC). Back in March, NWROC members who hesitated entering the Dayton pen were quickly shepherded in by RWL leaders. Like the reformist ISO, the RWL pushes the fraud that shouting at Klansmen while under the thumb of the cops equals militancy because *they have no real strategy to stop the KKK.*

Playing at "struggle" inside cop pens does nothing to combat the growing fascist threat. In *wilfully* submitting to the forces of the racist capitalist state and in displaying their weakness before the fascists and their police escorts, these pseudo-socialists show that their "anti-fascist" strategy is nothing but impotent moralism and ultimate faith in the *capitalist state* to "arbitrate" and "regulate" the struggle between these opposing forces. The ISO and RWL *posture* to the left, but in practice their actions are no better than the reformist Communist Party's appeals to the government to "ban" the Klan—all of them rely on and foster illusions in the nonexistent "benevolence" of the bourgeois state and its bodies of armed men, the racist cops.

Refuting this class treachery, the American Trotskyists in the 1930s argued:

> "...the best of the workers must be organized into Workers Defense Guards, prepared and trained to smash the fascist gangs. There is no other way. The fascist gangs do not believe in abiding by the results of the ballot-box, or by any other peaceful procedure. On the contrary, the fascists plan to come to power by physical violence against the labor movement and anti-fascists generally. To appeal to 'democracy' against the fascists is like trying to stop bullets with the biblical edict 'Thou Shalt Not Kill'."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 14 March 1939

Two weeks earlier, the Trotskyists' initiative brought out 50,000 anti-fascists in New York City, who besieged a fascist rally in Madison Square Garden.

This is the program that has guided the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in our *successful* mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists. From Detroit in 1979 to Philadelphia in 1988, our focus on mobilizing the power of labor as an independent political force enabled us to build united-front actions, bringing together all intended victims of the fascist scum to defeat the racist terrorists and defend themselves based on the social power of the working class.

Notably, the one recent anti-fascist protest in the Midwest that did not allow itself to be herded into a police pen like lambs to a slaughter was the labor/black mobilization against the KKK initiated by the PDC in Springfield, Illinois on January 16. With the entire force of the state of Illinois arrayed against us, we were unable to stop the KKK from rallying. But a mass and defiant show of opposition to them was organized—under the protection of trade-union defense guards—and it was the Klan that slunk out of town with their heads down that day. Our *labor-centered mobilization*—and fight against every attempt by the state to push the overwhelmingly black, anti-fascist protesters back—meant that there was no pen in Springfield. While the RWL/NWROC and the ISO refused to join this mobilization, they demonstrated that day under the more favorable conditions won by the labor/black mobilization.

The crass opportunism toward the capitalist state of groups like the RWL and ISO is an expression of their profound petty-bourgeois despair in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Herding anti-fascist fighters into police pens objectively helps the capitalist state set such young radicals and other anti-fascist fighters up for defeat. Those who are interested in building a working-class party that can win against the fascists and the capitalists they serve should contact the Spartacus Youth Club and learn how to put revolutionary strategy into action.

We urge our readers to send donations for the defense of the victims of the police attack in Lansing on April 23 to: Lansing Anti-Klan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 6746, East Lansing, MI 48826. ■

Correction

In our last issue (*WV* No. 600, 13 May), the article "LAPD Assaults 'Cinco de Mayo' Celebration" erroneously referred to the May 5 Mexican holiday as "Mexico's Independence Day." September 16 is the date commemorating the beginning of the struggle for Mexican independence from Spain in 1810. Cinco de Mayo commemorates the 1862 Battle of Puebla, the first major successful battle against the French occupation of Mexico.

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German Leftists in Suicidal "Dialogue" with Nazis

Fascist Terror Is Not Free Speech

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 112 (May 1994), published by the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

A disgusting "fashion trend" has recently seized the left in reunified Germany: ostensible leftists are talking with fascists. For this purpose, the Nazis are prettified as "rightists" and gangs which burn people to death are portrayed as "misled youth." From SPD (Social Democratic Party) trend-setter Peter Glotz to ex-"Danny the Red" Cohn-Bendit and other Greens who have had published interviews in the Nazi rag *Junge Freiheit*, a whole layer of liberal and left intellectuals are participating in this monstrous campaign.

In the "conversations" with the Nazi murderers, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) has played a leading role, with *Neues Deutschland* opening its pages to former SS officer Schonhuber (head of the fascist Republikaner) while the PDS' notorious Dresden leader, Christine Ostrowski, held secret talks with the Nazi leader Meyer. Last year this led to considerable agitation within the PDS, which was rather embarrassed by Ostrowski's quest for "agreement on social demands" with the National Offensive (a Nazi terror group). But in the meantime, Ostrowski is back in a top slot on the PDS' election slate, and the chairman of the PDS fraction in the state legislature of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Johannes Scheringer, is also writing in *Junge Freiheit*. Open Nazi appeals appear regularly in the "Word to the Wise" section of *Neues Deutschland*.

Andrej Hermlin, a prominent PDS anti-fascist, recounted a fable of such "conversations" with genocidal killers in *Neues Deutschland* (16 April):

> "A rabbit and a snake meet. What happens? The rabbit holds a lengthy discourse with the snake, whereupon the latter confesses to the utter rottenness of its intentions and slinks off in deep remorse. A strange fable? Certainly, yet strange things happen in our German lands."

Dresden official Marita Schieferdecker-Adolph (right) was attacked and tortured by skinheads after attempt to "dialogue" at Nazi youth club.

Der Spiegel photos

The fascists are gangs of murderers, and just like Hitler's stormtroopers they cannot be "convinced" or "banned"—they must be smashed! Anything else is a suicidal illusion and a direct threat to all of the intended victims of the fascists. There is nothing "neo" about these shaven-headed Hitler Youth—they have the same program of genocide. The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) says: Genocide is not debatable! These gangs are *paramilitary shock troops*, who are now being used by the rulers to whip up a social climate against immigrants.

People who discuss with Nazis not only de facto place themselves on the same platform with Nazis, they have also politically come closer to them. *The basis for this is the Greater German nationalism of the Fourth Reich*, which is openly propagated by SPD ideologues like Tilmann Fichter and Wolfgang Templin, who complain that the left suffers from a "deficit" on the national question. The SpAD is fighting to mobilize organized worker/immigrant power to stop the fascists.

While intellectuals discuss with "right-wing radicals" from their writing desks, sections of the PDS and groups such as the SAG (Socialist Workers Group, supporters of Tony Cliff's British SWP), Voran/JRE (Forward/Youth Against Racism in Europe, affiliated with the British Militant tendency) and the Edelweisspiraten (an East German anti-fascist group) want to talk directly with "young" Nazis, whom they portray as "nice kids." In doing so, they copy the arguments of the lawyers for the Nazis in Solingen, who want to prettify their clients' grisly arson murder of a Turkish family last year. If there is any difference from "dialogue" with the talk-show fascists, like Republikaner *Führer* Schönhuber, then it is that it's particularly dangerous and potentially suicidal to converse with these active gangs of thugs.

But for the JRE, "young fascists are victims of this society to the extent that they are reacting to unemployment and housing shortages" (*Voran* No. 157, December 1993/January 1994). In Mönchengladbach in West Germany, this "understanding" for fascists went to the point that the JRE elected a "former" Nazi, who surrounds himself with guys in bomber jackets and paratrooper boots, into their leadership. The JRE leadership wants to go after Nazis by "outing" them and other games, but this is a deadly danger for Jews, immigrants, leftists, gays and the entire workers movement, including the JRE!

The ostensible left critics of the JRE in the Gruppe Spartakus (GS, part of the "Bolshevik Tendency") talk of drawing a "sharp line" against the Nazis. But the GS dresses up the bourgeois state by claiming that the state "only has tactical differences with the fascists."

No! It's not a matter of tactics or strategy—*the fascists are the shock troops of the ruling bourgeois class*, and their terror is presently targeted in the first place against minorities and ultimately against the entire workers movement. They are held in reserve until they are needed to put down the insurgent working class. That is why the cops protect the fascists, from the pact between the police and Nazis in Rostock in the summer of 1992 to police protection of the FAP (Free Workers Party, a Nazi group) in Berlin in mid-April. That is why the Free Police Reserve force in Berlin is infiltrated with Nazis, and the

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Down With Anti-"Stasi" Witchhunt

Defend Günter Weinreich!

One of the consequences of the capitalist reunification of Germany has been a systematic anti-Communist witchhunt against anyone associated with the authorities of the former East German deformed workers state, the DDR. Since 1990, the German Federal Republic, notorious in the 1970s and '80s for its *Berufsverbot* (blacklisting) of Communists, has thrown *more than one million* government employees and others who had political functions under the DDR out of their jobs. This policy is closely linked to the deliberate destruction of East German industry which produced over 4 million jobless, more than half the workforce, in an effort to demoralize the working class. And the political purges continue. Using lists of alleged "informants" from the files of the former East German State Security Ministry, the so-called "Stasi," individual firings continue at a steady drumbeat.

Earlier this year, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) joined with workers of the famous Charité Hospital in East Berlin in defending well-known immunology professor Tomas Porstmann, who was fired on trumped-up charges of "Stasi activity." Last month, another victim of the anti-"Stasi" witchhunt, Günter Weinreich, a supporter of the SpAD, went before a labor court in the east German city of Halle demanding that he be reinstated at his job. Weinreich was in charge of environmental statistics in the statistical office of the state of Sachsen-Anhalt. His name appeared on a list of 4,500 names of alleged "informants" published by the right-wing tabloid *Bild* newspaper. Using files from the office of Joachim Gauck, which has become the Holy Office of the "democratic" anti-Stasi Inquisition, Weinreich's bosses fired him without notice last November. Thereupon he went to court, demanding that this illegal political firing be overturned.

As the April 26 hearing date approached, the KfsV called for a demonstration outside the courthouse, declaring that "Günter, along with tens of thousands of scientists, teachers, employees and workers, is a victim of the anti-Communist witchhunt which wants to criminalize anything that recalls the DDR deformed workers state." Statements of support were received from prominent east German painter Willi Sitte; well-known Marxist historian Jürgen Kuczynski; biochemists I. and S. Rapoport; Karl Kielhorn, a leader of the association of former inmates of the Dachau concentration camp; and Atiye Ekşi, mother of Mete Ekşi, the West Berlin Turkish youth who was killed by fascists in 1992. But the local media and authorities reacted hysterically. Giving a foretaste of their reaction to the trial, the *Hallesches Tageblatt* (21 April) headlined, "Spartakists Call for 'Stasi-Demo'."

On the day of the trial, the protesters gathered before the court and Günter read a declaration. Their slogans included: "Defense of the DDR was no crime, its sellout was!" and "Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz; Hands off Markus Wolf!" (the head of the former DDR intelligence service who was convicted of "treason" against capitalist West Germany). Braving the climate of fear, a number of friends and former colleagues attended the hearing to show their solidarity with Günter. The proceedings lasted only 15 minutes, focusing on the legal irregularities in the firing. Despite the fact that Weinreich had openly stated that as an agricultural engineer and statistician he provided the security ministry with information for defense of the DDR economy, moreover at a time when the imperialists were brandishing the "food weapon," the judge supported the government's contention that he had hidden a Stasi connection.

Despite the fact that the verdict was not supposed to be made public until the next day, this didn't prevent the media from announcing their own verdict. The regional TV afternoon news declared that the judge "rejected the plaintiff's complaint." The next morning the local press had a field day of "Stasi" hysteria-mongering. The

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Nazis Rampage in Magdeburg

Immigrants Fight Fascist Terror in Germany

Fricke/AFP

Turkish, Arab, Algerian and African immigrants and workers heroically fought against Nazi attack on May 12. Police protected the fascists, disarmed the immigrants.

BERLIN—Capitalist reunification of Germany has unleashed an avalanche of racist state and Nazi terror which continues unabated after almost four years. The fascists have increasingly used the national holiday of *Himmelfahrt* (Ascension), which is widely celebrated in bars as "Men's Day," as an occasion for attacks on immigrants. This year in Magdeburg the Nazis turned it into a vicious manhunt which added the city's name to the internationally infamous list of racist horrors symbolizing the Fourth Reich: racist pogroms in Hoyerswerda and Rostock, arson murders in Mölln and Solingen, firebombing of a synagogue in Lübeck.

This time the events took place not under cover of night in an outlying area, but in the middle of the afternoon on May 12 in downtown Magdeburg, the capital of the east German state of Sachsen-Anhalt. A huge band of 150 or more armed Nazi "hooligans" stormed out of streetcars, attacked black Africans in a park on the central square, and chased them through the city. The Africans fled into the Turkish-run Marietta Bar. The fascists hurled benches and tables through the plate-glass window and went at the immigrants with baseball bats and knives. In the park restaurant, an Algerian man was beaten to the ground with bats and chains until he was unconscious. The Nazis continued their attacks well into the night.

Six immigrants were hospitalized; a Turk and the Algerian were comatose. Grotesquely, in the hospital the fascist attackers were put together with their victims: when the Algerian emerged from his coma, he found a Nazi skinhead in the next bed!

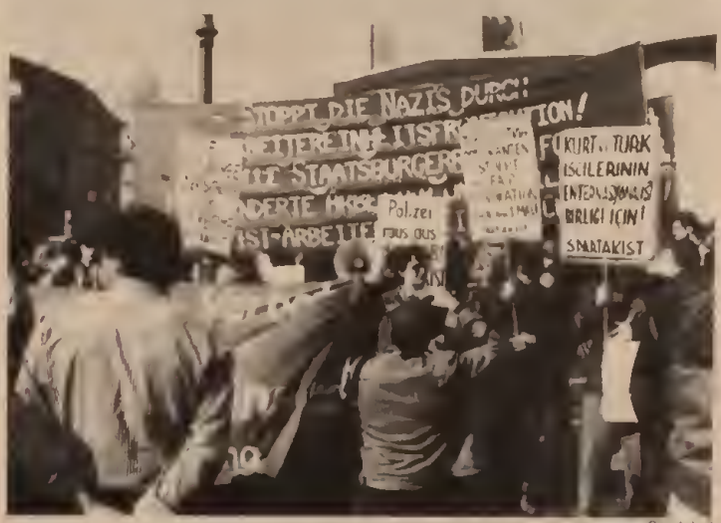
The fact that there were not more injuries and even deaths among the fascists' victims was because the immigrants fought back. Turkish and Arab restaurant workers from the Marietta and a neighboring snack bar armed themselves with kitchen knives to defend the African refugees and themselves and aggressively beat back the Nazis, four of whom landed in the hospital. This exercise of the basic right to armed self-defense by immigrants of several countries was *heroic*. It's a pity that more fascists didn't get their just deserts, which was attributable to the police, who were on the scene within minutes, not to protect the victims of the racist assault but to help the fascists. In addition, cops stopped and disarmed a group of immigrants from a refugee hostel in the Cracau neighborhood across the Elbe who tried to come to the aid of their besieged dorm mates.

Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations that would have stopped the Nazis cold. That this is not "pie in the sky" was shown in Berlin recently where moves for trade-union action thwarted fascist provocations on April 20 and May 1. Magdeburg is a workers' city with metalworking plants like SKET (the former Heavy Industrial Kombinat Ernst Thälmann) that used to employ tens of thousands in the DDR and where thousands still work—the potential core for a decisive anti-Nazi mobilization. But east German industry has been devastated by capitalist reunification. The accompanying mass unemployment with no future for youth has created a climate of desperation that the brownshirts feed off. To combat fascism it is necessary to fight to uproot racist capitalism through socialist revolution. The SpAD seeks to build a revolutionary party that can bring the working class to power.

Today in Germany there is a corridor coalition between the ruling Christian Democrats (CDU) and the opposition Social Democrats (SPD), and it is these *Biedermänner* ("respectable citizens") in Bonn who have instigated and rewarded the terror of the Nazi/skinhead scum. The SPD agreed to gutting Germany's constitutional right of asylum in its "Petersburg decisions," taken on the eve of the August 1992 Rostock pogrom, and the Bundestag (parliament) vote in May 1993 to implement this racist "consensus" gave the green light to fascist murder in Solingen. Since then, racist attacks, protected or even supported by the cops, occur almost daily. Magdeburg is only the latest and most blatant example.

This is the city where two years ago Nazi thugs murdered the anti-fascist Thorsten Lamprecht at a punk café as cops looked on. This time an eyewitness said on national television that a young Turkish waiter was disarmed by the cops, thrown to the ground and held motionless as Nazis beat and kicked him. According to *Der Spiegel* (16 May), by 6 p.m. the cops had taken 13 immigrants but only 10 Germans into custody. At 8:10 p.m. cops stood by as fascists threw a handicapped person out of a crowded streetcar and a thug jumped down and continued to brutally kick him on the ground. In the official police report, cop support for the murderous Nazi bands is described as protecting "German persons" against "armed foreigners."

The complicity of the Magdeburg authorities is proven beyond question. The attack was not a surprise—it was announced by the fascists and the police knew of it beforehand. The Marietta Bar is known as a leftist hangout, and Nazis attacked it last year on "Men's Day." African refugees who were present on May 12 told our comrades that police watched as the fascists got out of the tram, and stood by while they charged past to attack the immigrants. The owner of another restaurant that was hit complained that two police cars pulled up right in front of his door and the cops did nothing while rightist marauders broke windows and attacked the staff. Finally, police moved in and arrested 50 Germans. However, all but one of them were released that same evening (for "lack of evidence"—the one held was on unrelated charges)!



Spartakist

Berlin, April 20—Spartakists at anti-fascist protest. Banner reads: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United Front! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers!"

After succumbing to public outrage and issuing arrest warrants for seven Nazis, the state is now seeking to prosecute immigrants who had "overstepped the bounds of self-defense." Chief prosecutor Rudolf Jaspers declared, "For me that is now the priority." Police Chief Stockmann denied that the attacks were organized by the fascists, grotesquely attributing the pogrom to the effects of "alcohol and sunshine" and defending the immediate release of the Nazis taken into custody. Demands for Stockmann's dismissal and that of his boss, police and justice minister Remmers, rose together with demands by the Social Democrats for increased police powers and weaponry. But the SPD were in power in Rostock as the police there made a deal with fascists, leaving the field free for their fiery pogrom against Vietnamese workers that shocked the world.

Outraged youth and anti-fascists took to the streets in Magdeburg to protest in the days following the racist mob attacks. On Saturday, May 14, most of the several hundred demonstrators came from the anarchist *Autonom* milieu in Berlin. They were welcomed and joined by the immigrant victims and defenders. On Monday 1,500 demonstrators, mainly youth from Magdeburg schools, marched against fascist terror. The demo was organized by the local anti-fascist group "Bandiera Rossa." In their leaflet they called for the right of immigrant self-defense and for "militant attacks against known fascist thugs." The state chairman of the ex-Stalinist, now social-democratic PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) explained that they could not officially take part in the demo because of the election campaign! The Turkish Maoist TKP/ML from Berlin as well as the SpAD had sizable contingents.

Those who were at the Monday anti-fascist demo in Magdeburg got an important lesson on the capitalist state. At the end of the demo, demonstrators spotted known fascists with video cameras and chased after them. Two minutes later they came running back, pursued by cops on foot in riot gear and driving tanks outfitted with water cannons. Suddenly, from all directions, cops piled out of streetcars—just as the fascists did four days earlier—and surrounded the demo. Some demonstrators chanted a familiar *Autonom* slogan at the cops: "Where were you on Thursday?" When the chants died down, a Spartacist supporter said simply: "On Thursday they were protecting the fascists." After half a second's pause, the youth roared their agreement.

At both demos, the SpAD's newspaper, *Spartakist*, was snapped up by the young demonstrators. Our demand for full citizenship rights for everyone living here was particularly appreciated among the immigrants who had been attacked by the fascists. Individual trade unionists of the miners union marched in the demo. The Spartakists called in particular on the powerful IG Metall and on the public workers union ÖTV and commercial workers union HBV, both of which have been waging strikes for equal pay for equal work in east Germany, to defend immigrants against Nazi and police terror.

Berlin: Unionists and Anti-Fascist Youth Stop Racist Provocations

As in Rostock, the way to Magdeburg was similarly prepared by the state. Every year Nazis "celebrate" Hitler's birthday on April 20 with racist provocations and terror. This year the Fourth Reich decided to make this day its own. Soccer matches in Europe are normally occasions for nationalist hysteria and rightist violence, yet the England-Germany game was planned for April 20 in the very stadium Hitler built for the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The rulers of the new capital of the reunited Reich took it upon themselves to demonstrate to the world that German *Ordnung* (order) rules in Berlin, while saying goodbye (and good riddance) to the Allied forces, who are departing next month. This gave the Nazis a platform which they intended to use for a march on the Reichstag. In

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Assault Weapons...

(continued from page 12)

ten rounds of ammunition. In short, the bill—which apparently will be passed by a House-Senate conference—enables the government to bar all civilian access to standard, effective combat arms.

There is another sinister purpose to their capricious definitions of what is an "assault weapon." It allows for a selective proscription of firearms in the future, and selective legal persecution of those declared enemies by the state. And of course the cops will remain armed to the teeth, as will the company gun thugs and scabherding outfits increasingly used against strikers from the New York *Daily News* workers to West Virginia coal miners. The capitalists' private security forces are heavily armed, including with machine guns.

An Armed People

The bill passed with the help of some last-minute arm-twisting and fallacious propaganda by the Democratic White House. In a letter to "hunters and sportsmen," Clinton argued that there was a "difference between a firearm used for hunting and target shooting and a weapon designed to kill people," and went on to assert that the to-be-banned weapons are the "weapons of choice for drug dealers, gangs, and terrorists."

Parroting their president, the *New York Times* (3 May) editorialized that assault weapons "are not sporting weapons; they have no legitimate civilian purpose." This is a complete straw man, a deliberate smokescreen for a sneak attack on the Constitution. The Second Amendment was not enacted to protect hunting, personal self-defense, sports, hobbies or recreation, and they know it. The Amendment, ratified in 1791, was clearly intended to ensure a *people's militia*:

> "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

For the framers of the Bill of Rights, only an armed people could be a free people.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution comprise the Bill of Rights, about which Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison in December 1787, "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth." The Second Amendment was intended to create militias based on an armed people equipped with military arms to fight against the perceived enemies of the time, including a despotic government. In the 18th century this meant the use of a musket; today this certainly would center on full/semi-automatic rifles, which are the standard infantry weapons.

As we wrote in "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms":

> "The constitutional right is not about hunting or target practice; the American colonial revolutionaries wanted the whole people armed, including with military arms, in order to be able to *kill British soldiers*, and to forestall the threat of any standing army, which they rightly regarded as the bane of liberty and the basis of tyranny....
>
> "In the state conventions which ratified [the Constitution], a 'militia' was understood to mean the armed people, not a 'select' militia like the present-day National Guard.... The right to 'keep and bear arms' was universally recognized as an *individual* right. As Patrick Henry summed it up, 'The great object is, that every man be armed'."
>
> —*WV* No. 475, 14 April 1989

The present rulers of America shudder at the idea of effective weapons in the hands of the masses of this country—especially the black masses. That is why they seek to undo the safeguards of popular liberty that are a heritage of their "own" revolution. So they are precisely targeting *military* weapons.

Their attack on the Second Amendment is a significant change in the rights of citizens relative to the government. The move to disarm the populace would transform everyone into second-class citizens. This is no recent American peculiarity. A book on the history of Yugoslavia notes that in the Ottoman Empire:

> "Christians in areas under Ottoman dominion remained second-class subjects. They were prohibited, for example, from riding horses, carrying weapons, and wearing certain types of clothing, and their choice of occupation and freedom of movement were severely limited."
>
> —Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country* (1991)

When the Bill of Rights was adopted in 1791, the right to bear arms was granted to every citizen. At the time, a "citizen" was understood to be an English-speaking Protestant farmer who owned his own land; other categories were treated as second-class, at best. And it was the first-class citizen who was supposed to be armed. Nowadays, with blacks, women, Catholics, Native American Indians, Mexicans and others asserting their equal rights, the country's rulers want to ensure that everyone but the Praetorian guards of the government are second-class citizens. So the Second Amendment stands in sharp contradiction to present-day reality, and now there is a move to gut it.

Alonzo Chappel

American militia at 1775 Battle of Lexington against British troops: Second Amendment protected right of the people to bear arms as guarantee against tyranny. Red Guard workers militia leaves Soviet headquarters at Smolny, 25 October 1917, during Russian Revolution.

P. Otsup

The "Assault Gun" Hoax

To whip up public hysteria, the politicians of both parties and the pliant media are using every trick in the book. They talk about assault weapons which "spray" bullets like a "machine gun," but in reality such automatic weapons (which continue firing bullets as long as the trigger is pulled) have been tightly regulated since 1934. Today's civilian versions of military assault weapons are only "semiautomatic" (one bullet fired for each pull of the trigger). Then they intone, like Democratic Congressman Charles Schumer, a leading sponsor of the gun ban, that "these are guns that were fashioned for no other purpose than to kill" (*New York Times*, 5 May). It's really no news that guns were designed to kill people, and there's no basis for arguing that "assault weapons" are more deadly than hunters' rifles—the latter often fire more powerful cartridges!

The most abused argument is the allegation that "assault weapons" have become the "weapons of choice" for criminals. The most oft-used "fact" of the anti-gun nuts is that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) "estimates that only one of every 100 guns in this country is an assault-type weapon," but "in the bureau's criminal investigations, seven of every 100 guns its agents trace turn out to be such weapons" (*New York Times*, 5 May). But "trace" turns out to mean *any* tracking of a gun by the BATF snoops, not necessarily because it was used in a crime. After all, the T-men's aim is not to "stop crime" but to enforce a *state monopoly of effective violence*.

Even the cops' own figures give the lie to the gun control propaganda. The percentage of guns seized by the police in alleged crimes which are "assault weapons" ranges from *zero* in New York City in 1992 to a high of 3.9 percent of seized guns in Oakland in 1990 ("The Assault Gun Hoax," by Edgar A. Suter, M.D. in *Fighting Firearms*, Spring 1994). And the National Rifle Association (NRA) notes in its latest pamphlet that semiautomatic assault rifles are "involved in less than one-half of one percent of violent crimes" and "guns with military cosmetics are rarely seen much less seized in connection with crime."

The fact is that assault rifles are too unwieldy for street crime and they're not concealable—the common gun crime is usually done with an ordinary pistol, though wealthy drug dealers might prefer more menacing machine-pistols with large-capacity magazines. (In fact, the easily converted TEC-9 of *Miami Vice* fame may inflate the crime statistics for "assault weapons.")

The present bill, the latest in a series of hysterical attacks on "assault weapons," was triggered by the brutal slaying of eight people at a law firm in downtown San Francisco last July. It was, in the words of the bill's author, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, in "a very secure building, a nice office building" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 May). Instead of the victims being black or Hispanic, this time influential white yuppie lawyers got blown away by a madman in their own offices. Incidentally, the murderer might have been stopped dead if anyone had had a defense weapon, but they didn't.

Gun Control Kills Blacks

The key here is *racism*. This is the same Feinstein who tried to fly the Confederate flag of slavery at San Francisco City Hall in 1984 when she was mayor, and got off posing like a SWAT cop in her black jumpsuit. "Dixie Dianne" was foiled by a supporter of the Spartacist League and Labor/Black League for Social Defense who tore down the banner of racist terror—*twice*. Defenders of the Second Amendment right to bear arms are often portrayed in the media as right-wing racist "gun nuts." An ignorant and malicious article in the *New York Times* (23 May) says that the NRA "has traditionally equated pistols with patriotism." But then it lets slip that: "The gun association...started in 1871 as a rifle-training organization by former Union officers who were dismayed that their troops could not hit a bear in the backside with a handful of sand...."

Today "crime" is the bourgeoisie's code word for going after blacks and other minorities. The *New York Times* is currently running a seemingly endless series on youth crime filled with photos of young black and Hispanic faces. Clinton's housing secretary Henry Cisneros is implementing massive search-and-seizure operations in government-financed projects where blacks are concentrated, in direct violation of Fourth Amendment protections. The NRA, which supposedly defends gun-owners' rights, is rabidly pro-cop, and self-defeatingly feeds the anti-crime frenzy, advocating more prisons and draconian "three strikes" sentences which will only leave the jails overflowing with senior citizens.

Blacks and Hispanics forced to live in the deadly high-crime areas of American cities know all too well the reality of lumpen crime, much of it fueled by the drug trade. If the bourgeoisie were really concerned about "violence," the logical step would be to decriminalize drugs immediately. Besides, the take-away-your-guns crowd doesn't believe their own propaganda about crime. As the pro-gun-control *New York Times* (5 May) admitted, "The proponents do not really believe that outlawing assault weapons would have much effect on crime," but is "a foot in the door" toward an outright total ban on handguns, or forcing all weapons to be registered.

Americans have good reason to want to keep their guns. The whole history of this country is strewn with examples of *ruling-class* violence: wiping out the Indians, mowing down strikers from Cripple Creek and Ludlow miners to Little Steel, the brutal suppression of ghetto rebellions from Watts '65 to South-Central L.A. in 1991. And when blacks defend their homes against racist terror, when workers defend their picket lines against scabs and gun thugs, the forces of the bourgeois state are mobilized against them.

Just over a year ago, in a combined FBI/BATF operation approved by the Clinton administration's attorney general Janet Reno, 86 men, women and children were murdered in a government assault on a racially integrated religious commune outside Waco, Texas. The feds brought in two helicopters, two M1A1 Abrams tanks, five M-60 main battle tanks (some equipped with CS gas dispersers), and nine Bradley armored fighting vehicles, along with enough submachine guns, grenade launchers and sniper rifles for a small army—which is what they had assembled there. And with all this overkill, they tried to justify their fiery holocaust with charges of "illegal gun possession" (although the Branch Davidians' Colt AR-15 rifles were *legally owned*) and "child abuse"!

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

Legion" to attempt a "Bay of Pigs option." But the racist U.S. imperialists are far greater oppressors than their military puppets in Haiti. *The international working class must oppose all imperialist intervention. Down with the blockade! U.S./UN hands off Haiti!*

Imperialist Sanctions Victimize Haitian Poor

It's clear to all that so far Washington hasn't seriously tried to get rid of General Cédras and his cronies who ousted elected president Aristide in 1991. Clinton was ridiculed around the world for pulling out the USS *Harlan County*, which was carrying U.S. and Canadian "military trainers," because a few dozen pro-junta thugs were waving some pistols from the docks. Many Haitians in the U.S. recalled that when the U.S. decided to dump its previous satrap, Colonel Prosper Avril, all it took was a phone call from Bush and the dispatch of an Air Force transport plane to ferry him to Miami. In the face of Clinton's latest pusillanimous threats, Cédras formally deposed Aristide and installed the 81-year-old chief justice as puppet president.

Even now, the Haitian military is flouting U.S. strong-arming. The very day that "tightened" UN sanctions went into effect, barges were openly shipping oil from the Dominican Repuhlic. Clinton's embargo has only had the effect of squeezing the lifehlood out of the Haitian poor while enabling the tiny Haitian elite to further enrich themselves with profiteering. Previous sanctions were discontinued after last summer's Governors Island Accords, which specified a deadline of October 30 for Aristide's reinstatement. After Cédras tore up the Accords (surprise!), the sanctions were started up again, but with plenty of loopholes for U.S. manufacturers to take advantage of Haiti's cheap labor.

Now a flotilla of Coast Guard cutters is supposed to enforce an embargo allegedly singling out 600 military officers and paramilitary *attachés* to have their visas revoked and assets frozen. However, the administration has reportedly decided to exempt many key civilian backers of the junta who, according to a U.S. embassy source, "still have a role to play" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 May).

When Clinton was running for election, he denounced Bush's "inhumane" policy of forcihle repatriation of Haitian refugees, claiming that he would ensure Aristide's return to power. But even before election day, Clinton was backpedaling, claiming it was necessary to "temporarily" continue deporting desperate Haitians back to bloody repression. The infamous concentration camp for Haitian refugees at Guantánamo naval base, stolen from Cuba, was kept in operation for months until a federal court ordered Clinton to shut it down. Instead, Coast Guard cutters now pick up refugees off boats and return them to Haiti, where they are snatched and beaten, and many killed, hy Cédras' *attachés*.

As the rising tide of massacres, kidnappings, torture and rape in Haiti received increasing international attention, and after influential hlack lohhyist Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, staged a 27-day hunger strike in protest, Clinton ahruptly announced that he was changing his policy. The U.S. would resume shipboard processing of refugees, and lor that purpose it is leasing two Ukrainian cruise ships. However, in the meantime the Coast Guard continues to dump its haul of refugees on the docks of Port-au-Prince, returning over 600 in the space of a week.

The true intent of U.S. government policy toward Haiti is to keep Haitians out of the U.S. To that end, any number of "policy options" have been floated. The latest proposal is to maroon Aristide on the arid and rocky isle of La Gonâve, after giving him "assurances that the... plan is not simply meant as a new form of exile" (*New York Times*, 7 May). The Haitian military has reportedly taken to calling Clinton "the Comedian," after Graham Greene's novel about "Papa Doc" Duvalier's rise to dictatorial power.

Haitian Murder Inc.

The dramatic increase in coldhlooded killings in Haiti is mostly the work of the Duvalierist FRAPH, which has picked up where the dreaded *Tontons Macoutes* thugs left off. In September 1993, Antoine Izméry, the most prominent bourgeois hacker of Aristide, was dragged from a church service by FRAPH memhers and executed on the street in broad daylight. The next month, Aristide's justice minister, Guy Malary, was gunned down after presenting parliament with a proposal for a civilian police force. But the brunt of the terror has been directed against the slums and rural areas where the mass of Aristide's impoverished supporters live. In December, over 100 residents of the Cité Soleil district of the capital were massacred hy army/FRAPH arsonists. This atrocity has been followed by months of assassinations, kidnappings and arrests targeting the neighborhood.

Last month, army troops conducting a sweep of the Gonaives slum of Raboteau slaughtered dozens, leaving hodies strewn over the heaches. The troops were searching lor a community leader accused of leading an armed pro-Aristide group. Unfortunately, the Haitian masses are almost completely unarmed and at the mercy of the *zenglendos* (armed thugs) armed hy the state. The working class has been decimated hy mass firings and repression. Large numbers of [illegible]ionists have gone underground, while CGT union leaders are targeted by the notorious police "Anti-Gang Service."

Under such conditions, there could be a desperate rising by the poor and dispossessed driven to the wall. Such an upheaval finally drove out "Baby Doc" Duvalier in 1986. But as long as the army remains, and their bourgeois backers are the masters of the country, this terrible cycle of repression will repeat itself as the masses remain mired in misery. To sweep away this machine of oppression and exploitation requires linking up with working-class forces internationally.

Contrary to the narrow views of petty-bourgeois Haitian nationalists, such an international struggle is entirely possible. Just over the border, workers in the Dominican Republic have a long history of leftist agitation going hack to the 1965 insurrection. Memories are still vivid of the hrutal repression hy the U.S. invasion force which put down the Santo Domingo commune, resulting in the Balaguer regime that has ruled almost uninterruptedly for the last quarter century and which is currently trying to stay in power through stealing yet another election. Dominican leftists must champion the brutally oppressed Haitian slave laborers who produce the sugar that is the country's leading export, and who are vital allies for revolutionary struggle.

Haiti and the New World *Di*sorder

In the U.S., black and white liberals are now calling for military intervention (under the UN fig leaf) to reinstate Aristide. Randall Robinson, having ended his fast, is now calling on Clinton to launch an "Operation Island Storm." This is also the de facto line of Aristide. The *New York Times* (13 May) reported Aristide's hints that "the Haitian people will welcome any effort to rescue them from military rule. 'He has come as close as one can get within the hounds of respect for the Constitution,' said Robert White, an American adviser to the Haitian leader." This is deadly dangerous, and it is the Haitian masses who will pay in the event of a new American occupation.

There is good reason the Haitian constitution outlaws appeals for U.S. intervention. The last time the Marines landed, in 1915, they didn't leave until *19 years later*, after gunning down rebel leader Charlemagne Péralte, massacring thousands and putting in place the Haitian military which hedevils the island today. The predatory role of Yankee imperialism is so notorious throughout Latin America that even Washington's various client regimes in the Organization of American States (OAS) almost unanimously oppose a U.S. invasion, except for wholly owned puppets and other sleazehalls like Carlos Menem of Argentina. But the OAS also overwhelmingly condemned the December 1989 American invasion of Panama, to no effect whatsoever.

In its delusions of imposing a "New World Order" in the wake of the counterrevolution that swept East Europe and the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism is seeking to reinforce its hegemony over the Western Hemisphere. Beginning with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), laying the basis for Wall Street's rape of Mexico, Washington wants to assert total economic domination over its "backyard." If the Yankee imperialists have their way, the whole of Latin America will become like Panama, where the U.S. dollar is the local currency (called the "Balboa," though sporting the portrait of Jorge Washington on the $1 bill).

From imposing a succession of military thugs on Haiti to sponsoring the death squads of El Salvador and intensifying the decades-long starvation embargo against the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. government has caused untold misery for the workers and peasants of its neocolonial empire. The only way to hreak the grip of the bloody military—in Haiti and elsewhere—is through struggle against their imperialist masters. Although the CIA and Pentagon portray Aristide as a wild-eyed radical and messianic psycho, his whole policy has been to offer himself as a willing participant in a U.S.-engineered deal. For years he has refused to oppose the forced return of Haitian refugees; only now, in desperation, does he say what has been obvious from the start—that Clinton's policy is racist. And still he goes along. We say: Stop the racist seizure of Haitian refugees!

From Papa Doc to Baby Doc to Avril and Cédras, the Haitian masses have been beaten down for generations, producing an understandable sense of despair. But amid intense anger and hitterness, a spark can also set the whole island aflame. And just as the Haitian slave revolt of 1791-1804 interlaced with the fate of the great French Revolution and sent tremors of revolt through the Caribbean, today an upheaval in Haiti would have an impact throughout the Americas. This potential is key in particular to the defense of the embattled Cuhan deformed workers state.

But most directly, the impact of popular revolt in Haiti would be felt in the belly of the imperialist heast, through the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers who are to be found in garment sweatshops, hospitals, restaurants and other service industries. Communists in the U.S. must seek to win from among them cadres for a Haitian Trotskyist party as we fight to mobilize the American workers in defense of their Haitian class brothers and sisters here and on the long-suffering island. We warn that Democrat Clinton no less than Republican Bush is an enemy of the Haitian masses, that a U.S. invasion would subject the island to new colonial rule, that the populist Aristide despite his occasional radical rhetoric cannot hreak with imperialism. This can only he accomplished—opening the road from the desperate poverty of capitalism to a socialist society—through a workers and peasants government in a socialist federation of the Caribhean. ■

AP

Der Spiegel

U.S. Marines invaded Dominican Republic in 1965 (left) to put down insurrection. Today Aristide looks to imperialist chief Clinton to determine Haiti's fate.

This cynical excuse comes from "General" Reno, who has the blood of *at least 25 children* she slaughtered at Waco on her hands. Nor will we ever forget the hlack MOVE commune in Philadelphia who lost eleven of their own, including five children, when they were attacked hy the cops using fully automatic rifles and machine guns, and plastic explosive provided by the FBI and dropped from a police helicopter.

While they strip the population of its weapons, the murderous cops get outfitted with high-capacity 9mm Glock pistols. One "statistic" the tough-on-crime Democrats leave out is the hlack and Hispanic victims of racist cop terror. Instead they hide this in the death statistics of young black men, under the category of death by "Homicide and *Legal Intervention*"—killed by a cop.

The authors of the Bill of Rights passed the Second Amendment along with the others because they feared a despotic government. And from General Al ("I'm in charge here") Haig to Nixon's "enemies list" to Clinton's sinister BATF, the population of this country has plenty of reason to worry too. The assault on the Second Amendment may be the product of total racist hysteria on the part of the capitalist rulers...or they know exactly what they are doing. For our part, from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and oppressed minorities, we stand opposed to the hourgeoisie's campaign to disarm the people. ■

Cancellation of the Constitution

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

17 May 1994

"I have a right to nothing, which another has a right to take away...."
—Thomas Jefferson

America's third president, as a slaveowner, knew a great deal about "rights taken away," and the nation that he helped found, knows a great deal about it too.

Americans are taught, and the world is told, of the First Amendment of the Constitution, which supposedly "guarantees" fundamental rights to free exercise of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association.

So state history books, and law books numbering into the millions.

In truth, such rights are illusory.

The recent controversy involving the writer is an excellent case in point.

Hired by the prestigious *All Things Considered* program aired on NPR network to produce brief commentaries, the writer, who reported for ATC prior to his imprisonment, remarked to one supporter that he felt like he was returning home.

NPR, stung by an FOP [Fraternal Order of Police] hate campaign, mumbled something about "misgivings," and without informing the writer, canceled the airing of the commentaries.

The FOP, branding the writer as a "monster," and heaping abuse on the network, forced them to retreat.

It is perhaps ironic that the FOP campaign began on May 13th, several days before the scheduled air date, for it marked nine years, to the day, after the Mother's Day MOVE massacre of at least eleven MOVE babies, women and men in West Philadelphia, by the aerial bombing of MOVE's home in 1985.

Phila. police shot and killed fleeing MOVE women and children, forced others back into a burning building, and stood by while several blocks of West Philadelphia homes were consumed by flames.

Who are the *real* monsters?

The same FOP that incinerated, decapitated and dismembered people with judicial impunity, *they* call *me*, "monster"! Are they then angels?

What rights of "free speech" exist when it can be denied because the state objects to the speaker?

The same system that denied me the alleged "right" of self-representation, that intentionally denied me of my "right" to an impartial jury of my peers, that steered me to "trial" before a judge who was a life member of the FOP and known as a "prosecutor's dream"; that denied me the right to examine and/or cross-examine witnesses, and that went back over a decade to introduce evidence of my Black Panther Party membership and statements (said to be "protected" under the First Amendment's "guarantee" of "free" association and "free" speech) and used these to argue for a death sentence—these are the self-same forces that successfully censored me from the genteel listeners of NPR's *All Things* (That the Police Will Allow) *Considered*.

They have demonstrated how the media is mastered by police power, and how the First Amendment, once again, is but a dead letter.

They have made my point—and I hope, yours.

"Dialogue" with Nazis...

(continued from page 6)

main base of the Republikaner is the cops.

We Spartakists have fought in Hennigsdorf and Leipzig to drive Nazis out of workers' demonstrations when they show their heads, as they are a threat to everyone there. At the April 20 demonstration called by Antifascist-Gençlik, a joint Turkish and Kurdish group, we carried a sign listing cities where pogroms have taken place, declaring "Rostock, Mölln, Solingen, Lübeck; Nazis Are Gangs of Killers!" For this we were attacked by skinheads and social-democratic social workers! We have long warned about the milieu of lumpenproletarian youth, which shades into racist skinheads who beat up immigrants to chants of "oi."

If any proof were needed of the dangerous consequences of the idea of talking with Nazis, this was shown by the skinhead attack last December on the Dresden city official in charge of "foreigners," Marita Schieferdecker-Adolph. After returning from a trip to Israel with skinheads and other Nazis (including the "Gauleiter" of the Viking Youth) financed by tax money—millions of D-marks are invested in projects for Nazis—the Dresden "foreigner" official set up a "dialogue" with the skinheads in a Nazi youth club. As Schieferdecker-Adolph left, the thugs were already waiting for her. They tortured her, pressing lighted cigarettes into her neck, and poured beer over her, yelling "Jew sow." She reported that she was afraid for her life. "Those were monsters, not people," she said (*Der Spiegel*, 20 December 1993). But in spite of this she decided not to file a complaint against these terrorist gangs, and that same night the skinheads raged through the streets of Dresden, forcing passers-by to kiss their boots.

Let us return to the central point: discussing with Nazis is dangerous, not only physically but also politically. The lesson of Nazi rule in Germany was that the brownshirt gangs should have been stopped before they came to power. As Trotsky wrote in 1934 about France, "The tactical, or if you will, 'technical,' task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

Whoever thinks they can "discuss" with fascists is necessarily seeking common ground, which from the SPD to the PDS and Voran/JRE has a clear name: German nationalism, whether "left" or right. They all supported capitalist reunification of Germany and the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, which led to the renewed flaring up of Nazi terror. As internationalists, we fight to *smash* the Nazis before they can attack us. Today the workers movement and all the oppressed must relearn the lessons of history and through mass mobilizations drive the brownshirt vermin back into their holes! ■

Defend Günter...

(continued from page 6)

Mitteldeutsche Zeitung (27 April) headlined, "Gauck Documents Gave the Initiative" with a kicker "Stasi Entanglement Hushed Up—Police in Front of Courtroom." The *Hallesches Tageblatt* ran a front-page spot "Despite Spartakist Ruckus, No Chance for 'Günter'," a lengthy article "Clear Decision Against Stasi Informer Günter Weinreich" and a commentary justifying the firing under the headline, "Otherwise They'll Be Back." The editorial complained, "Not even the PDS," the successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR, "acts as narrow-minded as the Spartakist Party." The PDS has often refused to defend its members accused of Stasi activity, even handing over its treasurers and its treasury to the capitalist rulers.

Despite the certainty of the "broad-minded" media witchhunters, the official verdict declared that while Günter's demand for reinstatement was rejected, his firing "did not dissolve the employment relationship" as the bosses' high-handed action failed to follow legal norms. The Committee for Social Defense issued a press release announcing, "Labor Court Decision: Firing Void—Witchhunt Will Not Silence Günter Weinreich!" The KfsV statement noted the vicious role of "the bourgeois press as an instrument of Bonn's Gauck office," which "faced with the devastating results of the capitalist reunification, seeks to silence any opposition and anyone who stands up against it." After the trial Günter thanked his supporters, saying "They all understood that I was fighting not only for my job, but for all those whom the vengeful Fourth Reich now wishes to destroy because they consciously stood for defense of the DDR."

Thrown into a situation of limbo, neither legally fired nor reinstated, Weinreich returned to his job the next day. This threw the director into a panic, and after half an hour on the phone with state authorities in Magdeburg, he told Gunter that his further employment was impossible. Furthermore, he was so enraged by protest letters charging a witchhunt that he threatened to turn this material over to the *Verfassungsschutz*, the "Office for the Protection of the Constitution," the German political police! At the end of the "discussion," Weinreich was banned from setting foot on the premises again or else he would be charged with "illegal entry." Since then, he has received a new notice of dismissal, so that he must now present another complaint against his renewed firing.

The political persecution of Günter Weinreich for his defense of the DDR and his support to the Spartakist Workers Party is a threat to all workers. The SpAD and KfsV will continue to defend our comrade, and urge all trade unionists and defenders of democratic rights to join us. Protest statements can be sent to: Komitee für soziale Verteidigung, c/o Werner Brand, Postfach 21 07 50, 10507 Berlin, Germany. ■

Magdeburg...

(continued from page 7)

addition, for the third time in three years, the Nazi thugs of the FAP ("Free Workers Party") planned a provocation against the labor movement with a march on the workers' holiday of May Day.

The DGB trade-union federation's youth organization and other anti-fascist youth immediately began to organize to prevent this obscene nationalist spectacle and the accompanying Nazi provocations. But not everybody. The self-styled Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE), led by Voran (Forward, followers of the British-based Militant tendency), didn't even want to stop this nationalist "people's festival." They planned instead to flash "red cards" (the equivalent of penalty flags) at the fascists inside the stadium. In this way they would do their bit for the national image by putting a little make-up on the ugly face of racist Germany. Instead they discredited themselves as mounting protest from trade unions, immigrants and anti-fascist youth forced the cancellation of the game.

Leading up to April 20 there were moves in the trade unions to stop the fascists, including anti-Nazi union patrols together with anti-fascist youth. Although modest in scope, this is an indication of the possibility of mass workers actions, and Spartakist supporters in the unions took part in the patrols. The DGB Youth ran a two-week series of daily anti-fascist meetings. Also, on the 20th over 3,000 immigrants and leftists demonstrated against fascist terror and in defense of the Turkish, Kurdish and German supporters of Antifascist-Gençlik. Five supporters of this group are locked up and charged with breaking up a sinister Nazi gathering in a Berlin immigrant neighborhood with the resulting death of one of these racist scum.

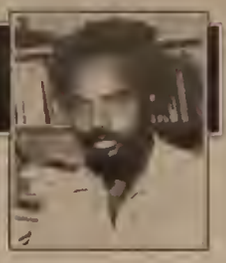
The Voran leadership of the JRE mobilized *against* the demo, telling JRE members it was "too dangerous" and claiming it was forbidden by the state. The *Gruppe Spartakus*, supporters of the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency," publicly denounced the Antifascist-Gençlik demo as "sectarian." Defense of immigrants is not their thing. But tens of thousands of youth and trade unionists are deeply outraged at the wave of fascist terror since reunification and seek ways to stop the fascists.

And this time the FAP's direct provocation against the workers movement on May 1 did not come off. Reflecting pressure from the membership, left-leaning trade-union officials in HBV, ÖTV and IG Metall called on the Berlin government to "ban" the fascists. Appealing to the same forces that tried to bring the obscene nationalist soccer spectacle to Berlin on April 20, and whose cops not only support but are infiltrated with Nazis, is not only stupid but dangerous. And these union leaders felt enough pressure from the ranks to threaten a countermobilization beginning from the traditional central DGB union demo if the city senate did not ban the fascist provocation.

On the morning of May Day, after the site of the planned Nazi provocation was announced, Spartakists along with supporters of Trade Unionists Against Fascism and Racism agitated at the DGB demo in the Lustgarten for immediate union action to stop the Nazis where they threatened to march. Our comrades also joined irate unionists and some SPD youth in defending supporters of the banned Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as they were manhandled by police. Although the fascist provocation was ignored by the bureaucrats on the stage, dozens of union members and leftist youth headed for Berlin-Johannisthal. A group of unionists including SpAD supporters went directly from the heavily immigrant IG Metall feeder march. And in the face of a small but highly visible trade-union contingent in a largely youth and *Autonom* anti-fascist demo of several hundred at Johannisthal, *the Nazis did not show their faces*.

To stop the Nazis while they are still small, you must mobilize workers and immigrants along with all the intended victims of the fascists in united-front action. The party that fights for this program, based on the experience of the Bolsheviks who led the October Revolution of 1917, is the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its German section, the Spartakist Workers Party. ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Actin' Like Life's a Ball Game

When I hear politicians hellow about "getting tough on crime" and barking out "three strikes yer out" rhetoric, several images come to niind.

I think of how quickly the tune changes when the politician is on the receiving end of some of that "tuffness," after having fallen from grace.

I am reminded of a powerful state appellate judge, who, once caught in an intricate, bizarre web of criminal conduct, changed his longstanding opinion regarding the efficacy of the insanity defense, an option he once ridiculed.

It revealed, in a flash, how illusory and transitory power and status can be, and how we are all, after all, human.

I also think of a young man I met in prison, who was one of the first wave of people imprisoned back in the '70s under new, tougher youth certification statutes, where teenagers are sentenced as adults.

The man, whom I'll call Rabbani, was a tall, husky 15-year-old when he was arrested in southeastern Pennsylvania for armed robbery.

The prosecutor moved that he be judicially certified as an adult, and the Court agreed.

Tried as an adult, Rabbani was tried and convicted of all charges, and sentenced to 15-to-30 years in prison; for an alleged "robbery" with a CO_2 air pistol.

His first six or seven years in this man-made hell found him constantly locked in battles with guards, and he logged more years in the "hole" (or disciplinary status) than he did in general population status.

He grew into manhood in shackles, and every time I saw him, he seemed bigger in size, but more bitter in spirit.

When we took the time to converse, I was always struck hy the innate brilliance of the young man; a brilliance immersed in bitterness; a bitterness so acidic that it seemed capahle of dissolving steel.

For almost 15 years this brilliance has been caged in cubes of time and steel that hasn't melted; for almost two of these years he tried, largely in vain, to get a judge to reconsider his case, but the one line, two word denials—"appeal denied"—only served to deepen his profound cynicism.

For those critical years in the life of a male, from 15 to 30 years of age, those years that mark the transition from boy to man, Rabbani was entombed in a juridical, psychic, temporal box emblazoned with the false promise "Corrections" upon it.

Like tens of thousands of his generation, his time in hell equipped him with no skills of value to either himself or his community.

He has been "corrected" in precisely the same way that hundreds of thousands of others have been, that is to say, warehoused, in a vat that sears the very soul.

He has never held a woman as a mate or lover;

He has never held a newborn in his palm, its heart athump with new life;

He hasn't seen the sun rise, nor moon glow, in almost 15 years;

For a robbery, "armed" with a pellet gun, at 15 years old.

When I hear such easy, catchy, mindless slogans like "Three Strikes—You're Out," I think of men like Rahbani, who had *one* strike (if not one "foul"!) and are, for all intents and purposes, already outside of any game worth playing.

31 March 1994

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance nf the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, 1100 Pike St., Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112.

Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

the network announced its cancelation, Clinton was pushing his crime bill to a national gathering of the FOP and said, "We recognize that there should be capital punishment for people who kill law enforcement officials in the line of duty." In Pennsylvania, the FOP is attempting with every kind of dirty trick to turn Mumia Abu-Jamal into the "Willie Horton" of the state's gubernatorial race. The cops have campaigned on radio talk shows and TV newscasts with a nightly harrage demanding his execution. When several hundred Jamal supporters rallied in Harrishurg, Pennsylvania on April 12, some 50 cops tried to intimidate the death penalty abolitionists by counterdemonstrating and chanting, "Kill Mumia!"

The NPR gag order has met with widespread outrage. The network has been inundated with phone calls and letters demanding that Mumia be heard. Local NPR affiliates have voiced opposition to this blatant censorship, and Chicago's WBEZ is broadcasting what NPR refuses to air. So are other noncommercial radio stations, including New York's WBAI and other Pacifica stations.

All fighters for black freedom, all death penalty abolitionists must mobilize now to stop the assembly line of death. What's necessary is the broadest possible campaign of public protest and exposure for Jamal—the kind of campaign that saved the Scottsboro Boys, earlier victims of a racist frame-up. *Let the "Voice of the Voiceless" be heard—Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

We print below a press release issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on May 17.

Protest NPR Gag Order on Death Row Prisoner

Late last week National Public Radio announced in newspapers across the country that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was going to be heard in a series of radio commentaries commencing on Monday May 16. In a blatant display of censorship, NPR caved in to pressure led by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, to announce on Sunday that it was canceling the broadcasts.

After hearing of NPR's cancelation of his commentaries Jamal stated, "This is just one more instance of my constitutional rights being denied as they have been since December 9, 1981. The right to self-representation, the right to have counsel of my own choice, the right to a fair trial, the right to a fair and impartial jury and now the right to speech."

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel, announced, "It is ironic that efforts to silence Mumia were what put him on death row. Now, 12 years later they are still trying to silence one of the most effective spokesmen for the Afro-American community." Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein added, "Jamal was supposed to be heard on NPR's program, 'All Things Considered.' Obviously, one thing NPR is afraid to consider is standing up to the police who are trying to silence Jamal to make it easier to execute this innocent man."

Jamal, a former spokesman for the Black Panther Party, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization and award-winning journalist who was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest, was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. His articles and radio broadcasts on behalf of the poor, minorities, homeless and immigrants won him the name of the "voice of the voiceless." He was tried and convicted by Philadelphia judge Albert Sabo, who has sent more men to death row than any other judge in the nation and who is known as "the King of Death Row." Saho denied Jamal's request to represent himself and ordered him removed from the courtroom for jury selection and other key parts of the trial.

Following the NPR decision to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal's commentaries, the Pacifica Radio News network, which has 60 stations, announced Monday it would broadcast them as part of its daily news program. Gayle Christian, national program director for Pacifica, said, "Pacifica is proud to once again bring to the public a voice and opinion which the established media find too outspoken or controversial for their tastes."

In his first broadcast on Pacifica yesterday afternoon, Mumia Abu-Jamal stated:

> "Every day in America the trek continues, a black march to death row.... In the 1987 case McCleskey vs. Kemp, the famed Bedeau study revealed facts that unequivocally proved: 1) defendants charged with killing white victims in Georgia are 4.3 times as likely to be sentenced to death as defendants charged with killing blacks; 2) six of every eleven defendants convicted of killing a white person would not have received the death sentence if their victim had been black; 3) cases involving black defendants and white victims are more likely to result in a death sentence than cases featuring any other racial combination of defendant and victim.
> "Although the U.S. Supreme Court by a razor-thin five-four vote rejected McCleskey's claim, it could hardly reject the facts underlying them. Retired Justice Powell said, in essence, differences don't amount to discrimination. The bedrock reason why McCleskey was denied relief was the fear again expressed by Powell, that McCleskey's claim taken to its logical conclusion throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system. How true. McCleskey can't be correct or else the whole system is incorrect. Now that couldn't be the case, could it?"

PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein said, "The decision to cancel Mumia was a political decision pure and simple. It continues the political persecution that led to the death sentence against him. Congress is about to pass a 'crime' bill which will add dozens of new crimes to carry the death sentence. The NPR announcement immediately followed President Clinton's law and order speech on Sunday to a national gathering of the Fraternal Order of Police. Just a few days ago, on May 12, Clinton's home state of Arkansas executed two black men within an hour of each other. It is in this context that this outrage against Mumia Abu-Jamal is taking place."

Jamal's struggle to overturn his conviction has won supporters around the world. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions to Pennsylvania governor Casey and trade unions representing millions more have also demanded that Jamal not he executed. His supporters include Ossie Davis, Mike Farrell, Congressman Ron Dellums, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, Ed Asner, Harry Belafonte, Whoopi Goldberg and Percy Sutton.

PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein said, "NPR's censorship of Jamal must be protested. NPR's action denies Jamal's outstanding qualifications as a journalist, hut more importantly strips him of his humanity. This is a life and death issue of free speech. They are saying that because Jamal is on death row the public is not going to hear what he has to say today, to make it easier to execute him tomorrow. Blacks, Hispanics, labor, all those opposed to the death penalty must demand, 'Let Mumia speak!'"

Phone calls protesting NPR's censorship should be addressed to Managing Editor Bruce Drake or Mary Morgan at (202) 414-2305, or fax to (202) 414-3045. ■

WV Photo

In Philadelphia over 200 rallied in 1990 to demand "Abolish the racist death penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

National Public Radio Censors Death Row Prisoner

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Be Heard!

Two days after National Public Radio announced that it would air a series of commentaries by Mumia Abu-Jamal on its national "All Things Considered" program, NPR suddenly vetoed any broadcasts by the nation's only death row political prisoner. This racist censorship must be defeated!

For the "legal" lynchers, for the trigger-happy cops, for the politicians pushing the racist death penalty, it was unthinkable to let the public hear the powerful voice of Jamal. They knew what everyone who has heard the man called "the voice of the voiceless" knows: from his cell on Pennsylvania's death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal's searing indictments of all the racist hypocrisy and injustice of this system would resonate deep in the hearts and minds of people all across this country. And so, amid a din of threats by the Fraternal Order of Police, NPR pulled the plug on Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty stated, "The death penalty is like a mushroom. It needs darkness to grow. In order to hold public support for executions, the people must be largely uninformed and misinformed.... The real problem the Philadelphia police officers and others have with Mumia Abu-Jamal's commentary on National Public Radio is that anyone listening as he speaks will realize that he is human. He is intelligent, articulate and alive. If that secret gets out, it will become just a little bit harder to kill him."

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Speak! The Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee are sponsoring "Speak Out for Mumia Abu-Jamal!" on June 3 in New York City on this life and death issue of free speech. Hear Jamal in his own words—the man and the message that National "Public" Radio forbids the public to hear.

NPR's cowardly censorship was accompanied by a blizzard of hostile headlines in major newspapers across America aimed at dehumanizing Jamal as a "cop killer," "death row con." Threats were reprinted from Philadelphia president of the Fraternal Order of Police, Michael Lutz, that "He should be dead. He should be dead. He should have been dead a long time ago" (*New York Times*, 15 May). The "mighty media wurlitzer" was cranked up to blast out fear and loathing against this fighter for black freedom who was framed for a crime he did not commit. Lutz bragged, "We went to the federal government to stop funding for NPR." On the floor of the U.S. Senate, Republican whip Robert Dole railed against NPR for daring to let Jamal speak to the American people.

What role did the Clinton White House have in NPR's gag order? Shortly before

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SPEAK OUT FOR JAMAL!

A Life and Death Issue of Free Speech!

Hosted by

Ossie Davis

Other featured participants include: Wadiya Abu-Jamal and Len Weinglass

Friday, June 3, 7:00 p.m.

Ethical Culture Society
2 West 64th St., New York City

For more information call the Partisan Defense Committee: (212) 406-4252

Save Black Journalist on Death Row!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Defend the Right to Bear Arms

Clinton Whips Up Hysteria Over "Assault Weapons"

"Remember that the musket...is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty."
—Frederick Douglass, 1863

For years the federal, state and local governments have been sniping away at the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which supposedly guarantees the right to "keep and bear arms." But now Clinton and Congress have let loose with both barrels in a full-scale assault on this fundamental constitutional safeguard under the guise of an "anti-crime" bill.

They are taking aim at the heart of the Second Amendment, threatening to disarm the masses at a time of increasing social discontent, while the government is arming itself to the teeth—boasting of plans to put 100,000 more cops on the streets. The anti-gun hysteria, like the government's "war on drugs," is aimed squarely at minorities and all working people.

This newest gun ban is part of the Omnibus Crime Bill, a draconian measure which will spend billions of dollars on super-prisons and racist boot camps for black and Hispanic youth, while greatly expanding the number of federal crimes carrying the death penalty. And to drive home the racist character of the state's legal lynching, Congress voted down a measure to allow death row prisoners to challenge their death sentence on the grounds of racial discrimination.

By a narrow margin of two votes, the House approved a bill on May 5 which would ban 19 specific semiautomatic "assault weapons" including the civilian versions of the most widely known military rifles, the Russian Kalashnikov AK-47 and the American M-16, and any "copies or duplicates." Moreover, an elastic clause would also ban *any* "semiautomatic rifle that has an ability to accept a detachable magazine" and at least two other military features, such as a folding stock, a pistol grip, a bayonet mount, a threaded barrel which could accept a flash suppressor, or a grenade launcher. A broad category of semiautomatic pistols with military features would also be banned, along with magazines capable of accepting more than

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Reuters

Bowman/AP

Left: Clinton inspects "assault weapons" with BATF director John Magaw. Right: Gun control, FBI-style, at religious commune near Waco. Government-unleashed firestorm killed 86 innocent men, women and children.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 602 | 10 June 1994

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Speak!

"There is a quickening upon the nation's Death Rows of late, a picking up of the pace of the march towards death.... States that have not slain in a generation now ready their machinery: generators whine, poison liquids are mixed and gases are measured and readied, silent chambers await the order to smother life."

—Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Yale Law Journal* (January 1991)

Since Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote the above words, the American assembly line of death has vastly speeded up—and now Jamal, a powerful fighter for black freedom, a man who was sentenced to die for a crime he did not commit, is directly in the path of the state's killing machine. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in America is all about, the attempt to terrorize the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the nightriding KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets—all to try to keep black people "in their place." Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty, and to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

Despite the outrageous attempt of National Public Radio (NPR) to silence him, the voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal *was* heard on June 3 in New York City, when over 250 people filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to hear the words of this award-winning black journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful articles and radio commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. The speak-out, hosted by actor Ossie Davis, was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal to protest NPR's May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Mumia has already spent 12 years behind bars on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, framed for the shooting of a Philadelphia police officer. His commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), among other forces. Republican Senate leader Bob Dole spoke on the Senate floor threatening to go after NPR's funding.

They want to silence Jamal in order to make it easier to kill him, and the 2,800 other people on the nation's death rows. The executioners want their victims to be faceless and nameless. An articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice would give the lie to their racist propaganda justifying judicial executions with the claim that all its victims are guilty, crazed psychopathic ax murderers. In fact, as Mumia Abu-Jamal's commentaries powerfully expose, the system of legal lynching is an integral part of the racist oppression of black America.

At the June 3 speak-out, Ossie Davis eloquently indicted the real criminals: "Our whole society, instead of facing up to what is happening, and what is not happening, decides to resolve the problem of unemployment, of crime, of drugs, of inferior education, of homelessness—to resolve the whole thing by coming up with a formula which will take as many of the victims as they can catch in their net and put them safely away out of sight. They will build more prisons, more facilities to warehouse people for whom there is no meaningful, gainful employment in our society."

Davis pointed to the huge number of young black men who are either in prison or wards of the racist "justice" system (as many as three out of five in cities like Baltimore). Clinton vowed to "end welfare as we know it," and the new "welfare" system is jail. With almost a million people behind bars, the prison population has *tripled* since 1980. Having destroyed millions of unionized industrial jobs and wiped out wide swaths of industry, the ruling class has consigned a whole layer of black inner-city youth to die off through disease, cop murders and imprisonment. The speedup on death row encapsulates this capitalist hell.

NYC Rally for Death Row Political Prisoner

WV Photo

At New York speak-out, Judge Bruce Wright, WBAI's Bernard White and actor Ossie Davis read from works by Mumia Abu-Jamal, censored by National Public Radio.

Jennifer Beach

VOICE OF THE VOICELESS

"This is Mumia Abu-Jamal and this outlaw broadcast from Pennsylvania's Death Row is subject to immediate termination by the government. Hear what NPR, 'National Police Radio,' wouldn't allow."

—From Jamal's call for June 3 Speak-Out

Jamal's Voice Is Heard

The June 3 speak-out attracted a diverse audience and featured a wide array

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The Communist International After Lenin

Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time

See Page 8

On Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam

May 21, 1994

Editor—

I have just read the current edition of WORKERS VANGUARD, in particular, the piece on Farrakhan ["Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People," *WV* No. 600, 13 May]. As a political prisoner, I am most appreciative of the paper's coverage of my case and that of other political prisoners. I commend the paper for keeping its readers abreast of incidents and developments regarding racist attacks on Africans and other people of color, economic oppression, etc. However, my patience has run out, with this edition of WORKERS VANGUARD, insofar as your frequent arrogantly racist attacks against African leaders and spokespersons and movements are concerned. As much as you have attempted to rewrite the biography of Omowale (Malcolm X) to turn him into some kind of integrationist, the fact is that he preached African self-determination. Like Omowale, I believe in and support self-determination for African people, here and elsewhere. I don't believe in the concept of African people needing Caucasians to determine for us which among our people are good or "bad news" for us. *I* will, as an African person, determine whom I will listen to and/or follow.

I have written to you in the past about the racist arrogance and paternalism, as well as ideological colonialism, your paper has exhibited. You have continued to disrespect African people. As of this date, please do not continue to send me WORKERS VANGUARD. Thank you

s/Mondo
Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa
(formerly known as "David Rice")

* * *

Jerusalem, Israel

26 May 1994

Dear friends of "Workers Vanguard"

I have greatly enjoyed your article on Farrakhan (May 13). Allow me to add something, actually drawn from the book I have right now published (*Jewish History, Jewish Religion: The Weight of Three Thousand Years* [distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Westview Press], pp. 71-2) about the ideological support given to the Nazi regime at its inception by a prominent and characteristic Zionist, who then emigrated to the U.S. and became an important American Zionist.

> "Some Zionist leaders in Germany welcomed Hitler's rise to power, because they shared his belief in primacy of 'race' and his hostility to the assimilation of Jews among the 'Aryans.' They congratulated Hitler on his triumph over the common enemy—the forces of liberalism. Dr. Joachim Prinz, a Zionist rabbi who subsequently emigrated to the USA, where he rose to be the vice-chairman of the World Jewish Congress and a leading light in the World Zionist Organization (as well as a great friend of Golda Meir) published in 1934 a special book, *Wir Juden* ('We, Jews'), to celebrate Hitler's so-called German Revolution and the defeat of liberalism:
>
> 'The meaning of the German Revolution for the German nation will eventually be clear to those who have created it and formed its image. Its meaning for us must be set forth here: the fortunes of liberalism are lost. The only form of political life which has helped Jewish assimilation is sunk.'
>
> "The victory of Nazism rules out assimilation and mixed marriages as an option for Jews. 'We are not unhappy about this,' said Dr. Prinz. In the fact that Jews are forced to identify themselves as Jews, he sees 'the fulfillment of our desire.' And further:
>
> 'We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can be only honoured and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation. It will not want Jewish flatterers and crawlers. It must demand of us faith and loyalty to our own interest. For only he who honours his own breed and his own blood can have an attitude of honour towards the national will of other nations.'
>
> "The whole book is full of similar crude flatteries of Nazi ideology, glee at the defeat of liberalism and particularly of the ideas of the French Revolution and great expectations that, in the congenial atmosphere of the myth of the Aryan race, Zionism and the myth of the Jewish race will also thrive."

I hope you will agree with me that this example is particularly relevant now, not only as applying to Zionism but, also to Farrakhan.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

* * *

NY, NY

8 April 1994

Dear editor,

I have been ruminating over something that appeared in *WV* a few issues ago, and I should now like to raise this issue with you and your readership. You characterized Louis Farrakhan as a "dangerous anti-Semitic demagogue." Further, you concluded that his freedom of speech should not be denied him.

I find your characterization of Farrakhan insufficient from a Trotskyist perspective. I think that the evidence shows him to be not just a demagogue (Al Sharpton is that much) but a clerical-fascist. If that be true then your calling for his freedom of speech is in error. Let us consider the facts:

1. It is a matter of public record that Farrakhan praised Hitler as a "great man."

2. His rantings against the Jews as power-hungry world manipulators, blood-suckers, monopolists of the film and media industries, and creators of AIDS are on par with anything the Nazis ever accused the Jews of.

3. You have frequently cited his taking a financial contribution from neo-Nazi Metzger. Conversely we may note that such a hardcore fascist as Metzger would only give money to someone he felt a *deep* political kinship with.

4. My own chance observation on one occasion revealed a streetcorner Farrakhanite bookstand selling black literature literally keeping under the table copies of the fascistic Protocols of the Elders of Zion for sale to black anti-Semitic cognoscenti. I might add that my one personal observation of this is bolstered by accounts in the bourgeois press which allege that Farrakhan's bookstores routinely stock this filth.

5. To my mind, the best American parallel to Farrakhan's clerical-fascism is that of Father Coughlin's in the 1930s. Coughlin, too, hailed (heiled?) Hitler, railed against the Jews. "Jewmockracy," "Jewish control" etc., ad nauseam. The then-Trotskyist SWP flatly denounced Coughlin as a fascist. And I believe I am on strong historical ground when I say that the SWP *never* called for *his* freedom of speech.

Here are the political questions I should think necessary to discuss in your pages: Is Farrakhan now a clerical-fascist? If not, why not? What actions on his part would it take before the Spartacist League denounced him as such?

The last question is, I think, the most significant. I realize that there is a very strong tendency on the part of the American left to say that "blacks can't be racists" (and therefore fascists) because they don't have the political, social and economic power to do so in a highly

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The Truth About D-Day

TROTSKY

LENIN

The rulers of U.S. imperialism are cynically celebrating the 50th anniversary of "D-Day," claiming that the Normandy landings were the "turning point" of World War II. This is a myth. Hitler's forces were vanquished by the Soviet Red Army on the Eastern Front, as more than 27 million Soviet citizens died in defending the USSR and its collectivized social foundations against the Nazi scourge (see "D-Day Was a Sideshow: The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany," WV No. 357, 22 June 1984). The Fourth International fought for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, while opposing both imperialist camps whose real war aims were for redivision of colonies and markets. Stalin, who undermined the defense of the USSR, also throttled the revolutionary upsurges in Europe at the close of the war. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the French Trotskyists courageously sought to organize German soldiers against the Nazi rulers, clandestinely publishing the German-language paper Arbeiter und Soldat *(Worker and Soldier). We print below an excerpt from an article published on the eve of the Allied landing in the French Trotskyists' underground newspaper,* La Vérité.

Why are these gentlemen of the City [London's financial district] and Wall Street now in a hurry to finish the war? The war is piling up corpses and destruction, blood and tears. But it is also accumulating gold in the reserves of the National Bank of the United States and in the vaults of Mr. Morgan, and dividends in the pockets of the stockholders of United Steel and General Motors. So they carefully allowed the German "enemy" to get oil from Spain, special steel alloys and even Ford motors via neutral countries.

Why are these gentlemen from Wall Street and the City now in a hurry to finish the war? *Their interests, the interests of the arms merchants, of the traffickers and of the reactionary politicians, were precisely to let the USSR exhaust itself in the fight, lose its wealth and its youth, so that it would come out of the war impoverished, bled white and ready, under pressure, extortion and threats by the international bourgeoisie, to abandon its socialist structure and open its markets to imperialism.*

While the USSR was losing its blood, the English and American imperialists *were building up gigantic stockpiles of matériel and countless arms near Europe with the hope of being able to impose their will on the USSR and Europe.*

That was their plan. But instead, the Red Army resisted. It has pushed forward and driven the German imperialist armies out of the USSR. It now threatens Romania, Hungary and is driving toward Central Europe.

At the same time, the proletariat is awakening in all countries. Recently, we saw the Italian workers sweep away fascism and spontaneously set up factory councils. From Norway to Greece, from France to Poland, the working masses are gaining confidence once again and taking action. Under these conditions, the weakened German gendarme will soon be incapable of insuring police functions and holding back the rising revolutionary tide.

At this precise moment, the second front becomes necessary. *The bourgeoisie wants to draw up its army in front of the Red Army, which is driving toward the West, and in front of the revolutionary wave which is rising throughout Europe and threatening to sweep everything away.*

Despite the propaganda statements, which are as hypocritical as the Nazis', the second front is not a second front against Nazism (if that were the case, it would already have existed months ago). *It is a front against the Revolution and against the USSR.*

—"The Working Class and the 'Second Front': How to Do Away With Fascism and War" (*La Vérité*, May 1944)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is June 7.

No. 602 **10 June 1994**

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* will skip the second issue in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 8.

Five of Vancouver Six Beat Trumped-up Charges

"It's No Crime to Stop the Fascists!"

Spartacist Canada photos

Vancouver anti-fascists received wide union support. Left: Demonstration outside courthouse on May 31 in solidarity with the defendants (above).

VANCOUVER—For the last nine months, six anti-fascist protesters faced trumped-up charges of assault for defending themselves and others at a 60-strong demonstration on 6 May 1993 organized against Ron Gostick and his rabidly anti-Semitic and white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights." No matter that Gostick's "host," infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out and waded into the demonstration that night with an iron bar. (He was quickly disarmed by the protesters.) No matter that the protesters had to fend off repeated fascist attacks and provocations clearly shown on TV. The *anti-fascists* were charged (three months after the event!) because, as the official police report stated, they wanted to send "a message" to "radical activists." The message: that it's free rein for the fascists, state repression for those who oppose them.

But dozens of trade-union locals and officials, anti-racist organizations and many others sent their own message: "Drop the Charges Against the May 6 Anti-Fascist Protesters!" They showed their determination on the morning of the first day of the trial, May 31, when over 60 came out to a demonstration in front of the provincial courthouse initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, chanting "It's no crime to stop the fascists! Drop the charges now!" Members of the Vancouver Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 391 and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Local 100 came out with their union banners.

Even before the trial date, the Crown Attorney prosecutor dropped the charges against two of the Six, John Lipscomb and Oliver Scribner. As the trial convened, charges against telephone worker Glenn Mason were thrown out of court. Of the three who were dragged through the proceedings, the charge was dismissed against postal unionist Bob McBurney, and CUPE member Tom Hansen was found not guilty.

Outrageously, Miriam Scribner, Trotskyist League activist and a CUPE member, was found guilty and given a conditional discharge. Her "crime"? Spray-painting a yellow line down Cyllorn's back to stop him from menacing the protesters.

The *Vancouver Sun* (2 June) reported on her testimony. She noted that "it was 'an extremely dangerous moment' when Cyllorn came out on the street carrying a metre-long length of metal pipe. Protest marshals managed to take the metal pipe away from Cyllorn, she said...." While celebrating the victory of five of the Six against the state's attack, supporters were furious at this verdict. A telephone worker shop steward asked pointedly: you mean they convicted a 5-foot-one librarian for spray-painting a 200-pound Nazi?

The charges emboldened the racist terrorists. Cyllorn skulked around Miriam Scribner's workplace and in the days before the trial he made harassing and threatening telephone calls to unionists who publicly backed the Six. The response was anger at this open attempt at intimidation and a renewed determination to defend the anti-fascist protesters. This was reflected in the impressive labor support and turnout at the courthouse.

Speaking on behalf of the Vancouver CUPW, Acting President Jim Lougheed told the May 31 rally that "The Local has been supporting the six anti-fascist protesters since day one," and called on those present to "go into that courtroom and show the state that they cannot trample on people who are willing to fight fascism." That's exactly what happened as supporters overflowed the courtroom,

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Black Transit Worker Shot by Cops, Framed Up and Fired

All Out for James Frazier!

New York City transit workers, students and other opponents of racist cop terror are mobilizing support for James Frazier, a black track worker and member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 who faces frame-up charges in Brooklyn Criminal Court. Last October, Frazier was shot from behind by the police as he was driving to visit a friend in the hospital. The Transit Authority bosses summarily *fired* Frazier, despite a perfect work record, and to cover up *the cops'* crime, the District Attorney is railroading Frazier on charges of weapons possession. He faces up to 15 years in prison.

As a result of the efforts of Frazier's supporters in TWU Local 100, two union divisions have called a rally demanding "DA—Drop the Charges! TA—Reinstate James Frazier Now!" to be held at the next court hearing on Friday, June 17 at 8:30 a.m. at Bronklyn Criminal Court, 120 Schermerhorn Street. The cops who did this to brother Frazier are scheduled to appear.

At the June 3 NYC speak-out for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Frazier spoke powerfully about his case and in defense of other victims of racist cop terror. Following are excerpts from his remarks:

Good evening. It's really moving to be here tonight, to hear about Mumia Abu-Jamal. We both were shot by the police department—his case was in Philadelphia, mine was right here in New York. We both were attacked in the hospital by the police. I'd like to say that everyone here should keep up the fight to help free this man. It happened to me, it happened to him, it happened to Geronimo Pratt, it could happen to anybody sitting here. So the struggle must continue for these people.

Up until the day I was shot, I didn't know any organizations or anybody cared about what happened to another person. Because, you know, New York is mostly a place where a man is dying on the ground, you step over him. I very strongly believe that if I didn't have this support, I'd have been railroaded in jail a long time ago. Every time I go to court, I have a lot of support from the Partisan Defense Committee, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Labor/Black League and the Transport Workers Union members.

I would also like to say to Wadiya Abu-Jamal, there's nothing I really can do to express my sympathy to you but to say, "stay strong." I hear about Mumia, 13 years in prison—13 years for something he didn't do. I hear about Geronimo Pratt, in prison for 23 years for something he did not do. I'm still fighting in court to stay out of prison, for something I didn't do. So I know, I deeply know how you feel.

WV Photo

NYC transit worker James Frazier (right) speaks to rally outside TA headquarters, April 19.

Unlike Mumia and Geronimo Pratt, I'm not a political speaker, I was not a member of the Black Panthers. I read in an article that Mumia was a target. But as a young black male, we are targeted from the very beginning (applause). From the beginning we are targeted, just because I'm young, and I'm black and I have a nice, flashy car—I guess I'm not supposed to have that.

It's not easy fighting this system we have here. Mayor Dinkins, a black mayor, hired 6,000 cops and Giuliani controls them. So I'd like to say, just keep up the struggle, and let's keep the fight up for Mumia and Geronimo Pratt. Thank you.

The Death of Gay Liberation?

By David Thorstad

WV Photo

April 1993 gay rights march in Washington, D.C. was a flag-waving celebration for Democrat Clinton and U.S. imperialism.

This past spring David Thorstad submitted the following article to *Workers Vanguard*, as well as a number of other left and gay papers. A former president of New York's Gay Activists Alliance (1975-76), Thorstad was a founding member of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1977), as well as co-author of the book, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)*. In 1978 he was a founding member of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association). This organization, which supports the sexual rights of gays and especially youth, has been repeatedly singled out for vicious attack by the government—and by other gay groups seeking "acceptance" from this racist, capitalist state that persecutes homosexuals.

As always with signed articles, the opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect our editorial viewpoint. In the case of Thorstad, our differences and exchange of views go back a ways. Thorstad was briefly prominent as a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1970s, before resigning in disgust when the SWP abandoned its brief hypocritical flirtation with the "gay liberation movement" (see "Gays and the SWP," *Women and Revolution* No. 24, Spring 1982). Our most significant difference has been with Thorstad's longstanding "only gays can liberate gays" belief in the liberating potential of radical lifestylism, so characteristic of the early '70s New Leftist sectoralist movements.

The logic of New Left sectoralism has long since played itself out, as yesteryear's "gay liberationists" have become today's hard-nosed constituency lobbyists, wheeling and dealing in the Democratic Party and letting cops march while excluding the likes of NAMBLA. Thus, while we don't share Thorstad's sense of betrayal, we appreciate his powerful indictment of today's toadying would-be bureaucrats for Clinton and Reno, the mass murderers of Waco.

As we said in "Stop the Witchhunt of Peter Melzer!" (*WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993):

> "The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a generalized campaign against sex aimed at the 'moral rearmament' of the American people which would bolster the *bourgeoisie's* authority. The guiding principle for sexual relations between *all* people ought to be one of effective consent."

Defense of NAMBLA should be an elementary act of basic decency—but it seems it is left to us Marxists to *practice* the basic principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Fred McDarrah

Young gay activists gather outside Stonewall bar, New York City, June 1969, after brutal cop attack which triggered "Stonewall Rebellion."

The gay movement faces an old paradox. Just when it has attained a level of social influence greater than any achieved over the past century, it is losing its soul.

Gay leaders prefer political correctness to variety and ambiguity, sameness to difference. I myself yearn for the spirit of a banner I saw in 1971: "Love is a many-gendered thing."

Passionless bureaucrats on C-SPAN press a politics of victimization (copied from middle-class feminism) and a liberal strategy of expanding state protection of "gay people" rather than of liberating sexuality. Victimization is "in" these days—there's money in it; it can get you acquitted of murder. As a strategy for extending rights, though, it reminds me of the "Victim of the Press" button worn by the ex-homosexual zombies of Aesthetic Realism.

No talk here of empowerment or liberation (passé in these postmodern, post-everything times), rarely of repealing sodomy and other anti-sex laws, and never of laws that discriminate against youth. Rather than fight the anti-sex legacy of Judeo-Christianity, gay leaders seem to ignore it, even embrace it.

Oblivious to the source of gay oppression in institutions like the family, gays lobby the state to bless their unions—and stage a "mass wedding" in the nation's capital fit for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The state is using AIDS to reimpose coupledom and control over sexuality, and how do gay leaders respond? By embracing monogamy and marriage—this despite the fact that half of straight marriages fail, and monogamy is a bit player in the mammalian heritage (fewer than 3 percent of mammals are monogamous).

We Are Family—or wannabe.

Hundreds of thousands marched in gay pride in Washington in April 1993. The event became a virtual love fest for President Clinton—before the blood had dried on his and Janet Reno's hands after their incineration of the Waco dissidents (among whom 25 children). That numbing act of police-state terrorism and child abuse gave little pause to gay leaders, who were enthusiastic vote-getters for the principle-less draft dodger turned mass murderer.

Flush from a meeting with Commander in Chief Clinton a week before the march on Washington, Human Rights Campaign Fund executive director Tim McFeeley voiced confidence that Clinton would rip up the ban on gays in the military by July: "It's not just what the President said, but how he said it. It's a feeling you got by looking into his eyes" (*New York Times*, 18 April 1993). McFeeley expressed similar sappy certainty on Donahue. All that gay money donated to big-business bimbos (instead of being used to fight gay oppression) was about to pay off. Clinton nevertheless opted for continuing a discriminatory policy.

Gay leaders argue that since "lesbians and gay *men*" (p.c. nomenclature nowadays) fought so well in the U.S. war against Iraq, they deserve recognition as cogs in the war machine. As we prepare to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, one of their main goals is to get the state to welcome same-sexers as servants of the New World Disorder. Proud out-of-the-closet patriotism.

Despite their rush to embrace the military issue, no gay leaders invoked history's most renowned example of same-sex military heroism—the "sacred band" of Thebes. That would not have been p.c. since the Theban Band involved men and youths, and pederasty is a secret not to be told. (These days, only androphilia is p.c.)

On one level, surely, gay men and lesbians who are fighting to be in the military are extending the civil rights of all of us. Their contribution to sexual liberation is more iffy. And the morality of militarism is never questioned.

Can this be what Stonewall was about?

The first group to emerge from Stonewall—the Gay Liberation Front—struggled against the Vietnam War. It was exhilarating to see the GLF banner waving in antiwar demos. Today, gay leaders wave the Stars and Stripes and hope to bring gay pride along in the next bombing raid on Third World babies. In this respect, little of the Stonewall spirit survives.

Hoping to appease the Christian right and the Clinton administration, gaycrats from Barney Frank on down join Jesse Helms in calling on the International Lesbian and Gay Association to expel the North American Man/Boy Love Association—the only U.S. group active in the ILGA for more than a decade. But heterosexual supremacists object to *all* varieties of homosexuality, not just this or that subgroup.

On January 26, 1994, the U.S. Senate unanimously (99-0) adopted a Helms amendment to withhold $118 million from the United Nations unless the ILGA expelled NAMBLA. Not a peep from the gay establishment against this antigay Republicrat diktat—for which, in fact, they paved the way.

Pat Califia has observed that boy-lovers and SMers face the brunt of anti-sex repression—thereby winning for the broader movement the elbowroom it enjoys. That is why NAMBLA and SM figure prominently in right-wing religious propaganda. But don't expect the gay establishment to acknowledge this. To them, "An injury to one is an injury to all" is a mere phrase.

In England, the gay movement has been campaigning to lower the age of consent to 16 for male-male sex. (It is already 16 for straight and lesbian sex.) On February 21, activists stormed Parliament when it adopted a "compromise" age of 18! In contrast, in the United States—where the age of consent varies from 14 to 18 in states where sodomy laws have been repealed (you can't do it legally anywhere else no matter how old you are)—gay leaders have agreed not to challenge whatever the arbitrary age happens to be.

Lowering any of the ages of consent would advance the civil rights of youth and their (often older) lovers. But the new homophile establishment will have none of it. For them, pederasty remains taboo and anathema. Peri Jude Radecic, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, recently stated: "Lowering age of consent laws has never been and never will be a part of the mission of NGLTF" (*Village Voice*, 8 February). The gay movement in England fights to lower the age of consent, but in the United States, *never*?

New York's Gay Activists Alliance (from which NGLTF was an elitist offshoot in 1973) and other post-Stonewall groups in the United States, Canada and Europe opposed age of

Protest "Stonewall 25" Exclusion

Let NAMBLA March!

The Spartacist League vigorously protests the Stonewall 25 Steering Committee's attempted exclusion of the North American Man/Boy Love Association from the march on the United Nations later this month. We are printing below our letter defending NAMBLA's right to march to Spirit of Stonewall (SOS), a group also defending NAMBLA.

4 June 1994

Spirit of Stonewall
Organizing Committee
Boston, MA

Dear SOS:

The Spartacist League condemns the vicious exclusion of NAMBLA by the Stonewall 25 Steering Committee from the upcoming Stonewall 25 national march in New York City on 26 June 1994. When the Steering Committee voted to ban from the march all "organizations advocating...the repeal of age of consent laws without adequate protection of youth, or those advocating... the sexual abuse of youth," it was singling out, and slandering, the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and all others who oppose the oppression of young people in this society. As Marxists we oppose the regulation of private consensual sexual acts, which are nobody's business hut the persons involved.

By its action the Steering Committee shows that it has signed on with the government's anti-sex witchhunt—a campaign aimed at instilling conformity to Christian, puritanical, hourgeois morality. The state's persecution of NAMBLA is part of an attempt to assert its prerogative to legislate sexual norms as against all those it considers "deviant," a category which includes all gays and lesbians and many others as well. By building a "family values" gay pride march, the Steering Committee fuels a reactionary climate where pregnant teenagers need "parental consent" for abortion while hysterical charges of "sex abuse" result in the persecution of day-care workers and teachers—a campaign which began with the witchhunting of homosexual teachers. To exclude NAMBLA from a gay pride march is therefore to enlist in the crusade to persecute gays in the name of "saving children."

The Steering Committee's despicable action can only encourage the very forces responsible for the repression and oppression of gay people and youth, and those forces are sinister indeed: In 1992, following an "exposé" by KRON-TV in collusion with the SF cops, NAMBLA members were threatened at their press conference by a demonstration of child abuse "survivors"—joined by a gang of skinheads carrying the Confederate flag of slavery. On the East Coast, Bronx High School of Science teacher Peter Melzer is threatened with the loss of his job solely because of his beliefs and association with NAMBLA.

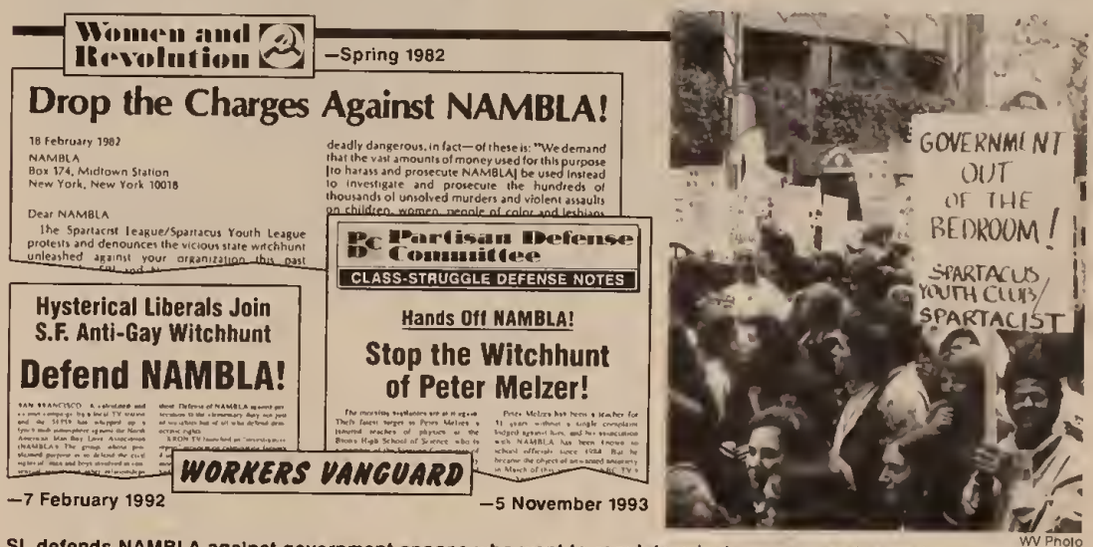
The Spartacist League cannot, however, endorse SOS's call (dated 3 April 1994). Signers of the call are being asked to support not just basic rights of NAMBLA and others to march, but also a series of political demands. Central to its political thrust is support to gay sectoralist lifestylism, embodied in the demand that "the gay and lesbian movement...return to its roots" in the Stonewall 1969 rebellion. As against "lifestyle" advocacy as a road to sexual liberation, we Marxists believe that the oppression of women and gay people in this capitalist society stems fundamentally from the institution of the family, which is bolstered by the state and organized religion. Sectoralist, gay lifestylist politics cannot address the material cause of gay oppression. In divorcing the goal of fighting for full rights for gays from the liberation of the working class and all the oppressed from capitalist exploitation, gay sectoralist politics can only tail the Democratic Party of war and racism. The Steering Committee's action is the logical result of seeking a space within the capitalist system, but toeing the "family values" line of the bourgeois establishment can never win "respectability" for gays and lesbians, who are by definition anathema to the religious-inspired right wing.

From its inception the Marxist movement has championed the rights of homosexuals; Oscar Wilde was defended against persecution for homosexuality by the most authoritative journal of the Second International, *Die Neue Zeit*. Within the framework of fighting for socialist revolution to lay the basis for a new society in which the full expression of the individual (sexual and otherwise) will be possible, we stand against all state interference in private matters of sexuality. Trotskyists have always opposed the "family values" conservatism of the anti-Marxist Stalin, as they also fought his bureaucratic usurpation of soviet power and the resulting counterrevolutionary international program. We call for abortion rights for young women as part of free, quality health care, including contraception, for all. Advocating the concept of effective consent in sexual matters, we denounce the reactionary "age of consent" laws which seek to straitjacket the sexuality of young people.

Let NAMBLA march!

Fraternally,
Amy Rath for the Spartacist League

cc: NAMBLA
Stonewall 25 Steering Committee



WV Photo

SL defends NAMBLA against government snoops who want to regulate private, consensual sexual acts.

consent laws on the grounds that they protect no one; rather, they criminalize *consensual* sex (the best kind).

Stonewall meant struggle. It meant putting your livelihood on the line. It meant irreverence, pride in outsider status, youth sexuality, drag, sexual ambiguity. It meant rediscovering gay history. It meant solidarity with gay prisoners and anyone who is oppressed.

Solidarity—there's a concept that now counts for less. When was the last time you heard a guppie call for freeing gay prisoners? Their silence may suggest that there aren't any, but thousands of gay men call a U.S. jail home because of sexual activity that was no less consensual than anything Radecic, McFeeley or Frank engage in.

A 14- or 15-year-old has as much right as they do to sexual pleasure with the partner of his or her choice and should not need the imprimatur of the state or any gay/lesbian Pope. In Minnesota, where the age of consent is a ridiculous 18, lesbian directors of an antiviolence agency have called for locking up any gay man who has sex with a youth under 18! That reflects an antigay male agenda, in which yelling "child abuse" is a way to increase funding. "When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes" (Malcolm X).

Gay liberation is falling victim to its success. With growth have come middle-class efforts to get into the mainstream, to win a place at the het table (two current clichés)—even if this means anathematizing pederasty, a ubiquitous same-sex variant. This is a form of self-hatred.

The loss to AIDS of many sex radicals has also been a heavy blow, from which gay liberation will not soon recover.

Fighting discrimination is necessary. Civil rights and sexual freedom issues have always coexisted; they complement each other. Personally, I have felt more discrimination from other homosexuals than from straights—in 1989, for example, when New York's Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center refused to rent space to NAMBLA for a concert by America's greatest living poet, Allen Ginsberg (boylover and NAMBLA supporter).

Your case against discrimination is weakened if you yourself discriminate.

Man-boy love has been a player in gay liberation since the mid-nineteenth century. The first gay magazine in the world, *Der Eigene*, celebrated boylove and anarchism. Pederasty is the form that homosexuality most commonly has taken throughout Western—and not only Western—culture. It is inseparable from the high points of Western civilization (Ancient Greece and the Renaissance). It lies close to the roots of gay liberation.

Attempts to purge it resemble those in the early 1970s to shove drag queens aside—despite their role in Stonewall. The aim is to corral rebellion, to allow the Republicrat party to set the gay agenda, to deny homosexuality. This is not the spirit of Stonewall.

In all cultures and in all historical periods, men and youths have been getting it on, because they are naturally attracted to each other. Efforts to deny this, and to demonize man-boy love, are grotesque. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist banners at 1993 Washington gay rights march. Attorney General Janet Reno's cynical lie of "child abuse" was used to justify government's Waco massacre of 86 Branch Davidians, including 25 children.

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Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

of presentations centered on Mumia Abu-Jamal's own words. The entire event was taped for broadcast, effectively breaking the ban imposed by NPR and bringing the man and his message to the public. The highlight of the evening was a moving reading from Jamal's commentaries by Ossie Davis, Judge Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*, and Bernard White of WBAI radio. They came together on stage, their strong and dignified voices alternating, imparting the drama of Jamal's searing portrayal of black life on death row. The compilation, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Death Row Collage: His Words for Three Voices," was arranged by Charles Brover.

Michael G. Haskins of WBAI radio also read powerfully from Jamal's journalism from death row. Mumia's greetings to the meeting were played via an audiotape made from prison. A videotaped statement was sent by actor Mike Farrell, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Greetings were read to the rally from actor Ed Asner and Raymond Martinez, Jr., president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668, and the British National Union of Journalists. Amnesty International also released a statement against the gross legal travesty of Jamal's trial and the racist death penalty.

As the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal recognized in sponsoring the event, NPR's cancellation in the face of an increased police vendetta makes breaking the ban "a life and death issue of free speech." The meeting's urgency was magnified by the fact that the Pennsylvania state legislature is imminently expected to enact a bill, overriding the governor's veto, which would force him to begin signing death warrants. And with Pennsylvania's gubernatorial race heating up this year, the FOP is pushing hard to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

WV Photo

Actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Jamal's wife, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, told the gathering: "For almost 13 long years we have suffered at the hands of the outlaw—this outlaw being the system—simply because Mumia can't stop telling the truth.... This outlaw has killed many, many innocent people, and will do it again. Each and every day. Please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all innocent people on death row, so that he can help you, because he is still the voice of the voiceless."

Dr. Alan Berkman, a former political prisoner who served eight years in prison in the frame-up "Resistance Conspiracy" case, recalled seeing Mumia in prison, where "facing death, he spent an enormous amount of his time and energy helping the other prisoners deal with cases that were much less serious than his own." Other speakers included Elombe Brath, chairman of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and a commentator on WBAI, and James Frazier, a New York City transit worker, who in October was shot in the head by an NYC cop and now faces frame-up gun possession charges. The meeting closed with a musical rendition by Bernadette Speach and Jeffrey Schanzer of Jamal's essay, "To War for Empire," bitterly denouncing the Persian Gulf slaughter.

WV Photo

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel, addresses rally detailing constitutional violations which railroaded former Black Panther to death row.

A System of Racist Injustice

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead attorney, reported on the defense team's efforts to uncover ignored and/or suppressed evidence that will prove Jamal's innocence, as they fight for a new trial. "We are in a race against time to save this innocent and eloquent spokesman of the African American community," Weinglass wrote last year—and time is getting even shorter.

As merely one example of the gross violations of Jamal's rights which landed him on death row during his 1982 trial, Weinglass told how the prosecutor argued to the jury, "Mr. Jamal will have appeal after appeal after appeal and his case will be reviewed, so you needn't feel you're taking personal responsibility here for the death penalty." Weinglass pointed out, "That precise argument has been held by the United States Supreme Court to undermine what the jurors must confront when they judge whether or not a person should be given life or death."

Weinglass concluded, "If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far that we could win his case."

Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized the political nature of the vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal, asking, "What role did the Clinton White House have in NPR's gag order on Mumia? The same day NPR killed Mumia's broadcast, President Clinton was speaking to thousands of cops, promoting his 'three strikes you're out' crime bill which will add dozens of new crimes punishable by death. Clinton told that throng, 'We recognize that there should be capital punishment for people who kill law enforcement officials in the line of duty.'

"Clinton appears even more prepared to outdo Reagan and Bush in unleashing terror. The 1985 bombing of MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years. Last spring, Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno made their mark with the summary execution of 86 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious sect," Cooperstein said.

The PDC spokesman put Jamal's case in historic perspective: "1887: the Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915: IWW member Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad." He recalled the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, and the "Scottsboro Boys"—nine black youths whose lives were saved by mass international protest—and pointed out: "In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when Reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs."

Cooperstein concluded, "Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. In a socialist America, maybe with Geronimo ji Jaga in the Ministry of Justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the Ministry of Information, then and only then can we start to speak of justice."

Join the Fight to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

Renowned actor and veteran activist Ossie Davis told the audience in his introductory remarks: "As Napoleon said, victory belongs to the one who can survive the last 15 minutes of the battle. We cannot afford to let the bastards wear us down. We gotta fight! The march to freedom, and the march to equality, was in process when I was born. I just got on board. I suspect when they let me off and put me in one of those quiet places forever, the march will still be going on. And I will be able to tell history that, at least, when I was alive, there was a place for me in the line of march. You should be happy to say as much. That's the reward for being alive, to be a part of the struggle. That's all you were promised."

With the NPR's censoring of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the outcry it produced, his case has become a national issue. This has heightened the urgency of raising the fight to save Jamal in unions, student groups, churches and community organizations throughout the country. The speak-out raised over $2,000, all proceeds going for Jamal's legal defense. Much, much more is urgently needed, as death penalty cases can cost as much as a million dollars. Contributions to Jamal's defense, which are tax-deductible, can be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Jamal," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

A video of Mumia speaking from prison is available which also recounts his early history and details the police vendetta against the Panthers and MOVE. You can order this to show to your union, community or school group. A detailed legal report by Leonard Weinglass on the outrageously biased trial of Jamal is available from the Partisan Defense Committee, which also distributes Mumia Abu-Jamal's writings from death row. Call the PDC at (212) 406-4252 or write PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Phone calls protesting NPR's censorship should be addressed to vice president Bill Buzenberg or Mary Morgan at (800) 235-1212, or fax to (202) 414-3045. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, 1100 Pike St., Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112. ■

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 when he was Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Racism, Anti-Semitism and Free Speech

Malcolm X Mural Controversy at S.F. State

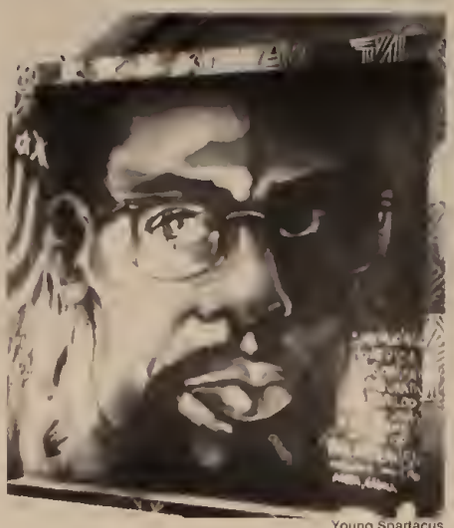
Cops Off Campus!

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28—An integrated crowd of over 3,000 students and their families assembled on the field. If they cast their eyes above the podium, they would find that police snipers stationed on the rooftops of surrounding buildings had their sights trained on them, scanning the crowd for "trouble" from student protesters. El Salvador? No. It was graduation day at San Francisco State University.

This chilling display of police-state-style terror was part of the "tactical" response of the campus administration to a controversy that had erupted ten days earlier at the dedication of "Malcolm X Plaza." There, the Pan-Afrikan Student Union had unveiled a ten-foot-high mural of the martyred black militant, which incorporated into its border an American flag with Stars of David and dollar signs intermingled with skulls and crossbones and the words "African Blood."

To tie the legacy of Malcolm X, a courageous fighter for black freedom, to this display of anti-Semitic imagery was obscene. Lois Lyles, a black English professor at State, tried to wipe out the mural's anti-Semitism with a paint brush. Now she is charged with assault and vandalism. What should have happened was the mobilization of an integrated force of black, white, Latino, Asian and Jewish students to take down the anti-Semitic symbols in the border of the mural. Instead, the mailed fist of the racist capitalist state was brought onto campus to obliterate the mural.

The SF State administration presides over this heavily plebeian campus, with a significant minority student population, like apartheid police on a South African bantustan. In 1968, hated college president S.I. Hayakawa mobilized hundreds of cops in an attempt to smash a student strike led by the Black Students Union. Today, to enforce the administration's own brand of "political correctness," squads of riot-equipped cops are brought in at the behest of university president Robert Corrigan to wipe out a Malcolm X mural. The message to the students is clear—don't step out of line, or else...the police have got their guns loaded and aimed at you. We demand: *Cops off campus! Abolish the administration! For student-teacher-worker control of the university!*



Young Spartacus

Larsen/SF Examiner

Obscene anti-Semitic symbols on Malcolm X mural were seized upon by administration to launch racist cop occupation at SF State.

Racist Bigotry and "Free Speech"

At a meeting of the Student Union Governing Board on May 23, called to debate the question of the mural, Spartacus Youth Club member Joe Sol addressed a crowd of some 200 students:

> "We demand that the charges against Professor Lois Lyles be dropped. We agree with her statement 'that the legacy of Malcolm X not be contaminated by ethnic prejudice and racial hatred.' Malcolm X was the enemy of the kind of nationalist demagogy and bigotry, the vile anti-Semitism that is preached by people like Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan, the man who said Malcolm X was 'worthy of death,' wants to *divert* the justified outrage of black youth against this racist society into poisonous bigotry, into *accepting* racial segregation. Anti-Semitism is sucker bait and it lets the racist rulers of this country—who hold the real wealth and power—off the hook. It is capitalism which keeps black people forcibly segregated at the bottom of this vicious racist society of exploitation and oppression. Setting blacks against Jews only fans the flames of racist reaction, whose first targets will be black people. Meanwhile, the white racist rulers laugh all the way to the bank.
>
> "Just as black-nationalist separatism plays into the hands of the racist WASP capitalists who run this country, reactionary Zionism *fuels* anti-Semitism. Members of Hillel House came out to protest the mural. That is their right, but one can't blame others if they are suspect of their intentions. Last year, it was reported that members of Hillel had spied on leftist and Arab student groups on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League. The ADL is a rabid, pro-Zionist organization that has also spied on anti-apartheid militants and turned information over to the apartheid regime in South Africa. They have a long and sordid history of working *against* militant integrated struggle against fascist terror. So these self-described spokesmen for the Jewish people act as the front men for the worst enemies of Jews and all minorities.
>
> "This is a profoundly racist society. The rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer, and the working class is getting screwed. Schools are closed and prisons are built. There are no jobs and the jails are overflowing. Democrats and Republicans scream to ax welfare benefits while 100,000 cops are hired to shoot and kill ghetto youth. The way out is not the dead end of nationalist despair but integrated class struggle. A powerful example of that is when the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League organized a rally against the Klan's provocation against Martin Luther King's birthday in Springfield, Illinois. This was a mass, militant, labor-centered demonstration that showed that labor, fighting in its own interests, is a potent social weapon against the racist reaction of the ruling class.
>
> "To invoke anti-Semitism in a mural to commemorate Malcolm X is an insult to the legacy of that courageous black fighter against racist oppression. But it is not a question for the administration to deal with. Any bans on freedom of speech or expression will be used by the powers that be on campus against those who militantly fight against racist reaction."

The following day, university president Corrigan ordered that the entire mural be obliterated. A multiracial group of students hastily assembled barricades in front of the mural and set up a round-the-clock encampment on "Malcolm X Plaza." At 11 p.m., the plaza's five pay phones were cut off. Shortly before 2 a.m., a tactical squad of 56 cops armed with clubs, guns and plexiglas riot shields stormed into the student union facing the plaza. Students quickly tied the building's glass doors shut. Smashing through the doors with an ax, the cops chased students away from the plaza as painters moved in to cover over the mural. After the cops retreated, the students rushed into the plaza to scrub it clean. The mural was again painted over, and again scrubbed clean. Finally, the enraged administration called in another cop riot squad and had the mural *ground off the wall with sanders.*

The gestapo-style intervention of the administration was used by the mural artist and his nationalist backers to argue that the issue was not anti-Semitism but "freedom of expression." At the May 23 meeting of the Student Governing Board to debate the mural, the artist, Senay Dennis, pronounced that the Star of David and the dollar sign did go together because "Jews had the money." Obscenely, he demagogically "proved" this by asking Jews in the audience to raise their hands and when some complied, Dennis declared they had the money in their wallets. Meanwhile, Dennis had the tidy sum of $1,500 in his wallet, his fee for painting his anti-Semitic "tribute" to Malcolm X.

Trying to put a "p.c." veneer on his own racism, Dennis nonetheless insisted that his work was not anti-Semitic but rather "anti-Zionist." This self-serving

continued on page 11

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The Communist International After Lenin
Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time

We are pleased to announce the publication of the first Russian-language edition of Leon Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin*. Published in Moscow by the Prometheus Research Library and the International Communist League, this volume finally makes available to Russian readers two key documents written by Trotsky for the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, published in English as *The Third International After Lenin*, as well as two subsequent documents, "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" and "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" The book also contains Trotsky's foreword to the 1930 French edition, which included all four of the above documents, along with an introduction written by the Prometheus Research Library. The PRL is the central reference archive of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the ICL.

The central document in the book is "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," which consists of three sections: "The Program of International Revolution or a Program of Socialism in One Country?", "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" and "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution." In this and the second document, "What Now?" Trotsky extended to the whole of the Communist International the Left Opposition's struggle against the consolidating conservative nationalist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which sought above all to ensure itself a comfortable standard of living in a ravaged country. This bureaucracy usurped political power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, and it first adopted as its program "socialism in one country" (and at a snail's pace), only to be forced by a kulak grain strike in 1928 into a program of forced collectivization and maximum industrialization. With the post-1934 great purges this bureaucracy sought to free itself from all connection with Lenin's revolutionary internationalist Bolshevik Party.

Prior to 1928 the Left Opposition's struggle had been contained within the Russian Communist Party. "What Now?" and Trotsky's criticism of the draft program provided to the International the Opposition's scathing critique of the policies imposed on the Comintern from 1923-1928, first by Zinoviev, as part of the "Troika" together with Stalin and Kamenev, and after Kamenev and Zinoviev broke with Stalin, by Bukharin/Stalin. These policies had led fledgling Communist parties around the world to centrist vacillation, opportunism and disaster.

Leon Trotsky, 1929

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The latter was particularly the case in China, where Zinoviev/Stalin's subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) was maintained even in the face of overwhelming evidence that KMT leaders viewed their Communist "allies" as far more of a danger than the warlords and foreign imperialists. As a result, the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was derailed, ending in the KMT's bloody suppression of the Communist Party and the Chinese workers movement. It was in his analysis of the Chinese experience in the critique of the Comintern's draft program that Trotsky definitively generalized his theory of permanent revolution—developed in 1905 to explain both the possibility and necessity of the proletariat taking power in the coming Russian Revolution—to other countries of belated capitalist development like China. Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* (1929) was written as a sequel to this document.

With its sweeping analysis, the "Criticism of Fundamentals" comprises a handbook of communist strategy. The document had very restricted circulation at the Sixth Comintern Congress, poorly translated and bowdlerized, and only in numbered copies handed out to delegates who were members of the Program Commission. But despite the fact that the seminal "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" was missing from the circulated English translation, the revolutionary focus and power of Trotsky's analysis and program were clear to James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, who were delegates to the Congress from the U.S. and Canadian CPs. Cannon and Spector smuggled this partial translation out of the country and used it to recruit adherents for the Left Opposition.

It was the partial and poor English translation brought back from Moscow which was published by the American Trotskyists in 1928-29, first in the *Militant* in serialized form and then as a pamphlet with a never-reprinted introduction by Cannon. Cannon described Trotsky's document as "a searchlight in the fog of official propaganda, scholasticism and administrative decree which has been substituted for the ideological leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in earlier years."

Later in 1929 the complete text of the critique of the Comintern program was published in Germany in *Volkswille*. The section on "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" was translated from the German by Max Shachtman and published as a pamphlet, "The Strategy of the World Revolution," by the Communist League of America in November 1930. The French edition published that year was titled *L'Internationale Communiste après Lénine (Le Grand Organisateur de la Défaite)* (The Communist International After Lenin [The Great Organizer of Defeat]). In 1936 an entirely new English translation of the "Critique" and "What Now?" from the original Russian manuscripts was published by Pioneer Publishers as *The Third International After Lenin*. John G. Wright (Joseph Vanzler) was the translator; the volume was edited by Max Shachtman, at the time the principal literary exponent of Trotskyism in the United States. This English-language edition, still available as a Pathfinder Press reprint (minus Shachtman's introduction), remains the definitive foreign-language edition.

Trotsky's critique was crucial to the extension of the Left Opposition beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. In particular, it served to distinguish the internationalist program of the Trotskyists from the "Right Opposition" that crystallized around Bukharin after Stalin dumped him in 1929. Trotsky had warned that the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" would lead to the growth of centrifugal social-patriotic tendencies within the Comintern. And indeed, a leading German spokesman of the Right Opposition, August Thalheimer, in his 1928 "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International" (which has only recently been obtained from the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement in Berlin), dismissed the need for a unitary program for international socialist revolution, stressing the need for "freedom and independence" and repeatedly urging "the non-Russian parties" to work out the "special characteristics" for "the building of socialism in their countries." Internationally, the discarded bureaucrats of the Right Opposition evolved increasingly to the right, toward making peace with "their" capitalist rulers, and in the case of the American Jay Lovestone eventually to direct collaboration with Western intelligence agencies.

After ousting Bukharin, Stalin's Comintern zigzagged through the ostensibly leftist stupidities of the "Third Period," including equating Social Democracy with fascism (the infamous "social-

Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Modern History Documents

Sixth Congress of Communist International, 1928. Trotsky's documents in *The Communist International After Lenin*, written for the Congress, were devastating indictment of Stalin/Bukharin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

fascism" thesis), prostrating the powerful German working class in the face of Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Recoiling from the German disaster, in 1935 Stalin turned the Communist International to full-blown class collaboration, committing the French Communist Party to social-patriotism with the Stalin-Laval pact. This was generalized in the policy of the "People's Front," announced with great fanfare by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress that year and consummated with the Stalinist sabotage of the Spanish Revolution. Max Shachtman's lengthy 1936 introduction to *The Third International After Lenin* dealt centrally with these developments.

But Shachtman's introduction was flawed in that it continued to describe Stalinism as "bureaucratic centrism." Already in February 1935, soon after Stalin began the massive purges which followed the assassination of Kirov, Trotsky had noted that the social basis for the characterization of the Soviet bureaucracy as centrist was changing: "As the bureaucracy becomes more independent, as more and more power is concentrated in the hands of a single person, the more does *bureaucratic centrism* turn into Bonapartism" ("The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," February 1935). Especially after the Seventh Congress, which signaled the passage of the Comintern to reformism, the term "bureaucratic centrism" disappeared from Trotsky's own writings. In October 1937 he wrote a letter to Cannon criticizing the American section for continuing to use the term:

> "Some comrades continue to characterize Stalinism as 'bureaucratic centrism.' This characterization is now totally out of date. On the international arena Stalinism is no longer centrism, but the crudest form of opportunism and social patriotism. See Spain!"

In his introduction, Shachtman noted: "None of the material in this volume was ever published in the Russian language.... If more than one pair of eyes saw them in Russia, it was only because painfully multi-typed copies were distributed from hand to hand among the Oppositionists in exile." The publication of *The Communist International After Lenin* in Russia today finally brings these documents to readers in the land of their origin, 66 years after they were written by Trotsky and 64 years after they were first published in full abroad.

We publish below a translation of the Prometheus Research Library's introduction to the new volume.

Introduction to Russian Edition by Prometheus Research Library

We publish here a collection of documents written by Leon Trotsky which synthesized the Left Opposition's programmatic counterposition to Stalinism on key international questions. The first two documents in the collection, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals" and "What Now?" codified the political intervention of the Left Opposition into the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern—CI) in 1928 and were critically important to the international extension of the Left Opposition.

In addition to these two documents, we also include "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" and "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" which completed the 1930 French edition of *The Communist International After Lenin*. In his 1929 foreword to the French edition, Trotsky declared this collection to be "the one and only edition for which I bear responsibility before the readers." These works have never before been published in the Russian language.

By the summer and fall of 1928, when these documents were written, Trotsky and his supporters had carried on five years of political combat against the bureaucratic degeneration of the CPSU and the Comintern. This struggle had been initiated by Lenin himself—in December 1922, he made a bloc with Trotsky to fight Stalin and even proposed to remove Stalin as General Secretary.

While Lenin was alive, Stalin's bureaucratic abuses (such as those committed against the Georgian Communists) had not yet acquired an overt political program. But less than one year after Lenin's untimely death in January 1924, Stalin announced the theory of "socialism in one country." This was an explicit repudiation of the revolutionary internationalist program upon which the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky had led the October 1917 Revolution which created the world's first workers state. Up until early 1924, all the Bolshevik leaders—including Stalin—acknowledged that the revolution's only prospect for survival was its extension to one or more of the advanced capitalist countries, especially Germany. A critical turning point was the failure of the 1923 German Revolution, which meant the prospect of a lengthy period of isolation for the Soviet workers state. Stalin became the spokesman for the growing bureaucratic layer in the party and state apparatus for whom material privilege and official posts had become more important than the world revolution. Perhaps initially a rationale for its position, "socialism in one country" became the bureaucracy's justification for existence. This doctrine born of defeat was to breed many others.

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James P. Cannon at Red Army event during Sixth Congress of the Communist International, 1928.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, Stalin & Co. sought to enshrine "socialism in one country" into the CI's program. Trotsky's scathing response, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," which is the core of this book, speaks powerfully both as an exposition of Marxist clarity and revolutionary internationalism. He submitted this document and the letter "What Now?" to the Sixth Congress in order both to refute the Stalinists' false "theories" and to expose the miserable record of failures the CI suffered under their leadership, such as the knifing of the 1925-1927 Chinese Revolution and the undermining of the 1926 British General Strike.

At this point, Trotsky characterized the Stalinist bureaucracy as a centrist excrescence in control of a party still capable of being reformed and polemicized against those among Stalin's opponents who wanted to declare the party dead. Even after their expulsion in 1928,

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Moscow Meeting Greets Publication of Trotsky Book

On April 25, over 40 people attended an International Communist League meeting in Moscow to greet the publication of the first-ever Russian edition of *The Communist International After Lenin*. Those in attendance included representatives from a wide spectrum of political views, including supporters of several ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies in Russia, as well as members of some of the groups claiming the Stalinist heritage of the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Those present included an academic exponent of Nikolai Bukharin's Right Opposition and a journalist from *Pravda*. What was striking was the genuine appreciation for this book expressed by almost all those in the divergent audience, which included students from Moscow University and Patrice Lumumba University as well as workers who had read ICL literature distributed at factory gates. Thirty-nine copies of the new Trotsky volume were sold, as well as a good deal of other ICL literature.

Spartacist

First Russian edition of *The Communist International After Lenin* is presented at April 25 ICL meeting at the House of Journalists, Moscow.

A spokesman for the ICL explained the significance of the fight of the Left Opposition against the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. The 1928 Trotsky writings published in *The Communist International After Lenin* were key to ensuring the maintenance, though outside the USSR, of the revolutionary Leninist current which led the Russian Revolution. Trotsky's Fourth International, founded in 1938, embodied the program and continuity of the Communist International of Lenin's time.

The ICL spokesman went on to describe the challenge of publishing Trotsky's book in Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary Russia. Many historical and political books in Russia today are published with small press runs and distributed only locally, given astronomical rises in production costs and the disintegration of the distribution networks of the old planned economy. In contrast, *The Communist International After Lenin* had a press run of 25,000 and is being distributed in Houses of Political Books and across the territory of the former USSR from Dnepropetrovsk to Leningrad, Chelyabinsk, Vorkuta and beyond to Warsaw and Berlin.

The ICL speaker noted the difficulties involved in this enterprise: "From the time that we acquired the original Russian texts from the Trotsky Archives in Harvard and set about this project, it has been a challenge to get this book out. Several potential publishers were scared off by our introduction which contains a forthright statement on the vital importance of this book in the struggle against capitalist counterrevolution in general, and Yeltsin's August 1991 barricades, in particular. 'It will never get past the censors!' some said.

"When we finally did settle with a

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Russian Edition...

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Trotsky and the Left Opposition refused to abandon the CPSU to Stalin as long as there appeared the slightest possibility of reversing the bureaucratic degeneration from within. However, in his 1935 article, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," Trotsky revised his analysis of the triumph of the bureaucracy and the analogy to the overthrow of the radical Jacobins during the French Revolution:

> "In the internal controversies of the Russian and the International Opposition, we conditionally understood by Thermidor the first stage of the bourgeois counter-revolution, aimed against the social base of the workers state....
>
> "The overturn of the Ninth Thermidor did not liquidate the basic conquests of the bourgeois revolution, but it did transfer the power into the hands of the more moderate and conservative Jacobins, the better-to-do elements of bourgeois society. Today it is impossible to overlook that in the Soviet Thermidor also a shift to the right took place a long time ago, a shift entirely analogous to Thermidor, although much slower in tempo and more marked in form....
>
> "The smashing of the Left Opposition implied in the most direct and immediate sense the transfer of power from the hands of the revolutionary vanguard into the hands of the more conservative elements among the bureaucracy and the upper crust of the working class. The year 1924—that was the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor."

At the same time, Trotsky was clear that the victory of the Stalin faction did not signify a capitalist counterrevolution; rather "this usurpation was made possible and can maintain itself only because the *social content of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy is determined by those productive relations that were created by the proletarian revolution.*"

Germany 1933: Decisive Test for the Comintern

What prompted Trotsky's reassessment of Thermidor and the nature of the bureaucracy was the victory of Hitler in 1933, a historic defeat for the German and world proletariat which can be laid directly at Stalin's door. In 1928, in the face of a virtual kulak insurrection, a panicked Stalin broke with Bukharin and made a left turn on economic policy, implementing in his own brutal way significant aspects of Trotsky's economic program. Especially in the sphere of industrialization, Stalin's actions dramatically vindicated Trotsky's five-year-long struggle against the rightist course. However, the Stalinists' "left" turn was accompanied internationally by the so-called "Third Period" policy of sectarian opposition to the tactic of the united front and to the official trade unions, led by the Social Democrats.

With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, Germany was thrown into a profound social crisis, one posing the question: which class shall rule? The bourgeoisie mobilized the shock troops of fascism to smash the organized workers and maintain the rule of capital. United in struggle against the Nazi threat, the German communist and social-democratic workers could have stopped the fascists and paved the way for a German proletarian revolution—something for which Trotsky repeatedly agitated. The Social Democracy, acting as a prop of German capitalism, refused to mobilize the working class against the fascists. And Stalin, dubbing the Social Democracy the "left wing of fascism," refused to allow joint workers' action. Thus, in this critical juncture, the German Communist Party, following Stalin's pronouncements, failed to provide the proletariat a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The result was that Hitler came to power virtually without a shot being fired.

In November 1931, Trotsky had warned that a "victory of fascism in Germany would signify an inevitable war against the USSR." Yet in 1933, following Hitler's assumption of power, there was not one significant manifestation of factional opposition, let alone a split, within the CI against the disastrous line of the Stalinist leadership. The servile acquiescence of the parties of the CI underlined for Trotsky two fundamental conclusions. First, despite the revolutionary aspirations of much of its working-class base, the Comintern had become simply a creature of Stalin and his faction; and second, rectification of this situation could no longer be pursued within the framework of an internal faction. A decisive political and organizational break was now necessary—the Stalin faction had so effectively strangled the CPSU and the CI that its removal could only be secured by force, that is, by a *proletarian political revolution*. The continued rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, as the experience of Germany showed, represented a mortal threat to the further existence of the Soviet workers state. As Trotsky noted in his classic book *The Revolution Betrayed*: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union."

With the CPSU and the CI dead as instruments of revolution, Trotsky began to organize and regroup cadres for a new International. Even some of his supporters thought this was "premature," and to them he replied: "The proletariat has need of an International *at all times and under all conditions*. If there is no Comintern today, we must say so openly and immediately start the preparation for a new International" ("Success or Failure?" September 1933). It was to this vital task that Trotsky dedicated the remainder of his life, right up to his assassination by a Stalinist agent in August 1940.

As Trotsky warned in the 1928 documents below, adoption of the dogma of "socialism in one country" (which he characterized as a form of national reformism) by the CI would inevitably lead to its demise. He noted in his "Criticism of Fundamentals" that: "It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism." This forecast turned out to be prophetic: in its panicked reaction to Hitler's victory, the CI began implementing and in 1935 formally adopted the policy of "people's fronts"—the subordination of the workers parties to those of the supposedly "progressive" bourgeois forces in the fight against fascism. The CI had been transformed into an instrument for the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers, an agency for shackling the international proletariat to its imperialist rulers.

Stalin suppressed the Spanish Revolution in the late 1930s in a bid to curry favor with his hoped-for "democratic" imperialist allies against Nazi Germany. As a gift to his wartime imperialist "allies," Stalin liquidated the Communist International with the stroke of a pen in 1943. Then, by selling out revolutionary opportunities at the end of World War II, particularly in Italy, France and Greece, Stalinism enabled capitalism to survive, and thus prepared the way for its own ultimate demise.

In the blood purges of the late 1930s, Stalin liquidated a substantial portion of the Red Army's commanding officers—an action which played a major role in the terrible defeats suffered by the USSR in the early stages of the Nazi invasion. At enormous cost to the Soviet peoples in and out of uniform, Hitler's forces were ultimately defeated, leading also to the formation of bureaucratically degenerated workers states in East Europe. The multinational Soviet proletariat and its Red Army were fighting to defend the Soviet Union, homeland of October. But Stalin did not fight the war in the name of "socialism" or even under the banner of defense of the first workers state. Rather, he proclaimed it the "Great Patriotic War"—to be fought in defense of the *Rodina* (motherland), that is, explicitly on the basis of Russian *nationalism*.

Stalinism in Terminal Decline

All of Stalin's heirs emerged from the same political cesspool. Imbued with the spirit of Russian nationalism inherent in "socialism in one country," they, like Stalin, practiced crass class collaboration under the rubric of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Gorbachev took this to its logical conclusion, by treacherously abandoning Afghanistan to the imperialist-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats, then giving the green light to capitalist counterrevolution throughout East Europe.

In the USSR, Gorbachev opted for "market reforms," leading to the abandonment of planning in a planned economy in 1988. Predictably this led to economic chaos, as managers looted their enterprises and speculators flourished. Once the political monopoly of the bureaucracy was broken in 1989, the CPSU was openly divided into hostile factions, *all* of which ultimately accepted the inevitability of capitalist restoration. The real squabbles between them amounted to at what pace and in particular *who* would get possession of the state property built up over decades by the blood and sweat of the Soviet workers.

The "socialist" veneer of the competing Stalinists was discarded as if this threadbare mantle were contaminated with leprosy. In the republics of the USSR, Stalinist hacks made an easy transition to nationalism, often in the company of outright fascists. Faced with the imminent breakup of the USSR, some of Gorbachev's lieutenants moved against him in August 1991, not to defend "socialism," but to defend the perks and sinecures they possessed as part of the bureaucratic machine which ruled the degenerated workers state.

Even a small disciplined mobilization of the Moscow workers could have easily dispersed the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. But the pathetic GKChP [the coup plotters' "State Committee"] told the workers to stay home, fearing to unleash forces which could have opened the way to proletarian political revolution against all sections of the fragmented bureaucracy. Opposed to any measures that could upset the imperialists, the coup leaders capitulated to the imperialist-backed Yeltsinites.

In the subsequent 18 months, and in the absence of any leadership to mobilize the atomized Soviet proletariat, a piecemeal consolidation of bourgeois counterrevolution took place. The degenerated workers state of Stalin and his heirs, resting on the social foundations of the October Revolution, was destroyed, representing a world-historic defeat for the international working class. Today, a socialist revolution is needed to sweep away the emerging capitalist class.

Who is responsible for this catastrophe? Above all, the *Stalinists*. In the 1920s, Stalin destroyed the party of Lenin by negating the essence of its program; later he killed its cadres. By July 1933, Trotsky noted: "The present CPSU is not a party but an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy" ("It Is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew"). In the end, the CPSU collapsed under its own weight, demonstrating that without the lure of privilege and the power of repression this "party" of 18 million members was simply a bureaucratic shell. Out of the cadaver crawled all sorts of maggots, from pro-imperialist "democrats" to neo-tsarist fascists. As for those remnants seeking to claim the mantle (and properties!) of the old CPSU, what they want to recreate is not the party of October but the bureaucratic machine which *destroyed* it.

It was the Trotskyists—and they only—who fought against the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party. The documents printed below are important not only for their content but also because they represented the breakout of the Left Opposition internationally. As members of the Program Commission at the Sixth Congress of the CI, American Communist Party leader James P. Cannon and leading Canadian communist Maurice Spector read translated excerpts of Trotsky's "Criticism." Convinced of its correct analyses, Cannon returned to the U.S. and founded the American Trotskyist movement along with supporters from within the American CP; Spector did likewise in the Canadian party. Thereby they established a significant extension of the forces of the Left Opposition on the North American continent, the citadel of world imperialism. This provided much of the slender thread of revolutionary continuity which is today embodied in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

For decades, the Stalinist betrayers sought to keep the workers atomized and, through lies and terror, sought to erase every vestige of revolutionary and internationalist consciousness. This book embodies the essential core of the revolutionary internationalist program Trotsky sought to implement, first within the CI and later with the Fourth International. It is imperative that the political heirs of the proletariat which made the October Revolution reclaim their true revolutionary birthright. We therefore present these vital historical documents to the working people of the former Soviet Union.

22 June 1993

A Mondadori

no credit

Trotsky's work exposed Stalin's policy of subordinating Chinese CP to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang which led to mass slaughter of Communist workers. Above left: Armed workers militias in Shanghai, 1927.

S.F. State...

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alibi, seconded by some Palestinian nationalists, serves only to reinforce the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism *is* anti-Semitism. All of this crap does not take place in a vacuum. The poisonous ravings of Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan and Khallid Muhammad are gaining some currency among middle-class black students. With fewer opportunities for advancement in this racist society, many within this layer are attracted to Farrakhan's appeals to "uplift the race" by keeping the swelling black "underclass" *down*—i.e., so that petty-bourgeois blacks can find careers to uplift themselves as exploiters of "their own people."

The SF State student government, which hired Dennis, is simply a bunch of junior porkbarrelers. But in the teeth of the administration's police attacks on the mural, they palmed themselves off as "fight the power" radicals. What a charade! These guys will readily call the cops when it suits their purpose. The charges against Professor Lyles are the result of a "citizen's arrest" made by one of the mural defenders! Nonetheless their appeals to "free speech" as against Corrigan and his riot-equipped cops enabled them to draw some support from students who otherwise did not subscribe to the mural's anti-Semitism.

This was a false polarization—opposition to the mural's anti-Semitism did not mean supporting the administration, and opposing the administration did not mean defending anti-Semitism. But it was a polarization that was fueled not only by the riot-equipped cops but by the abject racist hypocrisy of the powers that be. To hear Corrigan intoning that "enforced silence is poisonous" at graduation ceremonies when police snipers are stationed on surrounding roofs, to listen to the administration paying homage to "multiculturalism," is too much to stomach. Everybody knows that when it is a question of racism against blacks it is a different story.

In 1975, liberal professor Ted Keller invited Nazis to spew their anti-black, anti-Semitic, genocidal filth at one of his classes. The administration mobilized the cops to *protect* the Nazis. When a united-front protest of 150 students and workers, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, drove the Nazis off campus, the administration responded by trying to ban the SYL. Now the "free speech" liberals of the ACLU, who go to bat—and to court—in defense of the Klan's "right" to mobilize for genocide, weigh in on the side of the administration, arguing that "artistic freedom" only applies to murals in art galleries not in public places.

This refrain was taken up by the editorialists of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 May) who opined, "the Malcolm X mural is not intended as a gallery or museum piece. Rather, its continual display in a public building would appear to give the university's institutional endorsement to its content." But when the Confederate flag of the Southern slavocracy flew in SF's Civic Center, a highly public place, the *Chronicle* did not find this an "institutional endorsement" of anti-black racism and Klan terror. On the contrary, when Richard Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, scaled the flagpole and tore down the Confederate flag, the *Chronicle* responded by smearing the SL as "violent."

Young Spartacus

Students rally at S.F. State on May 25 to protest painting over Malcolm X mural by administration.

The SF State administration promises that they will allow a new mural of Malcolm X, one that doesn't "offend" anybody, to be painted next fall. To equate Malcolm X with anti-Semitism is a grotesque slander. But where the black nationalists and the administration have a meeting of minds is in their portrayal of Malcolm as a man who believed in the "economic development" of the black ghetto within the framework and under the rules set by white-dominated American capitalism.

SYC member Joe Sol spoke of the Malcolm X that we commemorate in his remarks at the debate over the SF State mural:

> "Malcolm X believed and stated very forcefully that black people must fight for equality 'by any means necessary.' The necessary means to fight against racist oppression is working-class revolution to smash the rule of capitalism which breeds racist degradation. We of the Spartacus Youth Club fight for revolutionary integrationism—the understanding that black freedom will not be won short of workers revolution and that there will be no workers revolution unless the cause of black freedom is actively championed by a fighting labor movement. When the integrated working class in this country makes that revolution, Malcolm X will be honored by black and white alike as a courageous fighter and a martyr for the cause of the liberation of humanity." ■

Moscow Meeting...

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publisher, our next immediate hurdle to overcome was the collapse of the publishing industry: paper and printing prices were climbing every week. Our editorial commission—which stretched from here in Moscow, to the Prometheus Research Library in New York, to the PRL-West in the San Francisco Bay Area—worked as quickly as possible. But at the same time we worked methodically, to ensure that our galleys were worthy of Trotsky's original manuscript.

"The challenge of the political conjuncture in which we worked can be illustrated in one small example: our final consultation with our proofreader (out of the seven stages that we put our galleys through) had to be postponed because it fell on 3 October 1993, the day that street fighting began in response to Yeltsin's September putsch, culminating in his Bloody Monday White House massacre. When the smoke cleared from around the bombed-out White House, newspapers and parties were banned, hundreds had been killed and jailed, and thousands of so-called 'foreigners' deported in a state-run pogrom.

"But Yeltsin and his IMF masters were still not able to bring down the iron hand of bonapartist dictatorship as firmly as they wished. Along with producing the supplement, 'Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington!' the ICL threw itself with renewed speed into getting this hook out as quickly as possible.

"This book is for us not a commercial venture but a political act by the ICL in the struggle against the counterrevolution that has ravaged the former Soviet bloc."

The discussion period fully reflected the diversity of views present at the ICL meeting. The revisionism of many of the currents who today claim the mantle of the Fourth International was glaringly obvious. Russian supporters of Cliff Slaughter's British Workers Revolutionary Party and of *Rabotchaya Demokratiya* (formerly affiliated with the British Militant group) got up to praise *The Communist International After Lenin*...and fulminate against the ICL for having stood on Trotsky's "outdated" program of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. What these pseudo-Trotskyists hate in particular—since they all sided with Yeltsin's "democrats" in August 1991—was our forthright call on the Russian working class to disperse the counterrevolutionary forces mobilized on Yeltsin's barricades.

The mountebanks of David North's International Committee, who today posture as "orthodox" Trotskyists, chose to remain silent on the question of Soviet defensism, covering up their own past as cheerleaders for each and every counterrevolutionary threat to the USSR, from the Afghan mullahs to Polish Solidarność. The Northites objected instead to the ICL's exposure of their "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign, which maligns many of Trotsky's closest collaborators as KGB agents (and simultaneously CIA agents!). The Northites thus obscenely echo the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his "own" people.

Back in 1990, Fred Weir, the Gorbachevite Moscow reporter for the Stalinist *Canadian Tribune*, gave evidence that even longtime CP hacks can sometimes recognize empirical reality (after a few decades) when he admitted in a couple of Canadian speeches that the idea of building an "isolated socialist state" had proved something of a failure. (For this Gorbachevite, the failure of "socialism in one country" was an argument for moving to a full-blown capitalist "market economy.") Weir's admission exposed the essential nationalism underlying Stalinist dogma; he never sought to explain why the "already existing socialist states" in East Europe, the Soviet Union and China remained "isolated" from each other—and particularly from proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

But the current pathetic remnants of the old Soviet bureaucracy, as reflected in the remarks of the *Pravda* reporter at our Moscow meeting, don't even aspire to Weir's crass empiricism. Stalinism strangled the Communist International as a revolutionary organization, sabotaging promising revolutionary situations around the globe for 60 years, all in the vain pursuit of an illusory "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Proving that the Stalinists have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, the spokesman for *Pravda* insisted that because Russia was moving toward colonial status in the imperialist world market, it was "anti-imperialist" struggle, not proletarian revolution, which stood on the agenda. What this "anti-imperialism" means in practice today is an obscene "red-brown" coalition with Russian fascists and monarchists.

It was in answer to arguments such as these that the ICL speaker declared that Stalinism's terminal collapse in 1991-92 confirmed, in the negative, Lenin and Trotsky's argument for revolutionary internationalism: either we expropriate the imperialist world market and establish an internationally planned economy, or we will be plunged into the barbarism of imperialist counterrevolution.

He continued, "For many years of isolation and imperialist encirclement, the Russian nationalism of 'socialism in one country' was passed off as 'Soviet patriotism.' But at bottom, this nationalism was a rejection of the October Revolution and the very basis of the Soviet workers state. It was an embrace of the bourgeois Great Russian *derzhava* [strong state] that has now come spilling out. And this nationalism is not monopolized by the Stalinists, it is shared by the social democrats and fake-Trotskyists.

"We published this book so that we would have a common language with subjective revolutionaries: the language and understanding of communist internationalism and revolutionary principles. Today, every political activist who hopes for a better life for humanity must learn of the content of this work.

"We are at a crossroads. There can be no return to the Soviet Union of Stalin and his heirs. The question is not whether Russia as a nation will be degraded. The question is whether Russia will be a vehicle for imperialism as in Bosnia, or a force for social liberation in Eurasia. We share with Trotsky the commitment to the latter, which now requires a socialist revolution to re-establish the working class as the ruling class." ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

> donning 'democratic' trappings. .. However, just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid 'power sharing' deal between the Randlords and their new black front men."

The South African elections were an acid test for the left, and for a host of groups dramatically exposed their socialist pretensions. In backing Mandela's ANC, whether openly or with a fig leaf of "independence," they were making common cause with their "own" bourgeois rulers. This is not surprising from those who had earlier called for sanctions by the imperialist governments and capitalist corporations to pressure the apartheid regime. They may see this as *their* victory, but for the South African masses it means that a black president and cabinet ministers will now order the army and state machinery carried over from apartheid to crack down on black township squatters and striking workers. The ANC in office cannot deliver any of the demands of its base. The Mandela/De Klerk regime sits atop a powder keg.

In different guises, the SWP's line was that of the entire reformist left. The granddaddy of them all, the Communist Party USA, headlined "South Africa Vote: 'Revolution by Ballot'" (*People's Weekly World*, 30 April). Veteran Stalinist leader Gus Hall surely envies his South African counterpart, the SACP's Joe Slovo, who is now housing minister in the Mandela/De Klerk government, having been elected along with a slew of other CP ministers on the ANC ticket. In the same vein, Sam Marcy's Stalinoid *Workers World* (5 May) glowed that the apartheid regime would be replaced by "a 'national unity government' influenced by the African National Congress. That itself is a historic victory for the workers and oppressed worldwide." And the International Socialist Organization, followers of British Stalinophobic social democrat Tony Cliff, ran a banner headline "AMANDLA!" (Freedom) in the *Socialist Worker* (May 1994).

The perennial Stalinist and social-democratic myth of a peaceful "revolution" through elections is a deadly illusion for the oppressed masses of South Africa and elsewhere. While a tiny layer of black leaders has been integrated as junior partners into the white bourgeoisie, effective power is still in the hands of the apparatus inherited from apartheid. Even the *New York Times* (4 June) recognized that Mandela "is bound by a constitutional promise to protect the jobs and perquisites of public employees"—in particular of the military and security forces, the core of the state power. Thus defense minister Joe Modise, an SACP leader and former commander of the ANC's guerrilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), announced that Georg Meiring, former head of the South African Defence Force, would be in charge of the "new" South African National Defence Force for the next five years. In Chile in the early 1970s, Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular signed "constitutional" guarantees not to touch the hierarchy of the military officer corps, which eventually overthrew the leftist government in the bloody Santiago coup at a cost of tens of thousands dead.

Allende's UP was a *popular front*, in which the working class is chained to the bourgeoisie through a class-collaborationist coalition. In South Africa, the institutionalized racial oppression adds a key additional factor. The ANC is a nationalist popular front in the form of a party, including the SACP and leaders of the COSATU unions. In office, it necessarily betrays the aspirations to national liberation of its millions of black supporters, and turns its back on its own bourgeois-democratic program. Long gone is the 1955 ANC Freedom Charter's talk of nationalization of the mines and key industries. Allocating less than 3 percent of the budget to the heralded "Reconstruction and Development Program," Mandela's inaugural speech to parliament "seemed tailored more for corporate boardrooms than the townships where many of South Africa's poor blacks live," noted the *Washington Post* (25 May).

Writing to South African supporters six decades ago, Leon Trotsky outlined the policy of a communist vanguard toward the ANC, which then as now was the hegemonic organization of black African toilers: "The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the native masses the inability of the Congress to achieve the realization of even its *own demands*, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy" ("On the South African Theses," April 1935). Yet today many of those who claim to be Trotskyist, rather than unmasking the ANC and waging a fight for *proletarian* power, are building support for the new black bourgeois co-rulers. In a May 16 speech in New York, Peter Taaffe, leader of the British Militant Labour tendency, *opposed* the call for a workers party now in South Africa, saying: "The working class in South Africa has to go through the experience of an ANC government. The slogan of a workers party was an incorrect slogan in the period prior to the elections in South Africa. We wanted the biggest possible ANC majority."

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

South Africa Elections

ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom

For a Bolshevik Workers Party! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

ICL told the truth. "Power sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled to bourgeoisie through nationalist popular front.

This support to the ANC also includes fostering dangerous illusions about the state. In South Africa, Militant's supporters in the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC have been sidling up to the *black cops* of the apartheid regime. *Congress Militant* (September 1993) even ran an interview with "comrade Enoch Nelani," national deputy president of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), demanding that these enemies of workers and black struggle be admitted to COSATU. Justifying this, in his New York speech Taaffe marveled that the "black cops in South Africa who *mowed down* workers organizing trade unions" are now "organized into a trade union themselves." "These very same killers," he went on, "these very same black police who were tools of the apartheid regime, were *radicalized* by the situation." His conclusion: "We can neutralize the forces of the state and win them over."

This is the classic lie of all reformists, which has led to bloodbaths of the workers from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the '70s. We repeat the fundamental truth proclaimed by Marx and Engels and in Lenin's *State and Revolution*, that the existing capitalist state power must be destroyed by a workers revolution and replaced by a proletarian power, which in South Africa would be a black-centered workers government.

In the South African elections, we gave critical support to the Workers List Party (WLP) initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (see *WV* No. 599). While sharply criticizing its left-reformist program, we noted that in advocating the building of a workers party and in standing against the nationalist ANC, the WLP's campaign drew a crude class line. There were other organizations on the left which claimed to oppose a vote to the ANC on the basis of class principle and called for a vote to the WLP. Among them were Socialist Organiser (S.O.) and Workers Power (WP) in Britain. But where we fight for a revolutionary party, a Bolshevik opposition to the ANC, these groups are looking to create a South African version of British Labourism, a Menshevik party to tail after the ANC with a fig leaf of "independence."

Again the question of the state is the touchstone. S.O. supported the use of the apartheid army in the KwaZulu bantustan: "socialists should support the use of force—even by the SADF—to ensure that the elections take place in Natal KwaZulu" (*Socialist Organiser*, 14 April). To preach illusions in the fascist-infested and racist SADF (now rebaptized the SANDF) is the height of opportunist folly, for it is precisely these forces that will be unleashed by the ANC/De Klerk government against the black masses!

Workers Power argues that in South Africa, "The workers do not need the experience of voting for a popular front or an embryonic bourgeois party." But while giving critical support to the Workers List, after initially refusing to do so on the grounds that the WLP is not a mass organization (what changed?), WP made it clear that it did so reluctantly and yearned to give "critical support" to the popular front through the back door. "Had it been possible to vote separately for the workers' organisations and candidates within the ANC alliance then revolutionaries should have supported these candidates critically" (*Workers Power*, April 1994). So if South Africa had British-style constituency elections, WP would have called for votes to the SACP and COSATU candidates on the ANC ticket. This ploy makes a mockery of class independence.

An elementary precondition for considering critical support to a workers organization is that it run independently of the bourgeoisie. Yet centrists like Workers Power in effect say to the reformists: "Break with the bourgeoisie! If you do, we will support you—and if you don't, we will support you anyway, if only South African election laws would let us play our little game of voting for the 'workers parties of the popular front'! But since they don't, we're stuck." That is not a tactic to set the plebeian and proletarian base against their pro-capitalist misleaders, but a strategy of tailing after the class traitors. In reality, Workers Power wants to replicate the Labour Party everywhere so they can tail it.

Then there are the professional wafflers. The Revolutionary Internationalist League asserts that the ANC is a popular front, and RIL claims to be for a workers party in South Africa. But while mouthing words like "Trotskyists can give no political support to the ANC," their bottom line was: "In general, going through this struggle with the most militant workers and youth means that we would also vote for the ANC list (there are no constituency elections)"...*except* "in situations where sections of workers see a vote for an alternative list (like WOSA or the Azanian Peoples' Organisation [AZAPO])" then "we will join with them" (*Revolutionary Fighter*, April/May 1994). Leaving aside the fact that the militant nationalists of AZAPO called for an impotent boycott of the elections, what this evasive gobbledygook amounts to is saying they will vote for the bourgeoisie, unless there is a reformist force big enough to chase after. The RIL's American counterpart, Leland Sanderson's Revolutionary Workers League, has yet to pronounce itself on the South African elections (or to bring out a paper in the last five months).

Meanwhile, Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) seems to have a bad case of conflicting opportunist appetites. Prior to WOSA's decision to put up the Workers List, the USec's *International Viewpoint* (February 1994) promoted "the idea of calling for a vote for the ANC while running an independent campaign of immediate democratic and social demands"—i.e., putting up a phony militant platform to cover for a vote to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. *Workers Power* (May 1994) reports that South African USec supporters "withdrew from WOSA, condemning the decision to stand against the ANC." In its April edition, *International Viewpoint* printed a financial appeal for WOSA, while skeptically commenting about the Workers List: "It remains to be seen which approach is the most pedagogical and constructive towards the hundreds of political and trade union activist members of the ANC and SACP who will in their majority vote for the ANC ticket."

The dispersed American USec supporters, both *Socialist Action* (May 1994) and the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (May/June 1994), reprinted interviews with WOSA leader Mfanafuthi "Prof" Ndlovu, without themselves taking a position. What unites these 57 varieties of pseudo-Trotskyists is that, rather than putting forward a revolutionary program based on the objective needs of the workers and oppressed, they guide themselves by the present consciousness of the masses. Thus in practice, they are nothing but a "left" gloss on the reformist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders.

The other ostensible left group running in the South African elections was the "Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International," linked to Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, which ran in Natal/KwaZulu and Western Cape provinces. However, their unrepudiated record of blocs with some of the most reactionary forces in the region, in the name of "fighting Stalinism," ruled out support for their candidates. In the November 1989 elections in Namibia, they participated in an electoral lash-up called the United Democratic Front (UDF), which included several bantustan parties who were collaborators of South Africa's puppet regime. The UDF received money from the apartheid government, which was anxious to undercut the vote for SWAPO. Today, the Slaughterites' virulently Stalinophobic election manifesto essentially accuses the ANC of bringing Stalinist gulags to the veld.

Authentic Trotskyists fight intransigently for the political independence of the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeoisie. So long as the South African proletariat is yoked to the cart of nationalism, through the ANC and its competitors such as the Pan Africanist Congress and AZAPO, and chained to the bourgeoisie by the popular front, this spells bloody defeat for the South African masses. Black liberation from white-supremacist rule, whether it is called "apartheid" or not, can only come about through a workers revolution led by a racially integrated Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. This is the program of the International Communist League.

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Denny's Bosses Agree to Pay Black Victims of Jim Crow Racism

On May 24, the Denny's restaurant chain agreed to pay $45.7 million (plus another $8.7 million in lawyer's fees) to settle two lawsuits on behalf of thousands of black customers who suffered outrageous racist mistreatment. For years, the 1,500-restaurant chain charged "cover charges" only to blacks, demanded that blacks and Hispanics (but not whites) "pre-pay," seated whites first, made blacks wait for hours or refused to serve them. Families who brought their kids in for advertised "free birthday meals" were treated like criminals and driven out. Denny's often called the cops on those who complained. Managers were even told to close up to avoid "blackouts" ("too many" black customers at one time).

When Denny's policy of blatant, old-style segregation—three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institutionalized Jim Crow racism—became a scandal last year, the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues launched a nationwide campaign of protest demonstrations. On July 3, several hundred people joined militant, integrated picket lines at Denny's restaurants in six locations: Los Angeles, the Bay Area, Chicago, Atlanta, Boston and the Washington, D.C. area—uniting unionists and students, black, white and Hispanic, to demand: "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for all!" The protests drew significant support from integrated unions, from Bay Area Rapid Transit workers to leaders of Chicago's transit workers union. Protesters raised the call: "Fight this racist open shop—Unionize Denny's!"

Part of the $1.5 billion-a-year Flagstaff Corporation headquartered in Spartanburg, SC in the heart of the open-shop South, Denny's is a non-union outfit whose racist, segregationist actions go hand in hand with vicious exploitation of its workers. Despite Flagstaff chairman Jerome Richardson's lying insistence that Denny's had "no policy...to discriminate against anyone," with the settlement Denny's has admitted its guilt. Those who can "prove" they were victims of these racist outrages are to get $25,000 each. Denny's also agreed to "run checks" for racism at its restaurants.

WV Photo

Coast-to-coast demonstrations initiated by the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues last July brought out hundreds to protest Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's.

Rather than protesting the rampant discrimination at Denny's, NAACP head Ben Chavis, a former civil rights activist, sought to cut a deal for black businessmen. Last July the NAACP signed an agreement for more black managers, black-owned franchises, contracts for black advertising agencies and suppliers, and a seat on Denny's board. Even this has been shortchanged by Denny's bosses, who have added no new black franchises while "minority businesses are still receiving only a sliver" of Denny's dollars (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 March). But the NAACP did get a black member of the board.

Those who were humiliated, harassed and sometimes even arrested by Denny's racist bosses deserve every cent they get, however token. But the settlement *changes nothing*. Don't expect racism to stop at Denny's, or anywhere else in this racist country. The enforcers for the capitalist ruling class, from Clinton's "Justice" department on down, are there to *defend and perpetuate* the racist social order which generates the type of vicious discrimination Denny's inflicted on its victims. It took communist revolutionaries to organize a simple act of anti-racist decency against Jim Crow at Denny's. It will take a socialist revolution to root out racist oppression for good.

Korea...

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capitulate, the U.S. began beefing up its formidable military garrison of 37,000 troops south of the 38th parallel armistice line, shipping in Patriot missile batteries, Apache attack helicopters and spare parts for war planes. The Pentagon has dispatched the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson* into the region, and last week the *Independence* was placed on full alert. Despite reams of Pentagon/CIA "reports" that North Korea is readying to invade the South, the only military buildup going on in Korea is Washington's.

The imperialist news media have branded North Korea an "outlaw state," like Saddam Hussein's Iraq on the eve of the Persian Gulf slaughter. Heralding Clinton's announcement, a rabid editorial in the *New York Times* (1 June) warned that "time is running out" and laid down a naked ultimatum that if Pyongyang didn't bow to U.S. *diktat*, "it may leave the U.S. no recourse but to seek economic sanctions and prepare for any military reactions." Pyongyang has rightly denounced any economic embargo as an "act of war." The manufactured nuclear scare is so transparent that the *Washington Post* (24 April) reports from South Korea: "Even U.S. soldiers and airmen say Washington recently has seemed gripped by a hysteria about North Korea's nuclear program that seems inappropriate...."

The U.S. is playing a deadly game of nuclear brinkmanship, alternating between bellicose threats and offers to "negotiate." The U.S. has had a hard time lining up regional support for a military

AP

Clinton traveled to border to threaten North Korea. U.S. troops out of the Korean peninsula!

adventure on the Korean peninsula. And no wonder, for Washington's purpose is to throw around its military weight to reassert its role as imperialist top dog in the Pacific Rim. China may well veto sanctions in the UN Security Council and Japan and South Korea balk at provoking the North. However, Tokyo and Seoul are now talking about supporting economic measures against the North even without a UN resolution. This is crucial to Washington, since the only concrete action proposed against the already isolated Pyongyang regime is the cutoff of funds repatriated to the country from North Koreans resident in Japan.

Clinton & Co. are in a sticky position. Alternating bluster about sanctions with offers of diplomacy, they face a dilemma: "How do you isolate the world's most isolated country?" asked a top South Korean official. "The truth is, it can't be done." As for all-out war, the Pentagon's own war scenarios project that—even with a U.S. "win"—the result would be devastation in the South. It has occurred even to mad-dog Cold Warriors like the *New York Times*' A.M. Rosenthal that, while North Korea only has two small power-generating nuclear reactors, South Korea has nine large ones, which if they were hit with conventional weaponry would inundate the country with radioactive fallout.

Nuclear "Nonproliferation" Hypocrisy

Constantly bullied by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) demands for inspections of its power facilities, North Korea at first refused to allow these inspections and even threatened to pull out of the NPT. But under the constant pressure of the annual "Team Spirit" military maneuvers, in which U.S. and South Korean forces rehearse an invasion of the North, Pyongyang agreed to IAEA inspections, offering more than the treaty requires. Not satisfied with anything but abject surrender, U.S. imperialism and its IAEA front men keep demanding new "conditions" every time the Kim Il Sung government makes a concession.

The latest round of escalation came when the North started removing spent fuel rods from its Yongbyon nuclear reactor late last month, and the IAEA demanded that 300 of the 8,000 rods be set aside for later determination whether any plutonium reactor by-products had been diverted *five years* ago. Pyongyang offered to negotiate an arrangement to inspect key rods and has allowed IAEA inspectors on site. Even IAEA chief Hans Blix denies that there has been any violation of the treaty, but the U.S. is now pointing to North Korea's efficient removal of the rods to justify its latest war threats.

What imperialist arrogance! Estimates of the amount of plutonium North Korea may have managed to produce in its tiny reactor are measured in *grams*. (It takes 22 pounds of *weapons-grade* plutonium to make a single reliable A-bomb.) By contrast, last month it was revealed by American scientists that the U.S. has "lost" more than *13,600 pounds of weapons-grade plutonium* from its Hanford Nuclear Reservation, enough for hundreds of powerful A-bombs. With an arsenal vast enough to blow up the world many times over, the Pentagon has nearly a thousand nuclear warheads aimed just at North Korea. And the U.S. is the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons, incinerating some 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and leaving a generation of maimed and malformed babies.

In the 1960s, it was discovered that hundreds of pounds of enriched uranium bomb material "lost" by the U.S. had found their way to Israel. When Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu revealed to the world that the Zionist state had *over 200* A-bombs, he was slammed into a dungeon in the Negev desert, where he remains to this day. Yet Washington has not so much as rapped

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the knuckles of its war-crazed junior partners in Tel Aviv, who still refuse to sign the "Nonproliferation" treaty. Likewise, South Africa's apartheid rulers last year admitted to a cache of six bombs (developed in collaboration with Israel and Germany) which they intended to "destroy" given the prospect of a majority-black ANC government. Pakistan and India, perennially on the verge of war when not actually shooting at each other, are estimated to have some 60 "near bombs" between them.

Meanwhile, Japanese imperialism, which also howls against the North Korean "nuclear threat," has been amassing plutonium at the rate of *several tons* a year, aiming at a stockpile of *85 tons* in the next couple of decades. While demanding that North Korea "obey" the NPT, Japan has itself been exempted from many of the treaty's provisions and has been making noises about entirely repudiating the agreement. And with the February launch of its sophisticated H-II missile, Japan clearly has the capacity to send nuclear payloads to any part of the world.

The hysterical imperialist claims that North Korea possesses nuclear weapons are probably untrue—not merely trivial in extent. The international working class must defend the right of North Korea and the other remaining deformed workers states (China, Vietnam, Cuba) to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. *Down with Washington's sanctions blackmail! Defend North Korea against imperialist provocations!*

New World Disorder in the Pacific

Washington's nuclear brinkmanship on the Korean peninsula must be seen through the lens of growing inter-imperialist rivalry in Asia. Noting that "relations between Seoul and Tokyo have never been better," *U.S. News & World Report* (4 April) recently complained about a "strategic realignment... that eventually may reduce America's influence in Northeast Asia." Indeed, Washington's frenzied anti-proliferation push is aimed in large part at Tokyo, which has been using the North Korean bogey as an excuse for forging ahead with its own nuclear arsenal and to grease the skids for a propaganda assault on widespread pacifist opposition at home to the development of nuclear weapons. Defense Minister Aichi Kazuo sees the North Korean standoff as "a wonderful opportunity...to expand Japan's role" (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 23 March). As the U.S. seeks to overcome its trade deficit with Japan by threatening to impose retaliatory economic sanctions, right-wing leaders like Ishihara Shintaro have called for scrapping the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

While giving verbal support to the American threats, Japan—as the major investor in Korea, South and North—seeks a more deliberate push toward counterrevolution in the North. Editorial comment in the Japanese bourgeois press continually urges North Korea to adopt a more conciliatory posture toward the U.S. and wants the Beijing regime, further down the road of "market socialism," to exert similar pressure on Pyongyang. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) calls on the Japanese working class to defend North Korea against imperialist threats and to oppose the Japanese bourgeoisie's drive to revive its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" of neocolonial exploitation—the main enemy is at home!

U.S. sabre rattling is also not popular in Seoul as the Kim Young Sam regime is caught between a rock and a hard place. South Korea does have to pay lip service to U.S. imperialism's aggressive military stance but is not anxious to go to war. The North's ground forces are far superior to Seoul's puppet army and a new Korean war could easily wipe out the country's huge industrial monopolies, the *chaebols*. Nor can South Korea afford to rapidly swallow up a collapsing North Korea as German imperialism did with its *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former East Germany (DDR). Thus Seoul sides with Tokyo's desires for a less precipitate drive toward capitalist restoration in the North.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Following the collapse of Soviet Stalinism and with China heading fast down the road of capitalist restoration, the North Korean deformed workers state is militarily isolated and in great peril. Its policies of extreme autarky are a dead end. Proletarian political revolution in the North intertwined with socialist revolution in the capitalist South is the only way to salvage the social foundations of the workers state. A revolutionary upsurge by the combative working class in the South, joined by radical students and discontented peasants, would certainly reverberate across the 38th parallel, as well as inspiring outbreaks of class struggle throughout the region, particularly in China and Vietnam, where workers face the ravages of "market socialism." The revolutionary reunification of Korea would also inspire resistance by the powerful industrial proletariat of Japan, the key to a socialist Asia, and propel the sizable Korean population in Japan into struggle.

The most volatile social factor on the Korean peninsula is the South Korean working class, from the strategic Hyundai workers in Ulsan to militant teachers in Seoul. The "honeymoon" has long been over for the Kim Young Sam "reform" regime. As last summer's strikes at Hyundai and the banning of the student group Hanchongryon show, while the military is no longer formally in power, the state apparatus continues to rule through naked military and police terror. The bourgeoisie put Kim in power to impose austerity cutbacks—carried out under the government's obscene slogan of "Money is sin, poverty is pride"—as the *chaebols* seek to drive down real wages. In anticipation of this year's spring labor offensive, the government arrested workers' leaders and threatened to use torture against "suspects who hold anti-state ideas."

What is needed is the creation of a Leninist-Trotskyist party that can link workers' struggles into a common fight, winning the radical student movement and rural population to its side, and overthrow the venal puppet government of U.S. imperialism, whether it is represented by (former military head of state) Roh Tae Woo or Kim Young Sam.

Juche vs. International Communism

The Stalinist Kim Il Sung and his cultist, nepotistic regime undermine the defense of the socialized property forms. The world capitalist market has proved itself far stronger than Kim's doctrine of *Juche* (self-reliance) which, stripped of its Korean nationalist parables, is the same old Stalinist crap that "socialism" can be built in a single country while (vainly) striving for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of socialist revolution elsewhere. Kim's version of this discredited nationalist dogma glorifies a bizarrely bureaucratic, impoverished and autarkic "socialism" in half a country with an illusory notion of "self-reliance" rooted in feudal obscurantism and reactionary Confucianism. In the absence of political revolution, Stalinism will be the gravedigger of the North Korean workers state.

Bereft of Soviet and Chinese aid, the Pyongyang regime faces a grave economic crisis and sees no alternative but to open the economy, as have China and Vietnam, to imperialist penetration. Having already enacted a joint-management law, at a December 1993 plenum of the ruling Workers Party additional measures were taken to draw in Western capital. This sharp turn to "market socialism" was underscored in Kim's New Year's address, as he called for a popular mobilization to make this year "a reformative turning point toward a new stage of development of North Korean socialism." What this "new stage" means for the working class is an expansion of the free-trade zones, like the ones created in Nampo, Raijin and Sonborg, where workers will be directly exploited by foreign capital and profit extracted from their labor. A "peaceful" reunification of Korea, as Kim Il Sung has long called for, would mean turning the North into a giant free-trade zone—dismantling the planned economy and restoring capitalism. The resulting immiseration would be far worse than the social disintegration of the former DDR.

Juche is antithetical to the internationalist traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International prior to Stalin's usurpation of political power leading to the strangulation and eventual destruction of the Comintern. Pioneer Korean Communists, driven into exile by Japanese imperialism's 1910 occupation of the peninsula, played an important role not only in their own country but in the Chinese and Japanese Communist parties as well as the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Far East. Koreans in the Soviet Maritime District eagerly joined the Red Army to fight against the White Guards and Japanese imperialism during the Civil War. Among the many Korean Communists who died defending the Russian Revolution was Bolshevik commissar Alexandra Kim, born in a Korean village in the Primorsk region, who was executed by the Japanese army. Koreans in China and Manchuria were an important component of the Comintern's Shanghai Far Eastern Bureau.

The first Comintern representative to set foot on Japanese soil was a Korean, and many Korean youth studying in Tokyo joined the Japanese CP. Courageous Korean Communists, dispatched by the Comintern from the USSR, China and Japan, tried to organize an indigenous Korean party, but these efforts were thwarted by the brutally efficient Japanese occupation police. The Korean contribution to early Asian communism was reflected at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow in 1921, where 52 of the accredited 144 delegates were Korean. The nationalist dogma of *Juche* could only prevail in the Korean party after its internationalist traditions had been purged, first by Stalin and later by Kim Il Sung. But the working class has a long memory, and the greatest tribute we can pay to the founding internationalist spirit of Korean communism is to build a new Leninist-Trotskyist Korean communist party.

Today North Korean schoolchildren learn by rote epic fairy tales of how Kim Il Sung "led" the Korean revolution. Nonsense! The North Korean workers state was created not by *Juche* but by the Soviet Red Army's rout of Japanese imperialism. Land was soon redistributed and industry nationalized in the northern half of Korea. When North Korean troops advanced south in 1950 they were welcomed as liberators; popular support for the Northern side was often expressed in strike action. In contrast, when MacArthur led imperialist troops back into Seoul under the bloody UN flag, his reception was anything but warm. To this day, most South Koreans despise the U.S. troops who have occupied their country for more than 40 years.

The Korean Question and the Japanese Left

The Japanese left has a wretched record on defending the deformed workers states against imperialism. During the Vietnam War the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to decades of imperialist aggression was popular. But the understanding that the USSR was the main obstacle to imperialist aggression rarely penetrated the narrow and chauvinist Stalinophobic politics that predominates here. With the USSR gone, the remaining deformed workers states in Asia are in great danger. With Korea's long history of being exploited by Japanese imperialism it is particularly disgusting that most Japanese leftists refuse to defend North Korea. Those who can only whine about the unsavory and bizarre character of the Pyongyang regime in order to justify an abstentionist or neutral position on North Korea do so in the interests of their own bourgeoisie.

Sanctions and other war measures against North Korea will also mean increased attacks against Koreans in Japan. The government has already threatened legislation that would make it illegal to send money to North Korea. Such a law would particularly target Chosen Soren, the main Korean social organization in Japan sympathetic to the North. In April, Osaka police raided eight Chosen Soren offices. Right-wing storm troopers have also targeted Chosen Soren offices and businesses and launched cowardly attacks on Korean schoolgirls. On June 1, the Spartacist Group Japan issued a leaflet demanding: "Hands Off Chosen Soren! For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Racist Attacks Against Korean Residents in Japan!" Yet most of the Japanese left, refusing to defend North Korea against imperialist attack, also fails to lift a finger in defense of Koreans in Japan against the racist government.

Even those leftists who utter a few empty words in support of Koreans

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usually tail the Socialist Party (JSP), with its line of extending diplomatic recognition to North Korea. But to prove its loyalty to the bourgeoisie, the JSP too will support sanctions. As part of the short-lived Hosokawa coalition government, the JSP not only backed anti-working-class austerity measures, but accepted direct responsibility through its cabinet post of Home Affairs Ministry for arresting and prosecuting labor militants, leftists and Japanese Koreans and for deporting foreign workers. Doing the bourgeoisie's dirty work is nothing new for these yellow "socialists." In 1950, the JSP used the MacArthur occupation regime's red purge to build the anti-Communist Sohyo labor federation, which supported the imperialist side in the Korean War.

Why the JCP Has No Korean Members

The Communist Party (JCP) offers tepid opposition to the threat of imperialist sanctions against North Korea, while pushing a wretched no-nuke pacifism and supporting "peaceful" measures by the United Nations. Domestically the JCP is steeped in chauvinist protectionism, doing nothing to defend non-Japanese workers against government and right-wing attacks. The JCP today has no Korean members and their trade-union federation refuses to organize Koreans and other non-Japanese workers into common industrial unions.

Yet in the years following World War II, the JCP recruited over 4,000 Koreans from among the hundreds of thousands who were brought in as forced laborers before the war. When a number of central JCP leaders were released from Fuchu prison in October 1945, public meetings to greet them attracted large numbers of Koreans. When the JCP called a general strike for 1 February 1947, party members and sympathizers in the militant Korean organization Chouren collected money and organized support committees in preparation for the strike, which the JCP leadership called off at the last minute.

The JCP's betrayal not only squandered a potential prerevolutionary situation but also reinforced the segregation of Japan's minorities from major industry and union organization. This defeat led to attacks on Koreans during the Cold War and in September 1949 Chouren was outlawed as part of the anti-Communist witchhunt. In January 1951, after the Korean War broke out, Chouren was reorganized as Minsen and called for victory to the North. But JCP leaders instead sought a bloc with "centrist" and nationalist forces in the South for a "democratic revolution." This line was so right-wing that even Stalin's Cominform complained.

The JCP's refusal even to oppose the Southern regime of despotic U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee was the final straw for Korean militants in the party. In February 1955, the JCP's Korean leaders resigned, taking some 4,000 members with them. Seeing no revolutionary-internationalist alternative, these Korean communists instead turned to Kim Il Sung's brand of Stalinism. Minsen was dissolved and replaced by Chosen Soren, which was shackled from the start by Kim's promise that it would not "interfere" in Japanese domestic politics.

Today, Chosen Soren dutifully subordinates itself to the dictates of the "Great Leader" while rarely taking up issues central to Koreans in Japan, like the call for full citizenship rights for all non-Japanese residents. But the responsibility for the degeneration of the post-war militant Korean movement must be placed squarely at the feet of the JCP's chauvinist leadership. JCP members who hate racism and chauvinism need to understand that they are in the wrong party!

Japan's revolutionary proletarian party has yet to be built. That party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who fought against the tsarist prison house of nations, will fight in the interests of the working class and the minority populations to create a workers republic. The Spartacist Group Japan is fighting to build a multinational Leninist-Trotskyist party. Those who hate racism and chauvinism, who believe that the working class has no country—as Marx and Engels wrote in 1848—who defend North Korea against imperialist provocations, who want to fight against discrimination against Koreans and other minorities in Japan as part of the fight for socialist revolution, should join the SGJ. ■

Reuters

Hyundai workers fight off South Korean riot police, July 1993. Combative South Korean proletariat can spark revolutionary struggle north and south of 38th parallel.

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

organized societal manner. I find such "logic" to be a well-meaning, but dangerous, inside-out liberalism. While it's true in a general sense that blacks can't oppress whites it is wrong in a specific sense. A black boss, black cop, black teacher, or a black in any position of authority can, like a white person, make life miserable for the objects of his hate. So my question is "Does the Spartacist League feel that it is intrinsically impossible for *any* blacks to be racists or fascists in America?"

If you feel that because of the terrible historical oppression of blacks it is impossible for them individually or in groups (Farrakhanites) to be fascist, then given the history of anti-Semitism in the world and in America why is it possible for Jews to be fascists? I do believe that you have denounced the mis-named Jewish Defense League as fascistic.

While black fascism will no more take political power in America than Jewish fascism will, it is still possible for both these ethnic groups to spawn fascist parties which can do great damage. And looking at the miserable alliance of the Inkatha with the South African neo-Nazis, I do not find a Farrakhan/Klan axis, however temporary it might be, an impossibility. And Metzger's donation to Farrakhan might well have been the start of just such an alliance which may even now exist secretly.

In any event I think it would be most fruitful for you to discuss these questions in *WV*, the very best newspaper on the left.

Sincerely,
Peter Stone

* * *

WV replies: Our earlier exchange with Mondo can be found in "On Integrated Education and Black Liberation," in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 526 (10 May 1991).

In his letter (which was written before our recent article on Farrakhan appeared), Peter Stone questions why we don't characterize the Nation of Islam as fascist. Father Coughlin was white and Farrakhan is black in a country founded on institutionalized brutal racial oppression. That's fundamental. The Spartacist League has never held that blacks in the U.S., because they are an oppressed race/color caste, cannot be racists or even fascists. But while there can be individual black fascists in this country, there can be no significant black fascism. Blacks of all political persuasions would be the first *victims, not the collaborators*, of American fascism in power. Farrakhan's flirtations with the likes of Klansman Metzger do not alter this basic fact. In his letter Israel Shahak recounts that some Zionists initially welcomed the ascendancy of Nazism in Germany as a victory over the liberal program of assimilationism. This did not prevent the Nazi regime from exterminating the Jews, including the right-wing Zionists among them.

We have always insisted that fascism in the U.S. is deeply anti-black and anti-Semitic. We have written that "The JDL may be a fascist group in terms of its ideas and aspirations, but Jews will be victims and not a source of American fascism" ("Jews and American Fascism," *Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* No. 11, March-April 1972). Only by emigrating to Israel with his hardcore followers could JDL leader Kahane set up a genuinely fascist organization. The same article noted, "To identify fascism as extreme ethnic nationalism is completely anti-Marxist. Fascism is a counter-revolutionary movement whose base is the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen elements reacting to the proletariat's failure to take power in a revolutionary crisis."

Peter Stone's reference to Father Coughlin underscores the difference between the "radio priest" of the 1930s and the demagogic head of the Nation of Islam. Coughlin was an integral part of a broad current of pro-Nazi forces in this country, including significant elements of the ruling class, represented by industrialist Henry Ford and national hero Charles Lindbergh. With the American ruling class almost exclusively white and the working class mainly white, it is inconceivable that a fascist movement aimed at crushing and atomizing the working class on behalf of the bourgeoisie could be based on anything but white racism.

While Farrakhan may share many opinions with white fascists, what he is able to do is another matter. As we showed in our article in *WV* No. 600, the NOI leader wants to sell his services to America's rulers. Yet today the ruling class and bourgeois media—both liberal and rightist—are whipping up racist hostility against the Farrakhanites, with the aim of justifying the suppression of all black "extremists," including black leftists as well as various nationalist currents. What Farrakhan represents is a latter-day version of Booker T. Washington's "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" accommodationism. Farrakhan's anti-struggle program *accommodates* the aims of the racist ruling class to repress the deeply disquieted and alienated black population. But the whole system of racist discrimination is run by and for the white ruling class. ■

Vancouver...

(continued from page 3)

with more forced to wait outside. Many took time off work and were there for all three days of the proceedings.

Also speaking at the rally were representatives of the Iranian Immigrant and Refugee Society of British Columbia and the Freedom Socialist Party. The International Socialists declined an invitation to speak.

The rally received extensive coverage in the local media. Two Chinese-language daily papers (*Sing Tao* and *Ming Pao*) published photos and stories on the event. Days before, Vancouver's mayor had refused to apologize for a February 1992 racist police assault, captured on videotape, on two Chinese workers, even as the city was compelled to pay thousands in compensation to these victims of cop terror. The social-democratic New Democratic Party provincial government had exonerated the cops of any wrongdoing.

The government went after the Vancouver Six claiming, in the words of the judge, that "as long as [the fascists] don't contravene the criminal law, they have a right to hold their meetings and associate with each other." But the fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with demented ideas. They "speak" with lynch ropes, iron bars, gas chambers and death camps. The *Vancouver Sun* (3 June) quoted PDC spokesman Oliver Scribner: "'While small in number now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow,' he said. 'Fascist terror is not free speech'."

Trying to hide the obvious fact that they were aiding and abetting the fascists, both the prosecutor and the judge went out of their way to declare that they were "neutral." This idea, preached especially by the NDP social democrats and their reformist tails, was challenged by Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Angela Summers at the May 31 rally:

> "There's a very important lesson here: the capitalist state is *not* neutral. The police, the courts, the whole system exists to protect the propertied classes, the bosses, the rich white rulers of this country. They will not and cannot be pressured into 'stopping' the fascists. In fact, by their actions they embolden and encourage the racist terrorists."

On 22 January 1993, some 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented Nazis of the "Canadian Liberty Net" from rallying in Vancouver. Against those who wanted an empty gabfest to just "say no" to the fascists, the PDC and TL mobilized disciplined union contingents in response to our widely distributed call "All Out to *Stop* the Fascists!" A few months later, on May 6, the PDC and TL brought out a core of unionists, blacks, Asians, gays and socialists to the demonstration (organized on less than a day's notice) that shut down the fascist meeting for over an hour. Our program is to unleash the power of labor and minorities to stop the fascist terrorists—and it works. *Keep the Nazis on the run!*

The PDC extends its warm thanks to all those who endorsed the demand to "Drop the Charges" and who dug deep to help out financially. But more is still needed: it has cost thousands of dollars to defend the Anti-Fascist Six. Send your contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Anti-Fascist Defense," to: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6, Canada. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

South Africa: Acid Test For the Left

The imperialist media and reformists around the world have been unanimous in hailing the election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president, often in identical words. The *New York Times* (4 May) echoed Mandela's inaugural address, repeating Martin Luther King's famous phrase, in an editorial titled "Free at Last!" The *Times* waxed positively lyrical: "It was a magical moment: the peaceful passage from an era of oppression to a dawn of liberation in South Africa." The *Financial Times* (27 April), spokesman for the international financiers of the City of London, earlier celebrated Mandela's victory as the "Dawn of South Africa's Freedom." And the *Militant* (9 May), newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., headlined "South African Elections Mark 'Dawn of Freedom'."

In contrast, we told the stark truth about the pact between the African National Congress and the apartheid masters, that "ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 599, 29 April). Where the SWP's *Militant* gushed about a "victory" for classless "democracy," writing of "Birth of New S. Africa: A Victory for Humanity" (16 May) and "Mandela President; Apartheid Is Buried" (23 May), we said bluntly of the now-bourgeois nationalists in power, "Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule," and stressed that "Black Freedom Requires Socialist Revolution" (*WV* No. 600, 13 May). While noting that "The heroic struggles of the black masses over the past two decades have forced the white ruling class to abandon the rigid system of racial oppression known as apartheid, in which there was a garrison 'democracy' for the privileged white minority and totalitarian police-state repression of the vast non-white majority," we added:

> "The Randlords and their imperialist backers believe that they have preserved the bedrock of apartheid capitalism by

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Steve Hilton-Barber

The hated SADF apartheid army, rebaptized SANDF (above), is still the fist of racist capitalism against the black masses. Opportunists echo imperialist myth that "freedom" has arrived.

Fake Left Cheers for Neo-Apartheid Deal

Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!

Oppose U.S. Sanctions Threat!

The following is adapted from an article in the publication of the Spartacist Group Japan, Spartacist *No. 16, May 1994*

TOKYO, June 6—The 1950-53 Korean War was never officially ended, merely "suspended" when the U.S.-led United Nations invasion forces failed to overwhelm North Korea and its Chinese allies. Ever since then, Washington has continued its relentless drive to undermine and destroy the North Korean deformed workers state, created in 1945 when the Soviet Red Army drove Japanese imperialism out of Korea. In the past 18 months, taking advantage of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and China's headlong rush toward capitalist restoration, the Clinton administration has carried out a calibrated campaign of nuclear blackmail and military buildup aimed at forcing the Pyongyang regime of Kim Il Sung to disarm, roll over and play dead.

On June 2, U.S. president Clinton declared that Washington would seek to impose economic sanctions against North Korea for alleged violations of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which Pyongyang was strong-armed into signing in 1985. When war secretary Perry threatened all-out war several months ago if the North refused to

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For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Reuters

South Korean students protest visit of U.S. war secretary William Perry in April, as Washington rattles its nuclear sabra against North Korea.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 603

8 July 1994

No to Colonial Invasion! Asylum for Haitian Refugees!

U.S. Hands Off Haiti!

Smash the Death Squad Regime— For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!

JULY 5—As we go to press, the Pentagon has announced that a four-ship amphibious assault group with 2,000 Marines will sail for Haiti tomorrow. They will join up with the 650 Marines aboard the USS *Wasp*, which is already in the region "conducting exercises." Their mission: "to evacuate American citizens and designated foreign nationals, if necessary." This is the same excuse Washington used for its invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983, for the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo and countless other neocolonial adventures. While President Clinton's special adviser for Haiti, William Gray, denies that an invasion is "imminent" (defined as within the next few days), it is clear that the machinery of U.S. military intervention is in high gear. *The international working class must oppose imperialist intervention!*

The American bourgeoisie claims that its starvation embargo and military moves are aimed at "restoring democracy," ousting the blood-drenched military regime and reinstalling popularly elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office. This is a brazen lie. In fact, the junta officers were trained and installed—and can be removed—by the U.S. When Washington wanted to dump General Prosper Avril in 1990, all it took was a phone call and

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AFP

As Clinton threatens military invasion in the name of "democracy," U.S. Coast Guard captures Haitians who flee murderous junta terror.

For Black Proletarian Power

South Africa Powder Keg

It has been barely two months since Nelson Mandela, upon taking office as South Africa's first black president, declared the blood-drenched land "free at last." The imperialist media echoed his proclamation (taken from American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr.) in language usually associated with religious ecstasy. The *U.S. News & World Report* exulted: "South Africa's election ratifies a political miracle for the ages." Much of the left was similarly ecstatic over the "new" South Africa, pronouncing apartheid dead and buried.

However, for the black toilers of South Africa, apartheid is not simply a legal system of racial segregation—the bantustans, pass laws, Group Areas Act—but above all the economic and social dominance of the white rulers and their agents. A black gold miner on the Rand exclaimed bitterly a few days after the elections: "Underground there are 35 black men working and there is one white man watching them and he has everything." The rigid structures of apartheid may be gone, but white supremacy remains, and will remain until the racist capitalist system is overthrown by the working people who produce its superprofits.

ANC Fronts for Racist Exploiters

In South Africa today, just as before the April 27 elections, whites—who make up 13 percent of the population—own 87 percent of the land, 90 percent of the productive wealth and hold 98 percent of the corporate directorships. On average, white families have an income ten times that of blacks. In a country which developed high-tech medical equipment, 23 million people have no electricity, 12 million have no access to clean drinking water. The leading cause of death among black African children is water-borne diseases like dysentery. The leading cause of death among white children is swimming pool accidents!

While Western liberals and many leftists may be celebrating the "death of apartheid," the leaders of Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) knew very well that they were betraying the black masses in the struggle against apartheid, which is necessarily a fight for social and economic equality. Even before the vote, the ANC tops worried about a "crisis of expectations" in the impoverished black townships. That's why Mandela was relieved not to have gotten more than two-thirds of the votes, which would have put the ANC under pressure to rewrite the constitution to eliminate the various "sunset clauses" preserving white privilege. Already the masses' patience is wearing thin. As the election and inauguration euphoria dissipates, there have already been a spate of strikes by black miners against racist practices of the Gold Fields conglomerate, as well as by auto workers of Volkswagen and Delta Motor Corporation.

Meanwhile, land invasions by homeless squatters have begun. In the huge, overpopulated slum of Sebokeng, several hundred residents surged across the highway—dubbed the "Red Sea" by the residents—into the promised land of empty private and city-owned land where they quickly measured out their plots and began erecting

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT SEE PAGES 7-10

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S.F. Mayor's Vendetta Against "Food Not Bombs"

Stop the Frame-Up of Keith McHenry!

SAN FRANCISCO—Mayor Frank Jordan is trying to destroy Keith McHenry because he won't stop feeding the homeless. McHenry is a co-founder of Food Not Bombs, an organization which for years has incurred the deep hostility of both Jordan and his "liberal" predecessor Art Agnos by distributing food to hungry people in defiance of their schemes to drive the poor somewhere else to die. For the "crime" of giving food to starving people, McHenry has been arrested *92 times*. Now Jordan is having him framed on two felony assault charges, setting Keith up to go to prison for life under California's vicious "three strikes and you're out" law. McHenry goes to trial on the first frame-up assault charge on July 11. Food Not Bombs has called demonstrations that day in San Francisco at 8:00 a.m. at the trial site, 850 Bryant Street, as well as in other cities nationally.

Former police chief Jordan and his crew are digging into their bag of cop dirty tricks, going to any lengths to get McHenry. The January 4 incident for which McHenry is going on trial July 11 was precipitated when Nick Roomel, a Jordan administration official who had been collecting data about his target for months, punched McHenry from behind in City Hall. McHenry, the victim, was promptly arrested and charged with felony assault. On April 4, Andrew Solow, a cop working out of the mayor's office as a "community adviser," wrestled McHenry to the ground and arrested him for "assault," but had to release him because Food Not Bombs supporters had captured the incident on video.

In the latest frame-up, on May 13—after two arrests that week for distribution of literature and "felony possession of a milk crate"—Keith and a 71-year-old Food Not Bombs supporter went to City Hall to lobby city supervisors in their offices. An aide to supervisor Barbara Kaufman slammed the door on them so violently that when McHenry caught it, his hand went through a glass panel, slicing off a chunk of his palm and severing an artery; Keith was again arrested for felony assault. The "arresting officer of record" was the same John Nevin, Mayor Jordan's personal bodyguard, who had arrested him on January 4.

By the time McHenry arrived at the police station, in the custody of one Sergeant Siobhan McAuliffe, his loosely bound wound had soaked through the bandages and he was dripping blood. Keith was denied medical attention and left to bleed in his cell for six hours, while McAuliffe tried to have him committed to the psychiatric ward at SF General Hospital. He was only taken for emergency medical treatment when the nurse at the jail where he was transferred refused to admit him, demanding he be seen by a doctor. At the hospital, he passed out from shock due to loss of blood; he easily could have died in that police cell.

At the bail hearing, the D.A.'s office slandered McHenry as "dangerous" while Sgt. McAuliffe told the press that McHenry is likely "to beat up or shoot someone" (a lie echoed in a despicable *SF Weekly* article claiming he was "cracking under pressure"). The judge sent McHenry back to jail on $75,000 bail. When the owner of the Berkeley club Ashkenaz put up his building to raise the bail, the cops still held McHenry another week. On May 27, with the proper papers all signed, the judge said he was leaving early for the holiday weekend, and Keith, with his mutilated hand, remained in jail until June 1.

The vicious vendetta against McHenry and Food Not Bombs is part and parcel of Jordan's barbaric "Operation Matrix." Jordan launched this assault on the homeless ten months ago, ranting about the "eyesore" of homeless people in downtown streets. His SFPD hounded them out of the Civic Center, one of the locations where Food Not Bombs does its daily food distribution. Jordan ordered a homeless camp in Golden Gate Park razed and threw away their belongings on a couple of hours' notice. As of last March, there had been *over 10,000 arrests and citations* under "Operation Matrix." In protest against this campaign, the Spartacist League, Labor Black League and Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration last December 14 to demand an end to Jordan's "Operation Matrix" and "Hands off Food Not Bombs!"

Plenty of working people keenly feel that they themselves are only a paycheck or pink slip away from the street. In this racist capitalist society, Operation Matrix exemplifies the supreme arrogant contempt that the ruling class and yuppie scum have for working people. After looting the economy, deindustrializing the country, devastating jobs, busting unions and turning the inner cities into vast wastelands of poverty, disease and death, now their vicious capitalist politicians, from Jordan to Clinton, want to sweep the legions of laid-off, homeless, hungry and poor working people off the streets like so much refuse.

Jordan's cops are going wild all over town. Gestapo-style police checkpoints have been set up in black Bayview-Hunters Point and the Latino Mission District (under the guise of "seatbelt checks"), enabling the cops to run background checks on the minority residents. Nightclubs popular with youth in the South of Market area are being raided by police squads every weekend. Now the SFPD is trying to turn the city's public housing projects into a police state where the cops intend to abolish Fourth Amendment rights against illegal searches, invade tenants' homes at will and expel residents arrested for a felony.

WV Photo

Keith McHenry, co-founder of Food Not Bombs.

The same forces trying to railroad Keith McHenry into jail are the ones who shoot black youth down in the street. The same cops will be mobilized to bust picket lines and protect scabs whenever workers strike to defend their living standards and their unions. Currently Jordan is escalating his union-busting drive against the municipal workers unions, pushing for an indefinite pay freeze and a draconian "labor relations" law that would give the sinister Jordan final say in any future dispute with city workers. San Francisco's powerful, integrated unions can and must strike a powerful blow against this dangerous cop bonapartism. We call on labor to defend Keith McHenry and Food Not Bombs.

In a letter to San Francisco D.A. Arlo Smith, the Partisan Defense Committee protested:

> "If Keith McHenry were a wealthy restaurateur who threw some crumbs to the homeless for a yearly photo op he would be hailed as a philanthropist and toasted around town. But instead he now faces felony charges and is being set up for life in jail under California's 'three strikes and you're out' law for the 'crime' of trying to feed the poor.... The Partisan Defense Committee demands: Drop all charges against Keith McHenry! Hands off Food Not Bombs!"

We encourage *WV* readers to send letters of protest to Arlo Smith, District Attorney, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Food Not Bombs has asked that donations for McHenry's bail be sent to them at 3145 Geary #12, San Francisco, CA 94118.

Some sharp class struggle that ends in *victory* for the workers is key to reversing the ruling-class war against the working class and those left to die in this rotting capitalist system. Only the establishment of a workers state can create a socialist society of abundance and equality in which it will be a distant and terrible memory that once people were persecuted for feeding the homeless and hungry. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

No to Yankee Imperialist Intervention!

As Washington seeks to assert its hegemony as master of a "New World Order," various liberals and "radicals" join in calling for U.S. intervention from Bosnia to Haiti in the name of democracy and humanitarianism. At the time of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin denounced the "social-imperialists" who uttered leftist phrases to cover support to their rapacious bourgeoisies. Far from seeking to install "democracy" in Haiti, Clinton's starvation embargo and the threatened invasion aim to reimpose direct U.S. domination and would replace the blood-drenched military regime with a no less bloody military occupation to suppress any uprising of the black masses. As reaffirmed by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party on the eve of World War II, a central task in the struggle for socialist revolution in the United States is intransigent opposition to U.S. imperialist intervention around the globe, particularly in Latin America.

American imperialism aims at more than monopolizing the markets and the sources of raw materials of the entire Western Hemisphere. It also aims at making the Americas, from Cape Horn to Patagonia, the physical, economic, and strategic base required for the coming decisive struggles for the possession of the world. This is why Roosevelt bellicosely proclaims, alongside of the evangelical preaching of Hull, that the United States will defend tooth and nail all the countries in the hemisphere....

The political and military objectives of Wall Street in Latin America are totalitarian, embellished though they are by Rooseveltian democracy. Washington seeks a monopoly in everything: in raw materials and markets, in ideology and politics, in foreign relations, in military missions, war supplies, naval and air lines and bases, in military preparations.... American military, naval, or aviation missions are already operating in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Haiti, Guatemala, Colombia, and they are coming in other countries; they do not instruct, nor will they instruct, the forces of these countries in the special problems of their own defense, but aim to create strategic bases for the war plans of American imperialism....

We appeal to the semicolonial peoples of the south to unite with us against the common enemy: imperialism, and that includes the American brand. We pledge our unremitting aid in rallying the working class of this country in effective solidarity with the Latin American peoples in their struggles for national freedom.

The liberation of Latin America from the imperialist yoke, the destruction of the threat of fascist intervention at its very roots, can be achieved only by common action of the American working class with the worker and peasant masses of Central and South America.

—Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party, "Yankee Imperialism at Lima" (January 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* will skip the second issue in July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 5.

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

a visit from the U.S. ambassador, and an Air Force plane to transport him to Miami. Disposable puppets who prove obstreperous can be eliminated the way Kennedy did it when the CIA authorized some of its "assets" in the Dominican military to get rid of Trujillo in 1961. The tacking and turning of Washington's policy on Haiti reflects deep divisions in the bourgeoisie over whether to dump the generals (considered too openly bloody to embrace) and restore Aristide (viewed as an "unstable" radical despite his demonstrated fealty to the U.S.).

The administration's threats of military intervention have provoked unexpectedly strong opposition by the Pentagon, Republican Party leaders, and Latin American countries. But after the administration's foreign policy failures in Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti, and their troubles on Capitol Hill with their health "reform," Clinton officials reportedly saw a U.S. invasion of Haiti as an "easy hit" which could provide a "significant boost" to the president's popularity polls. There is something of an orchestrated quality to the recent events. Clinton encourages longtime anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson to continue his hunger strike in protest against the government's Haitian refugee policy; the administration, citing Robinson and the Congressional Black Caucus, then changes the policy, granting some 30 percent asylum as opposed to 5 percent previously; as the news reaches Haiti, the number of "boat people" suddenly escalates, and this then becomes an argument for sending in the Marines.

For weeks the rulers of Yankee imperialism have been putting the finishing touches on military plans to invade Haiti and install a more pliant and more effective quisling regime. According to this plan, whatever happens to the current rulers, the Haitian army will remain intact, to be used as an auxiliary to U.S./UN occupation forces *in order to prevent a popular uprising*. The ultimate size of the anticipated invasion force (25,000 to 50,000 troops) makes it clear that Washington's aim is once again to occupy Haiti for years, turning it into a direct colonial protectorate as it was under the U.S. military from 1915 to 1934. As that occupation showed, the racist U.S. imperialists are a far more oppressive force than their local henchmen and would only impose another grisly dictatorship on black Haiti. *We say: Yankee imperialists hands off Haiti!*

Until recently, the Clinton administration's official policy has been to force out the Haitian military junta through economic sanctions. Stiffened UN-sponsored trade sanctions were instituted last May. These measures only pile further miseries on Haiti's impoverished masses while the military rulers and their wealthy backers make fabulous profits off contraband fuel and control of the food trade. Since they were imposed last year, the UN sanctions have driven up the price of food and medicine several-fold so that malnutrition has increased dramatically. While rich Haitians transfer money to accounts in Europe, Clinton's latest measures will limit the amount of money Haitians in the U.S. can send to their families to insure their survival. *Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!*

The surge in Haitian refugees in recent days reached a crescendo on Monday, July 4, when the Coast Guard picked up 3,247 from leaky boats in a single day. This was almost one and a half times the figure for all of 1993. In the last week and a half, well over 10,000 desperate people have been kidnapped by the U.S. on the high seas, and shipped off to its concentration camp in Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base which was stolen from Cuba, and a hospital ship anchored off Kingston, Jamaica. Now even those granted political asylum will not be allowed to enter the U.S., but instead will be consigned to "safe haven" camps in U.S. neocolonies around the Caribbean. What vexes U.S. rulers most about Haiti is the issue of immigration. Any anti-Communist Cuban *gusano* (worm) who makes it to the U.S. is automatically welcomed with open arms. But the bottom line of Washington's policy toward Haiti is to keep black Haitians out of the U.S. We demand: *Stop the racist Coast Guard seizures—Asylum for Haitian refugees!*

Having proclaimed a "New World Order" following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington is arrogantly

AP

Savigno/Reuter

Woman murdered on Port-au-Prince street by death squads of U.S.-trained and equipped Haitian military regime.

acting as world policeman. In addition to placing the Haitian people under the boot of colonialism, American intervention would pose a mortal threat to the Cuban revolution. Ever since the Castro regime expropriated the capitalists in 1960, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Washington has tried everything from invasion at the Bay of Pigs to countless assassination attempts on Castro in a relentless drive to destroy this social revolution in its "backyard." *Defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism! U.S. out of Guantánamo!*

The previous U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1915 touched off a revolt of the *cacos*, peasant bands led by Charlemagne Péralte, which lasted for five years until it was drowned in blood by the U.S. Marines. The U.S. military systematically burned and bombed villages and murdered thousands. A newspaper report at the time described how the U.S. Marines "opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages," how they killed "men, women, and children in the open market places," and how Haitians "were slain for 'sport'" (see Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti 1915-1934* [1971]). Masses of peasants were evicted from their land to make way for the concessions to Standard Fruit for banana production. Anyone who was caught without a "good citizen" pass was summarily shot by the Marines or their sadistic henchmen of the gendarmes (forerunner of the present Haitian army).

The moment the stranglehold of the military regime—with its thousands of paramilitary thugs (from the remnants of the feared Tontons Macoutes to the *attachés* linked to the army and police)—is loosened, there will be an outpouring of cries for vengeance from the Haitian masses. These calls for *dechoukaj* (uprooting) of this system of organized murder will have an enormous resonance, as they did when the Duvalier regime was ousted in 1986. And indeed, in order to lift the iron heel of perpetual military rule it's necessary to root out this system down to the last rural "section chief." But this will run straight into the U.S. Marines' bayonets and can easily be dissipated into the settling of individual scores. Marxist revolutionaries fight for *people's tribunals to bring the Macoute criminals to justice! Smash the bloody junta—For a workers and peasants government in Haiti! Pouvoir ouvrier—Workers to power!*

But the fate of the Haitian masses will not be decided in Haiti alone. Key to any struggle against the Haitian military rulers and their U.S. puppet masters is the sizable mass of Haitian working people in the diaspora concentrated along the Eastern seaboard of North America, from Montreal to Miami. They form a living bridge to the U.S. proletariat, particularly its militant component of black workers. The struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, and against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses under capitalism, must be part of an international class struggle against imperialism.

Yankee Imperialism's Invasion Plan

U.S. plans for a military intervention are not a last-minute affair. The *Washington Post* (2 July) reported that on June 4 the U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Virginia issued a classified planning order instructing more than a dozen military units to "conduct execution planning in preparation for possible military operations in Haiti" and to submit their plans by June 10 to the president and defense secretary. On June 12, the *Post* reported that Defense Department sources had revealed that the Pentagon contingency plan for U.S. invasion of Haiti called for "a force of 25,000 to 50,000 Army airborne, naval and special operations personnel who would secure Haiti's political and military power centers in a rapid assault."

This enormous imperialist juggernaut is obviously intended for more than bringing to heel the 7,000-man, lightly armed Haitian army. U.S. officials are above all concerned to intimidate the Haitian population and make any resistance appear suicidal. Originally, Washington officials suggested that a "peacekeeping" force of 3,000 to 4,000 would be sufficient. But this number has now been more than tripled, "because Washington wants to insure that it would be able to deal with any eventuality in Haiti, particularly in light of the polarization of Haitian society" (*New York Times*, 25 June). Dealing with "any eventuality" means suppressing popular revolt. Indeed, the racist colonial occupation could itself very possibly *provoke* a mass uprising, even in the face of dreadfully overwhelming firepower.

It is the fear of spreading "instability" in the region sparked by a revolt of the Haitian masses, which explains why the Clinton administration considers that military occupation of Haiti would be necessary to "keep order through December 1995, the end of Father Aristide's term" (*New York Times*, 30 May). An uprising in Haiti could indeed quickly spread to the neighboring Dominican Republic, where tens of thousands of Haitians perform near slave labor in the sugar fields. There is also mass discontent over the recent Dominican elections, dominated by virulent racism. The Balaguer regime accused its main opponent, Peña Gómez, who is black, of wanting to "haitianize" the country with Haiti, and in many areas black voters had to produce birth certificates to prove they weren't Haitian.

The Pentagon last month announced that some "technical support troops" would be deployed in the Dominican Republic. And during the last U.S. occupation of Haiti, the Marines also occupied Santo Domingo, carrying out widespread massacres and leading to the installation of the Trujillo dictatorship. It is the duty of Dominican Marxists to oppose their own racist rulers' oppression of Haitians, and to promote united class struggle throughout the island. Revolutionaries throughout the region, particularly in Mexico and the U.S., would militarily support any struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, even by any maverick elements of the Haitian military who don't simply do the bidding of their American masters and instead take up arms against the imperialists.

It is undoubtedly a sign of the widespread misgivings about the "humanitarian" intentions of U.S. imperialism among the Haitian people that Aristide has spun 180 degrees on supporting a U.S. military intervention. After giving backhanded support to imperialist intervention in Haiti by calling for "swift and determined action," Aristide suddenly in late June started declaring that he was "against a military invasion." But Aristide is careful not to exceed the bounds of loyalty to his overlords in Washington. Meanwhile, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have begun training some 100 Haitian exiles—a proposal made by Aristide to the Canadian government last January—to serve as police under the imperialist occupation forces.

We have insisted that the liberation of Haiti, where Toussaint L'Ouverture led the first successful slave revolt in history in conjunction with the French Revolution, will come about not by appealing to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists in Washington and the UN, but through internationalist class struggle. What is needed is a Trotskyist party uniting the North American proletariat with its Caribbean brothers and sisters in struggle for socialist revolution. ■

Feds' Finks: TDU and the Left

The 24-day Teamsters strike by 70,000 truck drivers and loading dock workers in April sharply posed the possibility of reversing years of labor defeats, give-backs and humiliating sellouts. And just as sharply, the strike posed the crisis of leadership facing the working class. Strikers remained solid in the face of vicious police assaults and arrests on the picket lines. They received widespread support and solidarity from longshoremen, rail workers and other unionists across the country, who knew that the Teamsters union, despite the erosion of its power in recent years, could have won this key strike battle.

But the strike was sabotaged from the beginning by the Teamster leadership. Both IBT president Ron Carey, installed in 1991 in a government-run election along with the "reformers" of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), and the venal "old guard" of corrupt officials played by the bosses' rules. Less than two-thirds of the freight membership was pulled out on strike, none of the "double breasted" non-union subsidiaries were shut down, victimized and arrested strike militants were abandoned to the cops and courts. And when Clinton intervened, Carey quickly rolled over. In the last decade-and-a-half the American ruling class has systematically driven down the standard of living of the working class by over 20 percent. The Teamsters were one of the only major unions to retain the right to strike over grievances, which the sellout contract replaces with binding arbitration. It also gives up thousands of jobs to intermodal (rail) freight, sets up a new category of dock "casuals" with substandard pay frozen below scale, and leaves "double breasting" untouched.

The Spartacist League and our newspaper *Workers Vanguard* argued from the outset that to win the strike it was necessary to use the arsenal of class-struggle tactics which had made the Teamsters the powerhouse of labor it once was. We called for *spreading the strike* to UPS and the non-union outfits, and to refuse to bow to anti-picketing injunctions and anti-union laws which ban "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) struck goods. We warned that the Carey/TDU gang was beholden to the employers and their government, that to win it would take a class-struggle leadership which recognized that the bosses' state was the enemy of workers' struggle. And when Carey & Co. capitulated, we told the unvarnished truth, "Teamster Contract Stinks," adding that it was the "Bitter Fruit of Government Intervention." We wrote:

> "So the regime the government put in, Carey and the TDU, called a limited strike, handcuffed the Teamsters into playing by the bosses' rules, wearing out the strikers and sending them back to work *in order to give the bosses what they wanted from the beginning—a new category of cheaper labor*."

Most of the left, in contrast, echoed the *AFL-CIO News* (16 May) headline, "IBT Stand Hailed as Victory for Labor." Typical were the quirky reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who proclaimed, "Teamsters Win One for Labor" (*Militant*, 23 May). Even one of their own salesmen complained that the *Militant*'s coverage "did not reflect any of this sentiment" against the sellout that he encountered at a strike meeting in Pennsylvania. An SWP splinter, *Socialist Action* (May 1994), called the Teamster settlement a "partial victory," lauding a "tough-minded and experienced leadership that sent its troops out slugging" and "struck with all the force at their disposal." They even hailed Carey's wretched "public relations" campaign as "downright revolutionary." SA honcho Nat Weinstein knows a thing or two about how to be a waterboy for the bureaucrats. He got his group off the ground by goon-ing leftists and militant workers on behalf of the San Francisco labor tops during the 1983 Greyhound strike.

AP

The capitalist state is not neutral: cops protect scab truck against Teamsters picket at Roadway Terminal in Adelanto, California during April national freight strike.

RICO "Socialists"

In this class battle, the burning need to fight for the complete independence of the workers' organizations from the bosses' state was posed pointblank. Opposition to this racist, capitalist government is the first principle of genuine socialists. The strike and the feds' vendetta against the Teamsters union was a test for the left—and the reformists failed the test miserably.

Behind these "socialist" groups' sickening praise of Carey and his contract stands their long history of support to the TDU and its project of bringing the government in to "clean up" the Teamsters. Many Teamsters have a deep hatred of this government, recalling how the arrogantly wealthy Kennedy clan went after Jimmy Hoffa in order to break the union's power to shut down freight across the country. During the strike, our supporters who visited the picket lines got angry challenges from some Teamsters who wanted to know if we were with the "TDU socialists" who dragged their union into the courts. Definitely not! More than a decade and a half ago, we warned that the TDU acts as "the cat's paw of reaction" who "deserve the scorn of every labor militant":

> "They invite the government in to tighten its stranglehold on the unions even more than it has already. The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the *major* obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course."
>
> —"Hands Off the Teamsters!"
> (*WV* No. 158, 20 May 1977)

It is one of the crimes of the pseudo-leftists who founded the TDU in the 1970s that a whole layer of Teamsters has come to identify "socialist" with dragging the union into the bosses' courts. And no organizations are more responsible for that crime than the groups spawned by the International Socialists: Solidarity/*Labor Notes* (the chief braintrusters of the TDU) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

The ISO's refusal to defend the unions against the capitalist government's attacks—indeed its appeals to the bosses' state to intervene in the labor movement—is not surprising given its refusal to defend the former Soviet Union against capitalist attack. Indeed, these social democrats actively joined the anti-Soviet cold war. More than 50 years ago, Trotsky drew an analogy between the bureaucratically run unions and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state under Stalin. While fighting to oust the bureaucratic misleaders, the organizers of defeat, we called for defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution, just as we defend the trade union against state intervention. The ISO does neither. Those who cannot defend past gains of the working class will not conquer future ones.

Beneath the empty headline "Teamsters Strike Settles"—buried on page 15 of its newspaper *Socialist Worker* (May 1994)—the ISO amnestied the Carey leadership, talking about how it was "forced to concede" on intermodal freight, singling out the "old guard" for criticism and ludicrously claiming that "Carey has demonstrated he is more willing to take on the bosses than any of his predecessors." The ISO managed the feat of publishing two articles on the strike and contract without one word on the TDU or the feds' "racketeering" suit to take over the union! But the ISO knows quite a bit about the TDU, close-up. Longtime TDU leader Pete Camarata is a prominent ISO supporter, and was a featured speaker at an ISO May Day rally in New York City during the strike.

Seeking to distance itself from the despised TDU—which it has backed for more than 15 years—and TDU's reliance on the capitalist state, the ISO talks out of both sides of its mouth. When Carey won the presidency under the auspices of the government, the ISO hailed his election as "a tremendous victory" and "a source of pride and confidence" in one paragraph, while in the next denouncing Carey's Justice Department pals as "a *threat* to union democracy" (*Socialist Worker*, November 1992).

When the feds announced their RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act suit against the union in 1987, the ISO declared on paper that "union activists should stand in firm opposition to any interference from the Justice Department into Teamster internal affairs" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1987). They subsequently claimed that "the leaders of the reform group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), did not seek federal intervention" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1991)! They lie. Dan La Botz writes in his pro-TDU history, *Rank-and-File Rebellion* (Verso, 1990) that the ISers like Ken Paff were in bed with the feds.

> "In April 1987, even before the official announcement of the RICO suit against the Teamsters, TDU National Organizer Ken Paff sent a nine-page letter to Stephen Trott, assistant US attorney general, laying out in detail TDU's views at the time. '[W]e strongly urge the government to seek reorganization of the IBT under Section 1964(a) of the RICO Act'."

Trying to weasel out of a tight spot, the ISO urges that the TDU return "to

continued on page 6

Perlman/AP

Cops Gas Staley Strikers

DECATUR, Illinois—Police spray pepper gas pointblank at unionists in civil disobedience protest outside A.E. Staley corn processing plant. One year after members of UPIU/AIW Local 7837 were locked out by Staley, on June 25 a national solidarity mobilization drew thousands to the plant. Union tops and "Corporate Campaign" organizers say, "Call in the Troops...It's War," but tell workers to get on their knees. To shut down Staley production and profits, labor must mobilize mass picket lines that nobody dares to cross!

Logan County Miner Framed for Picket Line Defense

Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

Charleston Gazette

On June 24, after deliberating for three days, a Charleston, West Virginia jury convicted United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe on federal frame-up charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County last summer. Lowe, a union miner for two decades, comes from a UMWA family; his father was a former local president. Now Lowe faces a *$1 million* fine and *50 years* in prison, singled out by the authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. Coal miners, the UMWA, the entire labor movement must demand freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

Lowe was never charged under state laws, for murder or anything else. So in order to make an example out of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a lone local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the eight Logan County miners accepted plea-bargains and received $500 fines with 120 days of jail time. An Assistant U.S. Attorney said that the government was going after "violence on the labor strike lines" (*Charleston Gazette*, 25 June). Yet it was Arch Mineral's armed goons from Elite Security who daily attacked UMWA pickets with tear gas and bullets. The scab who was killed was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs.

Miners picketing Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine during 1993 strike faced down company gun thugs. Now strike militants are victims of vicious federal frame-up.

The feds had the fix in from the beginning. Clinton's U.S. Attorney for Charleston, Rebecca Betts, came from the law firm of King, Betts & Allen, which represents Arch Mineral.

In December, UMWA president Richard Trumka settled the ten-month-long, so-called "selective strike" against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. Trumka's contract specifically excluded miners facing federal charges from an amnesty, abandoning the Arch 8. This backstabbing follows the union misleaders' betrayal of four Kentucky miners framed up during the A.T. Massey strike ten years ago, union men who remain in prison for up to 40 years. The UMWA International spits on the union tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all"—there was no union mobilization for Lowe's trial.

Lowe told *Workers Vanguard* that his attorney is appealing the verdict and sentencing is scheduled for August 26. He asked for donations to his legal defense to be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave., S.E., Charleston, WV 25304, earmarked for "Ruffner miners."

WV warns workers that a dubious outfit called the Workers League has tried to stop money from going to Lowe's defense fund, claiming in their *International Workers Bulletin* that any money will be used "for the purpose of further isolating the Logan County miners and ensuring their conviction." Unable to distinguish between the pro-capitalist politics of the union bureaucracy and the need to defend union strike militants and the union as a workers' organization, the WL swings wildly between groveling before the union tops one year and writing off the unions the next.

There must be a fight inside the union to bring out a massive outpouring of solidarity in defense of Lowe. The imprisonment of this union fighter is an attack on all labor. The entire UMWA and all unions in the Charleston area must be mobilized to demand: Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

CAT Strike...

(continued from page 16)

now when the battle has been joined, with the future of the union at stake, they are not even attempting to stop production. Instead these "labor statesmen" are appealing to the Democrats in Congress to pass a bogus "striker replacement" bill supposedly outlawing the hiring of "permanent" scabs.

The success or failure of this strike turns on the question of leadership. Control of the strike must be torn from the hands of the UAW misleaders by electing strike committees including the best militants. Thousands of unionists from around the Midwest have come to Peoria, forced to sit through speechifying by the bureaucrats and Democrats and then sent home. They should be mobilized in real solidarity *action* with mass picket lines to stop *all* scabbing, including management. *Seal off CAT: No one goes in and nothing comes out!* And if they try to bring in the National Guard like they did at Hormel, strikers should occupy the plants! The American labor movement badly needs another Flint '37.

Since the UAW's Solidarity House leadership caved in to the company's scabherding threats and called off a bitter 163-day strike against Caterpillar in April 1992, CAT has been running a reign of terror on the shop floor. In June, a worker was suspended outright for making a sign that read, "Cat Treats Workers Like Dogs." There have been scores of individual firings, including union representatives.

Unlike the walkout of 1991-92, the current shutdown comes at a time when Caterpillar has low inventories and has been amassing record-breaking profits, expected to reach an estimated *three-quarters of a billion dollars* this year. On Wall Street, the strike produced an immediate slide in investor confidence as brokers played hot potato with Caterpillar stock, which since March has dropped by 17 percent.

Meanwhile, CAT's claim that "more than 3,000" UAW members are crossing picket lines doesn't play in Peoria. In the face of the company's threat to keep production going by getting "replacement workers" and demoralized union members to scab, strikers are standing firm. As one picket said, "You walk through that door, you're a traitor to anyone who ever went on strike—ever." CAT bosses have even driven back into the union fold some workers who scabbed in the last major strike. Nevertheless, the company intends to continue production in order to break the union's back, and has set up a massive hiring apparatus to recruit thousands of scabs. It's not enough to stand pat. To win this battle, the CAT strikers must *shut the company down!*

The UAW bureaucracy, however, has devoted its efforts to *preventing* the kind of hard class struggle needed to win this battle. The International is providing a miserly $100 a week in strike pay from a strike fund of over *$1 billion*! In local meetings held in the first days of the walkout, union leaders told their members to remain peaceful and not to interfere with the company's scabs. Typical was the June 22 meeting of Local 2096 in Pontiac, which "focused in part on reiterating the UAW's position that workers can't be [permanently] replaced because the strike centers on unfair labor practices" (Bloomington *Pantagraph*, 23 June). So the strikers are supposed to stand there and watch the scabs steal their jobs—"temporarily"!

This so-called "protection" against permanent replacement during an "unfair labor practices" strike is one of the supposed rights upheld by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), an agency of the capitalist state. The NLRB —or "National Labor RUNAROUND Board," as it was called in the '30s—has filed 92 charges against Caterpillar in the past two years, and not a single one has been resolved in the union's favor. Of dozens fired by the company during this period, none have been reinstated. The Peoria *Journal-Star* (23 June) pointed out that the legal process "could take up to 10 years to resolve." As one Decatur striker told *Workers Vanguard*, "By the time they get around to talking about it, there's nothing left to talk about."

UAW members are ready and willing to fight the arrogant CAT bosses, as they demonstrated in *nine* local walkouts in the months preceding this strike, five of which have taken place since April. But Solidarity House wants to subordinate the strike to its no-struggle strategy of relying on the bosses' government and the capitalist Democratic Party. Even the union's demands—which simply call on the company to comply with the NLRB —are tailored to curry favor among Democrats and moderate Republicans in Congress, where the AFL-CIO's pet "anti-scab" bill is coming up for a vote. UAW International secretary-treasurer Bill Casstevens was willing to stop the strike from taking place if CAT merely took back 14 workers. What about all the other UAW members who've lost their jobs in the leadership's losing "inside game"?

Even capitalist mouthpiece *Business Week* (4 July) lectured the company for reacting against "the UAW's toothless gestures." The company cops in Solidarity House have helped the auto bosses slash hundreds of thousands of jobs and steal billions of dollars in givebacks. They spread protectionist poison, pitting U.S. workers against their Mexican and Japanese fellow workers. They have policed auto and ag imp workers in the interests of the American bosses' profits. But CAT workers refused to continue to take the firings and abuse meted out by the bosses, and local union presidents told Solidarity House they couldn't keep them in the plants any longer.

They may have been forced to call the strike, but that doesn't mean the bureaucrats will do anything to win it. They want to send strikers into a blind alley, to beg Congress for the Democrats' bill that would supposedly ban the hiring of scabs during a strike. But in fact it is a dangerous *no-strike* measure that would place organized labor in the straitjacket of the capitalist state. *Any* strike which comes under the law prohibiting "permanent" scabs will be subject to arbitration.

Permanent or otherwise, CAT's scabs are a mortal threat to this strike, to the union and to the jobs and livelihood of its members. If Caterpillar succeeds in bringing strikebreakers into its plants day after day, even if production goes nowhere, the demoralizing effect will induce increasing numbers of union members to break ranks and join the scabs. The union tops like to call central Illinois the "War Zone." In reality, it is a *one-sided* class war. And the abject capitulation of the labor traitors to the capitalists has led to broken unions and the ominous growth of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi filth.

Across the Midwest, the racist KKK terrorists have held their deadly provocations protected by the cops. When the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois against the Klan attack on the Martin Luther King holiday weekend last January, the state AFL-CIO tops *ordered* Illinois labor to stay home.

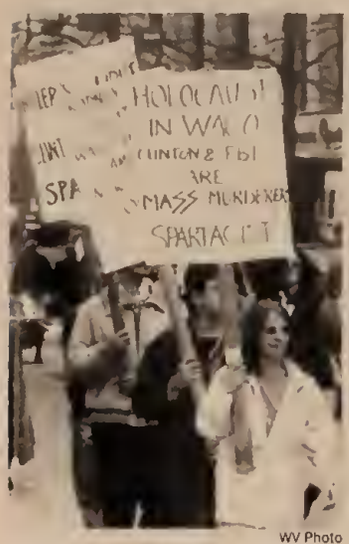
It is urgently necessary to stop the scabbing! All of organized labor must mobilize to help shut down the key CAT plants in central Illinois. From rubber workers and locked-out Staley workers in Decatur to John Deere workers facing their own strike deadline this fall, there is an army of workers to be mobilized in defense of the union at Caterpillar. Coal miners in particular would jump at the chance to teach a lesson to the Vance Security thugs which Caterpillar has hired to provoke strikers—these are the same goons which have terrorized striking unionists from West Virginia to Illinois.

Two years ago, as CAT began hiring scabs, and coal miners and other unionists in the Midwest were joining the picket lines, the UAW tops *discouraged* other unions from coming to their aid and shut down the strike rather than wage a knock-down, drag-out battle. Significantly, this came within 24 hours of the AFL-CIO executive committee's endorsement of Bill Clinton for president. With the labor movement bound to the capitalist system through the bosses' Democratic Party, it's no wonder that strike after strike has gone down to defeat. A fighting *workers party* is needed to lead labor's liberating struggle for a workers government to replace the capitalist boom-bust system with a planned economy serving human needs. ■

Sentenced to Decades in Prison Hell

Clinton/Reno Mass Murderers Railroad Waco Survivors

President Clinton and Attorney General Reno were fuming after a Texas jury refused in March to convict eleven Branch Davidians of murder and conspiracy for the "crime" of surviving the government's April 1993 massacre of the members of an integrated religious commune outside Waco. But the vindictive rulers were determined to pursue their vendetta over the deaths of four BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agents in their murderous February 1993 raid on the Mount Carmel farm compound by meting out the maximum retribution. Having the blood of 86 men, women and children on their hands wasn't enough; Clinton and Reno want to railroad the surviving Davidians to jail for a long time.



WV Photo

New York City, 19 April 1993: Spartacists protest outside Federal Building within hours of Waco massacre.

Despite being cleared of the most serious charges, seven Davidians were convicted in March of voluntary manslaughter and weapons possession, and already faced long prison terms. Although Judge Walter Smith had originally thrown out seven additional convictions for "using a firearm in furtherance of a conspiracy" (since the jury had ruled there was no conspiracy), he later reinstated these convictions under pressure from the "Justice" Department.

On June 17, despite nationwide appeals for leniency (dismissed by the judge as "obviously organized") and letters from the jury which acquitted the Davidians, with jury foreman Sarah Bain weeping in the courtroom and protesting that the jurors had not understood the charges, Smith imposed the maximum sentence of 40 years each for five Branch Davidians (10 years for voluntary manslaughter, 30 years for the weapons charge), as well as 5 to 20 years for each of three other defendants. One defendant, Ruth Riddle, was within hours of being released; now she must serve five years. In addition, the prisoners were collectively ordered to pay over $1 million to the government murderers of their families and friends. We say: Free all the survivors of Clinton's Waco holocaust now!

The judge blamed his draconian ruling on the new federal sentencing guidelines. Yet the judge bypassed the jury completely in fulfilling the wishes of his bloodthirsty masters in Washington. In this racist "democracy" for the rich, the government increasingly seeks to gut the right to trial by a jury of one's peers, particularly when the principle of the state's monopoly on deadly force is at issue. And make no mistake: the ruling class' "gun control" campaign is a bid to further oppress defenseless subjects.

The fraud of American "justice," the brunt of which usually falls on poor black and minority prisoners, has been glaringly exposed by the trial of the Waco survivors. For daring to defend themselves against the BATF and FBI conspiracy, for insisting on their right (supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution) to practice their religion and bear arms, the tiny Branch Davidian sect was broken on the wheel of rampaging state terror—we will not forget.

Against the media campaign to blame the Waco inferno on the victims (shamefully echoed by many liberals and leftists), the Spartacist League raised a cry of outrage against the capitalist rulers, initiating an emergency protest at New York's Federal Building within hours of the massacre. Two days later we picketed FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., denouncing "FBI Baby Killers" and demanding the immediate release of the imprisoned survivors. As Marxists, we understand that the capitalist state machinery exists in order to mete out murderous repression against workers, the oppressed and all who defy ruling-class dictates; justice for the victims of this racist ruling class can only be achieved by sweeping away this official Murder Inc., carrying out a socialist revolution that will avenge capitalism's crimes against humanity. ■

Daemmrich/Sygma

Survivors of government's fiery assault on Branch Davidian religious commune outside Waco, Texas now face draconian prison terms.

TDU...

(continued from page 4)

its roots," when they "wanted to fight the bosses, were progressive on race and sex divisions." These "progressives" have *never* sought to bring out the power of the Teamsters against the race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis; they have *never* opposed the unions' organizing of racist, strikebreaking cops; and all the fake "socialists" in the TDU remained silent when the Teamsters raided the Farmworkers on behalf of the employers in the 1970s.

Contrary to the ISO's cynical rewriting of history, the TDU's *central* strategy has always been to drag its opponents in the union into the capitalist courts and to appeal to the bosses' Labor Department. In an interview in 1977, Camarata told *Workers Vanguard*: "I think the union's so corrupt right now that you need it [government intervention] for a while, at least until you get things straightened out." The ISO parroted that line as recently as three years ago, saying: "In concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU's leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices" (*Socialist Worker*, January 1991).

But what else can you expect from an outfit whose main international leader Tony Cliff of the British Socialist Workers Party *bragged* how SWP steel workers crossed miners' picket lines during the yearlong 1984-85 miners strike, and asserts internationally that the racist, strikebreaking police are part of the labor movement.

Another supposed socialist who hails scabbing is Peter Sollenberger, who currently heads up the centrist Trotskyist League (TL). The first issue of the TL's *Workers Struggle* (June-July 1994) applauds the West Coast longshoremen who honored the picket lines of striking Teamsters at Sea Land terminals. But back in 1977, when Sollenberger and his then-partner Leland Sanderson set up the Revolutionary Workers League, the first issue of the RWL's paper was devoted to defending their crossing of picket lines during a strike by Ann Arbor AFSCME campus workers!

Workers Struggle hails the TDU as an "inspiration" which "revolutionaries should join and build," fantasizing that "TDU could have been the basis for organizing insurgent rank-and-file strike committees to spearhead a renewed strike." Only if they got prior approval from Attorney General Reno! The TDU majority on the General Executive Board joined the "old guard" in voting to *cut off strike benefits* and force the Teamsters back to work. The TL's only lament is that the "TDU is limited by its reliance on the capitalist government." "Limited"? Reliance on the capitalist government is the TDU's reason for existence!

As we wrote in 1977: "The corrupt Teamster bureaucracy must be ousted, but not by the bosses' government. This is the task of a militant leadership which knows that the bourgeois state is the workers' mortal enemy." For class-struggle militants, that is the real lesson of the Teamsters strike. The "reform movements" built by the fake-socialists in the Steelworkers, Mine Workers and Teamsters have played a significant role in "disciplining" the working class by bringing labor under the greater control of the bosses' government. Our objective is to free the unions from the bureaucracy that chains them to the bosses' government and transform them into organizations of struggle of the working class fighting for a workers government. This is the only road to ending unemployment, racist oppression and the other ravages of capitalism. Those who seek to "reform" the unions by bringing in the agencies of the capitalist state wipe out the basic precondition for class struggle against that state—the political independence of the proletariat. Government out of the unions! Break with the Democrats and Republicans! For a workers party to smash capitalism and form a workers government! ■

Free Jesse Acuna!

As we go to press, *WV* has learned of an ominous new development in the case of Jesse Acuna, the Teamster striker from Pico Rivera, California who was charged with assault for his defense of the picket line in the recent national freight strike.

At the behest of the district attorney, a specious charge of felony "torture"—thrown out for lack of evidence at a preliminary hearing in municipal court—has now been reinstated at a pretrial conference on June 24 in Superior Court.

As a result, Acuna's bail was increased from $30,000 to an outrageous $100,000 in spite of the fact that Jesse, a father of two, has attended every court appearance and met every condition mandated by the court. Unable to meet the exorbitant bail, Jesse was hauled back to jail where he languishes in the state's clutches.

The D.A. is throwing the book at this courageous Latino striker, tacking on the bogus new charge, in order to go after the picket line militancy that can be key to winning strikes. In Chicago, Steve Coates, a member of Local 710 and a third generation Teamster, still faces phony criminal misdemeanor charges after he was savagely beaten during a cop assault on a picket line at the Roadway yard on April 11. All labor must answer the vicious state vendetta against Teamsters who did their duty on the picket line!

The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has donated to Acuna's defense and attended several of his court appearances. A number of his fellow Teamsters have enthusiastically taken up Acuna's defense despite the criminal abstention of their own union's leadership.

WV Photo

Acuna's trial resumes in Superior Court in Norwalk on July 15. The courtroom should be filled with union brothers and sisters in a show of solidarity for our brother. The PDC also encourages donations to the Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. Free Acuna! Drop the Charges!

WORKERS VANGUARD
Special Supplement

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Jennifer Beach

"Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions."

With these words, veteran actor and civil rights fighter Ossie Davis kicked off a speak-out for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on June 3 in New York City. Over 250 unionists, students, community activists and socialists filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to break National Public Radio's ban on award-winning journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. Davis was speaking on behalf of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which sponsored and organized the rally, along with the Partisan Defense Committee, to protest NPR's May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Jamal's commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and other reactionary forces. They want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. The NPR controversy put a national spotlight on Jamal's case and the fight against racist legal lynchings. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole railed on the Senate floor against NPR's plans to air Jamal's commentaries and threatened to cut off their federal funding. The "message" Dole so opposes is that of an articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice, where 2,800 people wait on death row.

NPR's cancellation of Jamal's broadcasts in response to a sinister cop campaign makes breaking the ban "a life-and-death issue of free speech." In the last few years, the American assembly line of death has vastly speeded up. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in America is all about, the attempt to terrorize the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

The June 3 speak-out attracted a diverse audience and featured a wide array of presentations centered on Jamal's words portraying his own life. The highlight of the evening was a dramatic reading from Jamal's commentaries by Ossie Davis; Judge Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*; and Bernard White of WBAI radio. On stage, their alternating voices imparted Jamal's searing portrayal of black life on death row.

Michael G. Haskins of WBAI radio also read powerfully from Jamal's writings. A videotaped statement was sent by actor Mike Farrell, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Other speakers included Fred Horstmann, administrator of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Dr. Alan Berkman, a former political prisoner who served eight years in the frame-up "Resistance Conspiracy" case. James Frazier, a black NYC transit worker who was shot by the police and is now fighting frame-up charges, also spoke.

Greetings were read to the rally from actor Ed Asner, adviser to the Committee. Amnesty International released a statement saying it is working against Jamal's execution, and noting: "The National Conference of Black Lawyers and the ACLU have pointed out that Mumia's political views are his right to hold."

The Philadelphia Story

For over 25 years Jamal has been in the cross hairs of the Philadelphia police and their unbridled racist state terror. As seen in the PDC video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, Jamal was among the journalists covering Mayor Frank Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege of the Powelton Village MOVE home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop during the police assault and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, Jamal was shot in the chest and railroaded to death row.

Capital punishment is front and center in American politics this election year. Talk show host Phil Donahue wants to broadcast a live execution. Racist TV/radio "shock jock" Howard Stern is running for governor of New York for the express purpose of bringing the death penalty back to the Empire State. Feeding off the crime hysteria drummed up in Washington and the media, Democrats and Republicans have found a common theme: "Kill 'em all and let god sort 'em out."

The urgency of the speak-out for Jamal was magnified the following week when the Pennsylvania House of Representatives voted to override Governor Casey's veto of a bill ordering executions. An ACLU official stated that if the bill were to go into effect, "nearly 100 executions would be scheduled in Pennsylvania over the next six months." The bill's sponsor, Rep. Michael McGeehan, said of Jamal that he was "specifically interested in this case. We're going to see him die." On June 14 the state Senate fell two votes short of an override. But Casey has already signed more death warrants than the four previous governors combined. With Pennsylvania's gubernatorial race heating up this year, the FOP is pushing to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

Phone calls protesting NPR's censorship should be directed to Vice President Bill Buzenberg or Marty Morgan at (800) 235-1212, or fax to (202) 414-3045. If

continued on page 8

NYC Rally for Death Row Political Prisoner

WV Photo

At New York speak-out, Judge Bruce Wright, WBAI's Bernard White and actor Ossie Davis read from works by Mumia Abu-Jamal, censored by National Public Radio.

Jamal...

(continued from page 7)

you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM 8335, 1100 Pike Street, Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, of the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, can and must become the focus of the fight against the racist death penalty. Raise *your* voice *and organize*, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. Join the campaign! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty!

We print below excerpts from the speeches and greetings delivered at the speak-out.

WV Photo

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel, detailing the railroading of Jamal. Facing a racist Philadelphia cop vendetta and a notorious "hanging judge," Jamal was stripped of his rights, barred from court and sentenced to death for having been a Black Panther.

Ossie Davis

Actor, activist and co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

I have four or five very clear, cogent reasons to explain very fully my participation in this speak-out. Number one, I am against the death penalty on the face of it. Number two, I am particularly against a death penalty where most of the victims are black. That is racism and a crime against people.

Also, I am as aware as you of those statistics that haunt me day and night: four out of five of my young sons, in the category of 20-some years, are in prison or wards of the prison system.

WV Photo

Actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

More of our young men are in prison than in college. That is a horror. How can I live with those statistics? I have sworn that for the rest of my life I will speak out for them, I will remember them, I will visit them, to try and rescue them from the horrible sentence that has been imposed on them by a racist, exploitative society.

There is currently abroad in the country a growing hysteria, a growing panic, that expresses itself in the formula "three strikes and you're out." Our whole society, instead of facing up to what is happening, and what is not happening, decides to resolve the problem—of unemployment, of crime, of drugs, of inferior education, of homelessness—by coming up with a formula, which will take as many of the victims as they can catch in their net and put them safely away out of sight. They will build more prisons to warehouse people for whom there is no meaningful, gainful employment in our society. That will not solve the problem, it will only exacerbate it.

I invite you to do as I intend to do, to speak out, to reach out, to try and involve as many of your associates as you can in this struggle. I know that we can win. And I speak from experience. I was involved in the Committee to Defend Angela Davis and I lived to see a groundswell of activity that ultimately enabled her to walk free. I was also involved when Ben Chavis was in prison, as a part of the Wilmington 10, sent there by the state of North Carolina. We knew that we couldn't win Ben's freedom merely on the basis of what was done in the courts. We had to go to the streets, we have to get the people involved, we have to get them in motion.

As Napoleon said, victory belongs to the one who can survive the last 15 minutes of the battle. We cannot afford to let the bastards wear us down. We gotta fight! The march to freedom, and the march to equality, was in process when I was born. I just got on board. I suspect when they let me off and put me in one of those quiet places forever, the march will still be going on. And I will be able to tell history that, at least, when I was alive, there was a place for me in the line of march. You should be happy to say as much. That's the reward for being alive, to be a part of the struggle. That's all you were promised.

Leonard I. Weinglass

Lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

The background film that you saw tonight really gives the context of what this is all about. Mayor Rizzo, who as a police commissioner became nationally famous for his raid on the SNCC headquarters, and the following year on the Black Panther Party headquarters, of Philadelphia, became mayor in '72. A good part of the country became Rizzo-ized: The city became the "law-and-order" capital of the country. And one of the only voices to speak out against these raids, against the heavy-handedness of the police, was Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther who had risen to become probably the best-known radio broadcast journalist in the African-American community in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, incidentally, has more people on death row than any city in the United States, except Houston. The prosecutors in Philadelphia seek the death penalty more frequently than prosecutors in any city in the United States. Because of this, Pennsylvania has the fourth-largest death penalty population in the United States, now about 173.

From the Death Sentence Hearing, 3 July 1982:

Prosecution questioning of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Q. To Mumia: "Do you recall saying, 'All power to the people?'"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Do you believe your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'"

A. "I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

Q. "Do you recall saying that: 'The Panther Party is an uncompromising party, it faces reality?'"

A. (Nods affirmatively) "Yes."

On December 9, 1981, Mumia's brother [Bill Cook] was pulled over by a police officer. All the witnesses say that a fight developed on the sidewalk between the police officer and Mumia's brother. Mumia then arrived on the scene. That's what everyone says.

Mumia was shot, through the chest, with a bullet piercing his lung, going through his liver and lodging in his back. The officer was shot, twice, once in the back and once in the face. Both fell down at the scene. Mumia was critically injured but recovered after prolonged surgery, the officer did not. Mumia then was charged with the murder of the officer—despite the fact that four people who were on the street at the time, who were not known to Mumia or to his brother, who were at four different locations on that block, all said they saw the shooter run away. The police did not do a follow-up investigation on that.

Mumia was immediately brought to court. Who was assigned as his judge? A man who had been undersheriff for 16 years, and now sat as a judge, a lifetime member of the Fraternal Order of Police, and a judge who bears the distinction across the United States as having sentenced more people to death row than any sitting judge in the United States, including Texas and Florida.

The police had interviewed 125 witnesses. Mumia was allocated $150 and his investigator succeeded in interviewing two witnesses. He asked to defend himself and that right was given to him, as it must be. But into the third day of jury selection, his right to speak in his own behalf was stripped from him by the judge, who was awed by the strength of Mumia's voice, and felt, clearly, that Mumia was coming across much too well with this jury. So Mumia lost his right to speak on his own behalf.

A lawyer was brought in to represent Mumia who didn't want to represent him, who pled to be relieved, who didn't know the case, but who was ordered by the judge to continue. And this lawyer unfamiliar with the case continued as Mumia's lawyer. Mumia protested, and because he protested before the jury, that his voice was being silenced and that this lawyer shouldn't represent him, and that his life was on the line, Mumia was barred from the courtroom. He missed almost half of his trial. The lawyer, who didn't know the case, was in there questioning witnesses when he really didn't know the facts himself.

Despite all this—and despite the fact that the one juror who Mumia had selected, an elderly African-American woman, was removed by the judge in Mumia's absence because the judge felt she had violated a court order, and was replaced by an elderly white gentleman who said he didn't think he could be fair—despite all this the jury retired, having heard three eyewitnesses produced by the prosecution, who said Mumia did the shooting first, and having heard a hospital security guard report that Mumia, a reporter who had covered court trials in Philadelphia, had openly confessed to everyone within earshot that he had shot the police officer. A remarkable piece of testimony, because the two officers who were holding Mumia up under his arms filed a written report that night saying Mumia had said nothing. Neither of those officers testified because when Mumia's lawyer went to call them they reported that they were on vacation and unavailable.

The jury came back, five o'clock Friday afternoon, July 4th weekend, when they had been sequestered in a hotel for two and a half weeks and away from their family. Sure enough, they came back with first-degree murder. And the judge immediately set down the hearing

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for the next day, Saturday of July 4th weekend, to determine whether or not Mumia should get the death penalty.

The jury heard evidence that the United States Supreme Court has ruled cannot he used against a person to get a death penalty, namely, his political association with the Black Panther Party. Even though that was used against him, the United States Supreme Court refused to overturn Mumia's death sentence, despite the fact, as Mumia pointed out, that they did overturn the *Dawson* case where a fellow was a member of the Aryan Brotherhood. The United States Supreme Court felt bringing in a white racist organizational affiliation was too prejudicial to the defendant and reversed it. But Black Panther Party membership was not.

Lastly, the prosecutor argued to the jury that Mr. Jamal will have appeal after appeal after appeal and his case will be reviewed, so you needn't feel you're taking personal responsibility here for the death penalty. That precise argument has been held by the United States Supreme Court to undermine what the jurors must confront when they judge whether or not a person should be given life or death. To have the prosecutor say to them, don't worry, you're really not giving the death sentence when you give the death sentence, undermines the responsibility that they must feel when they make that judgment.

So sure enough, within one hour after deliberating, this jury came back and gave him the death penalty.

And so you have what in a sense is not atypical of a death penalty case. Uninvestigated, underrepresented, a hostile court, a jury not of one's peers, improperly selected, evidence improperly admitted, evidence of innocence kept out, and a prejudicial argument by the prosecution. But he has your support, and the support of people around the world now. And we hope to be able to not just free Mumia, but to follow his own wishes, which is to demonstrate, irrefutably, that this death penalty is an abomination on our system, and is racist. If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far, that we could win his case.

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal

For almost 13 long years we have suffered at the hands of the "outlaw," this "outlaw" being the system, because Mumia can't stop telling the truth.

WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Mumia *is* the teller of truth, and the voice of the voiceless. The system couldn't stop him on the streets of Philadelphia; they couldn't stop him in Huntingdon State Prison. And this is the reason why they want Mumia dead.

They're looking at Mumia like, "How dare he tell how murderous and corrupt the people of this system are." To tell the truth about the oppression of blacks and whites and Puerto Ricans. So please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all innocent people on death row. If not for yourself, for your children, for your grandchildren. If not for them, for our children and our grandchildren. And for nothing else, merely because it's right to do.

Greetings to the Rally

Jacob Ecclestone

Deputy General Secretary, National Union of Journalists

June 3, 1994

To the organisers of the New York rally in defence of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

On behalf of the National Union of Journalists of Great Britain and Ireland, I send you greetings and good wishes.

The suppression by National Public Radio of the programmes about the Abu-Jamal case is an act of censorship, of intolerance, of fear.

The continued imprisonment, persecution and threatened execution of Abu-Jamal mocks those in America who talk of justice, freedom, and equality.

The United States stands condemned in the eyes of all civilized people for its continuing, and increasing, use of judicial execution. The NUJ supports all those in America who work to end the death penalty.

Good Luck!

* * *

Ray Martinez

President, Philadelphia Chapter, SEIU Local 668

Brothers and sisters:

Although I was born and raised in Brooklyn, having moved to Philadelphia in 1971, I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to hear Mumia speak on numerous occasions prior to the incidents of December 9, 1981.

Mumia was unjustly taken away from us. He was a marked man because of his affiliations with the Black Panther Party and MOVE. I knew Mumia as someone who spoke the truth and was not afraid to do so. That was the problem as they saw it. They pinned the murder on him and put him away.

This is about mobilization and fighting back—fighting for what is right.

Many of us have been "marked" for speaking out. Many of us can become "prisoners" if we allow this to happen to Mumia.

The bosses want to keep us quiet. We may not have the money but power is in the numbers—the masses—those of us who must struggle daily to keep from going under. We're the ones who slave to put the bosses into their mansions and yachts.

This nation has a long history of silencing those who have decided to speak out for the needy. Civil rights activists, union activists, and the like, have been put away, murdered and maimed in order to silence them. We cannot allow this to happen to Mumia.

Elombe Brath

Chairman of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition

We condemn the decision of National Public Radio—it should be National Republican Radio—to cancel Mumia's two-minute commentaries, scheduled to begin running on Monday, May 16, the day before the 40th anniversary of the *Brown v Board of Education* of Topeka, Kansas decision. Both NPR and the Supreme Court are examples of hypocrisy. In 1993, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) exposed that 26 of 27 regular commentators on NPR were white. Mumia was definitely needed.

Comrades, brothers and sisters, we have to work to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. We have to abolish the racist death penalty and the neo-fascist substitute for lynching—genocide on an incremental plan. In consideration of the jellyfish, spineless, no-balls position taken by NPR, Mumia's commentaries have been running on WBAI for two years.

Paul Cooperstein

Partisan Defense Committee

What role did the Clinton White House have in NPR's gag order? The same day NPR killed Mumia's broadcast, President Clinton was speaking to thousands of cops, promoting his "three strikes you're out" crime bill, which will add dozens of new crimes punishable by death. Clinton told that throng, "We recognize that there should be capital punishment for people who kill law enforcement officials in the line of duty." Days earlier, his home state of Arkansas executed two black men within one hour.

To strengthen this vast apparatus of terror and repression they want to silence this most articulate and compelling argument against capital punishment—Mumia. This is the way the racist capitalist state deals with its opponents. It is their cops whose role in capitalist society is to protect the wealth, privilege and power of the few against the masses who are propertyless, jobless and increasingly homeless. It boils down to a simple truth stated by Engels over 100 years ago: "The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class."

Anyone who thought putting a Democrat in the White House would alter this trend toward greater repression and death better take another look. Clinton appears prepared to outdo Reagan and Bush in unleashing terror. The 1985 bombing of MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years. Last spring Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno made their mark with the summary execution of 86 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious sect outside Waco, Texas.

For the American ruling class, terror has always been the bottom line in meeting any challenge, real or perceived, to its racist class rule. 1887: The Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour-day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915:

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 when he was Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

IWW member Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad. 1927: Sacco and Vanzetti, anarchist workers—executed as part of the Red Scare and anti-immigrant hysteria following on the heels of the Russian Revolution.

At the height of the Depression, as mass integrated labor struggle was growing, the racist rulers held the noose over the heads of the Scottsboro defendants. And in the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when "reds" were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs.

The systematic oppression at the root of the crime and punishment cycle cannot be solved this side of a social revolution. And because they have no solution to the problems that particularly beset those people they now call the "underclass," this state can only repress—and that they do with a vengeance. The campaign for death and repression depends on convincing people that there is no other way out, that their options are closed in the capitalist system which produced the problems.

But there is a way out. The way to victory is the way of the class struggle: the powerful integrated labor movement in action for its own interests and in the interests of all working people and oppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee takes our heritage from the International Labor Defense of James Cannon in its early years. We stand by the old principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all." Our strategy is mass labor-centered protests, like those around the world that saved the lives of the Scottsboro defendants.

Unions representing millions of workers around the world have taken a stand in defense of Jamal. We need to turn these motions, resolutions, letters to the governor into action based on some real labor power. We need a fight to throw out the pro-capitalist labor "leaders" and forge a new leadership willing to unchain labor politically and wield its real weapons: its power of withholding labor, choking off capital's profits. It's time to make the unions fighting organizations of the working class once again.

Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. Free Mumia! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Life's Light in Angola—U.S.A.

This column was written in August 1991, after prisoners struck at Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola in defiance of orders to build an "execution bed" for future death row prisoners.

Angola—the very name evokes the mists; subtropical scenes of blue-black sun-carved bodies at hard work in lush fields of green life; of fiery Queen N'Zingha leading Black troops into battle against the Portuguese invaders of South West Africa; and of slavery, millions sold into lifelong bondage, making the dreaded trek from Africa to the so-called New World, brought in shackles to Brazil, the West Indies and the U.S. Southlands.

Angola—the nation's largest maximum security prison, "camps" spread over 20,000 acres of lush, subtropical Louisiana earth, where over 5,000 mostly African-American prisoners work in fields and prison industries for a meager pittance—neo-slave labor.

Recently, the men of Angola put down their slave implements and stood tall in a remarkable display of human dignity, when Andrew Jones was rushed to death by rabid neo-Repuhlican Gov. Chuck Roemer, who, despite calls for a hriel stay until Louisiana's method of execution would he changed to lethal injection after Sept. 15th, barked, "This man deserves what he is about to get," letting Jones' electrocution go on.

The day after Jones' legalized lynching, Angola's warden J. Whitley ordered men in the welding shop to construct a tahle upon which men could be legally poisoned

They refused, among them, Eddie Sonnier, hrother of "Pat" Elmo Sonnier, electrocuted on April 5, 1984 by Louisiana All of the men in the welding shop were tossed into solitary, known as the "dungeon." Word spread from camp to camp, across the vast New Age slave factory. Prisoners in the field, in solidarity, laid down their hoes, refusing to work. They were put in lockdown, and the National Guard were called in.

The prisoner-welders' principled refusal to participate in their own degradation forced the administration to hire outside contractors to huild the death gurney. They, and the field resisters are subject to severe administrative sanction including extended periods in the "dungeon," isolation or punitive transfer.

From the pits of these human hells, from the steaming fields where our very forefathers/mothers toiled in brutal stolen drudgery, come bright sparks of human dignity amidst the simple decent refusal to serve the state in its dehumanizingly deadly ritual.

They, rather than heing punished, should be widely and warmly supported for embracing life, rather than death.

20 August 1991

Join the Campaign!

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has drawn support from around the world. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada, Section 10 of the Mexican teachers union SNTE, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Mumia's cause.

The Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Equal Justice have actively publicized Jamal's case. In Germany, AGIPA Press has publicized Jamal's case and raised thousands of dollars for the legal defense. Among those who have taken a stand for Jamal are: singer Harry Belafonte, South African poet Dennis Brutus, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Chicago alderman Danny Davis, Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Lewis, Bobby Rush and Maxine Waters, authors E. L. Doctorow, Piri Thomas and Howard Fast, actors Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg and Sahrina Le Beauf, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Pennsylvania State Representative David P. Richardson Jr., and State Senators Chaka Fattah and Roxanne Jones.

The multiracial U.S. labor movement has the power to stop the killing machine. Among unions which have taken a stand for Jamal are: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); ILWU Local 10, San Francisco; ILWU Warehouse Local 6, San Francisco; Inlandhoatmen's Union of the Pacific, Maritime Division of the ILWU, Seattle; Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago; Hospital and Health Care Workers Union, SEIU Local 250, San Francisco; National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200, Pasadena; and Bay Area Typographers Union Local 21, San Francisco. Also fighting to save Mumia are many individual trade unionists, including Charles Valenta, president, RWDSU Local 1010 (Philadelphia), and Cleveland Robinson, founding member and national vice president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has brought the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal to international attention. We urge readers of this special supplement of *Workers Vanguard* to join the fight to free Jamal and contact the PDC by calling (212) 406-4252 or writing to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680; P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107. ■

WV Photo

Philadelphia, July 1993: Over 350 people came out for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

New Legal Challenge by Jamal

Jamal and his attorneys, led hy Leonard Weinglass, are preparing a new legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up conviction and sentence of death. This essential legal step takes a lot of work—from reviewing the many volumes of the trial transcript to the massive investigation to uncover witnesses. That means the legal defense needs lots of financial help Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years those cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least $1 million in legal fees and expenses. **Please help. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.**

You Can Help to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

Join the campaign to save Jamal! Organize protest! Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.

The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today the rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty.

Materials available from the PDC:

- PDC 25-minute video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." Features excerpts of an interview with Jamal from death row $30 (including postage and handling).
- Four issues of *CSDN* are available with extensive coverage of the campaign to save Jamal (see listing at right)
- Posters, leaflets and petitions.

Get Your Copy of CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

Issues featuring the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal:

No. 10, April 1989,
"Campaign Issue.
Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

No. 14, November 1990,
"Worldwide Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal"

No. 15, Spring/Summer 1991,
"Trial Record Exposé
The Framing of Mumia Abu-Jamal"

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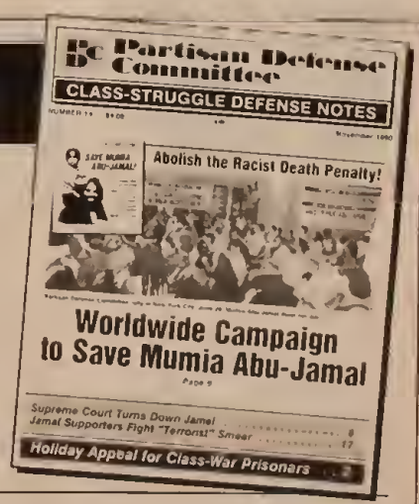

For more information contact the PDC. Send your contributions for the campaign to the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.
With your contribution of $5 or more receive a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes.*

Schneider

Tillum/NY Times

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

Poverty and police terror will continue for black masses under ANC/De Klerk "power sharing" regime. Alexandra township outside Johannesburg (above); police raid Manenberg township in May (right).

(continued from page 1)

housing in the settlement they called "Kanana" (Canaan, the "land of milk and honey," in the Sotho language). The leader of the occupation declared, "In the new South Africa, we don't want to wait any longer until the politicians finally give us houses." But the white racists are still there, and they still have power. On the freezing winter morning of June 6, police ordered in by the all-white Johannesburg city council tore

PART ONE

down the shacks of the squatter settlement Lielde en Vrede (Love and Peace). The response of the ANC provincial government was to decree a moratorium on land occupations.

The ANC's Reconstruction and Development (RCD) program piously proclaims: "We must not perpetuate the separation of our society into a 'first world' and 'third world'—another disguised way of preserving apartheid." A disguised way of preserving apartheid accurately describes the "government of national unity" between the erstwhile petty-bourgeois ANC—now a bourgeois-nationalist party—and F.W. De Klerk's National Party, the main party of the white ruling class and the cruel master of the apartheid police state for almost half a century.

The laws mandating racial segregation have been abolished, while the nationalist misleaders of the black liberation struggle have been co-opted into the capitalist government to serve alongside the same people who in the past killed, tortured and imprisoned them. This is called "power sharing." Additionally, the white ruling class is making a big push to recruit blacks, especially those well-connected to the ANC, into the upper echelons of the corporate bureaucracy. "Black is beautiful in business this year," quipped the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail & Guardian*. Thus the wife of slain Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko, Mamphela Ramphele, is the second black director of the mining conglomerate Anglo American.

But while blacks will constitute a majority in government ministries and parliamentary committees and will be more visible in corporate boardrooms, the white ruling class has retained tight control over the real lever of political power—the military apparatus of the state. The generals, senior police officials and judges who enforced apartheid terror remain in place and cannot be touched. A week before the elections, Communist Party (SACP) leader Joe Slovo precisely spelled out the role of the ANC and his own closely allied party in the new political setup: "We will win the election, but we'll be in office, not in power. The structure of apartheid is still here, with a white police and army" (London *Independent*, 19 April).

But a situation in which the ANC/SACP holds governmental office but does not wield real power is highly unstable and inflammatory, for *the aims and expectations of the white ruling class and the black toilers are fundamentally antagonistic*. The fate of the "new" South Africa will be determined not by constitutional clauses and parliamentary maneuvers but by the struggles in the factories, mines and black townships. And "just six weeks into Mr. Mandela's term, there are the first mutterings from admirers that the leader is too nice, too attentive to vested interests," reports the *New York Times* (23 June).

Grumblings began over the ANC leaders' acceptance of the massive and blatant vote fraud in KwaZulu-Natal, which gave a bogus majority in the provincial legislature to the apartheid collaborators of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha. When it came to light soon afterward that on the eve of the vote, De Klerk's government had signed over fully one-third of all the land in the province and former bantustan to Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, Mandela again acquiesced. Discontent surged when the new president decided *not* to declare the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto massacre a national holiday. For years June 16 has been observed by millions of blacks in massive stayaway strikes, but now the ANC leaders declared that in the interests of "stability" it would be a normal workday, since too many had already been lost!

Black commentator Mondli waka Makhanya sharply criticized Mandela in the *Weekly Mail* (24 June) for "bowing to the demands of the white business sector" by ignoring the importance of Soweto Day, which was universally seen as *the* anti-apartheid holiday:

> "A newly emancipated people need to feel they are free. Blacks need to have the sense that they are in power, while whites need to feel that a measure of political power has slipped from their hands.
>
> "This is despite the fact that the pre-election South Africa is in essence unchanged; that whites hold sway in every sphere of life and make their control felt."

What his complaint boils down to is that, since blacks do not have real power, denying them the symbols of their decades-long struggle could fracture the whole fragile "power sharing" edifice. But ultimately it is not the symbolism but the brutal reality of continued black oppression that will light the match that blows apart the neo-apartheid fraud. There can be no "middle ground" in South Africa: with the explosive race and class contradictions, the alternatives are either workers revolution based on the power of the millions-strong black proletariat, or a crescendo of racial-ethnic strife with its genocidal logic.

The "New" South Africa: A Powder Keg Waiting to Explode

A British academic, Christopher Cramer, who has covered South Africa for the London *Economist*—the house organ of international financiers—reports based on first-hand knowledge:

> "The core of the National party leadership and its supporters, as well as the core of the largely white-run business sector, has vested its faith in the idea that nothing really will change. The good life of the 'sun drenched republic' will continue to be available. This faith has been sustained partly by the ANC's embrace of pragmatic politics and economics ..."
>
> —*Current History*, May 1994

However, South Africa's white rulers are not so naive as to place all their faith in the ability of Mandela & Co. to restrain the black masses. Johann Rupert, scion of the country's second-largest economic dynasty, states: "I have told Mr. Mheki and Mr. Ramaphosa [ANC leaders] that their constituents will expect them to steal my constituents' assets—which is one reason we have taken steps to see that my constituents' assets cannot be nationalized." Last year South Africa experienced a capital flight of $4.5 billion, largely wiping out the $5.5 billion trade surplus, thereby worsening the severe economic slump of the past few years. Thus, even before Mandela was elected president, the white ruling class has in effect been sabotaging the economy.

The Randlords' senior partners in North America, West Europe and Japan are not banking on the "new" South Africa either. Ford Motor Co., which pulled out of South Africa in 1988, is taking a wait-and-see attitude toward new investments there. Likewise, the Bank of Tokyo, which closed its Johannesburg office a few years ago, considers the political and economic situation still too unstable to reopen it. The companies that are going back to South Africa, often in "joint ventures" with black front men, are largely consumer-oriented, like Pepsi-Cola.

For all the official celebration of the "new" South Africa from Cape Town to London to Washington, everyone knows the Mandela government has a *very* short-term mandate to improve the conditions of the black masses or all hell is likely to break loose. Jay Naidoo, former secretary general of the main black labor federation, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), and now a minister in the new government, understated the obvious: "If we aren't able to show visible delivery within the first year, we will have serious problems." However, the ANC leadership has guaranteed in advance that it will not deliver anything to the black toilers within one year or five.

The new constitution declares that "no deprivation of any rights in property shall be permitted" and any nationalizations will depend upon "payment of agreed compensation." Openly repudiating the populist promises of the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter, Mandela reassured the Johannesburg stock exchange that "there is not a single sentence about nationalization" in our program. The ANC's economic program promises that a million new houses will be built over the next five years and 30 percent of white-owned farmland will be redistributed to blacks at subsidized prices. Yet even this modest program will not be realized because it will not be financed. Mandela & Co. have pledged not to raise taxes sharply while at the same time preserving the jobs and pensions of the bloated, parasitic white civil service. And the white officer corps has also been assured there will be no serious cuts in the military budget.

The economic strongman in the new government is monetarist finance minister Derek Keys, who held the same job

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South Africa Powder Keg...

(continued from page 11)

in the last cabinet of the "old" South Africa. The U.S *Business Week* (2 May) commented sharply that the Mandela government's "overall strategy looks more like contemporary Mexican-style austerity than a 1960s-style Third World welfare state." Precisely for this reason the Mandela/De Klerk regime is heading toward a confrontation with the powerful and combative black union movement. The *Washington Post* (8 May) rightly points out that "the black trade union movement forms the heart of the ANC's political base." Indeed, a list of the new cabinet ministers and parliamentary deputies reads like a list of yesterday's COSATU executive body.

From afar, the ANC is usually viewed as a unitary movement with Mandela its transcendent and unchallenged leader. In South Africa, people speak of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance." This is a nationalist "popular front," in which the power of the black proletariat is held in check by chaining the workers to the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie. Two decades of militant, self-sacrificing and often heroic struggle against the apartheid state has created one of the strongest trade-union movements in the Third World. Today, the wages of unionized factory workers in South Africa are substantially higher than in some East Asian neocolonies of the U.S. and Japan. This achievement is all the more impressive given that half the black labor force is unemployed. Yet the solidarity of the black masses against the white ruling class is so intense that strikes by COSATU unions are not broken by widespread scabbing as is all too common in the U.S.

Berry/Magnum

Der Spiegel

Racist internal passbooks and rigid segregation in transport and housing under the apartheid system were brought down through decades of heroic struggle by black masses. But superexploitation of black workers will continue until capitalist Randlords are swept away.

Another index of the strength of the black union movement is that it is beginning to attract even highly privileged white workers, who because of the severe economic slump are facing the prospect of layoffs for the first time in decades. Earlier this year more than a thousand white transport workers, reportedly including supporters of the ultrarightist Conservative Party, joined the COSATU-affiliated South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU). A white flight attendant for South African Airways explained: "We have joined SARHWU for job security, not for its politics."

But if some white workers are now looking to COSATU for job security, for the white ruling class a major aim of the "power sharing" deal with the ANC is to weaken the power and authority of the black union movement (in part by coopting its leaders). Thus, the new constitution outlaws strikes for political purposes. And the Jo'burg stock exchange's main man in the government, Derek Keys, wants not merely to perpetuate but even intensify the exploitation of black labor. He complains that as a result of COSATU's activities: "We don't have low wages to offer.... How do you attract entrepreneurs if you can't offer them low wage costs?" (*New York Times*, 9 May).

However, the black masses expect that the new ANC-led government will bring about an improvement, not a deterioration, in their living conditions. The weeks leading up to the elections, despite the intense pressure of Mandela & Co. for peace on the labor front, saw an organizing strike of nurses in the Transkei and a walkout by platinum miners on the Rand. On the eve of the inauguration, 10,000 gold miners struck the Kloof mine owned by the giant Gold Fields conglomerate, which had provocatively fired a union official. And on June 10, miners at Gold Fields' West Driefontein mine walked out over a racist remark. "The workers think it's pay-back time," observed one industry analyst.

ANC

Black workers demonstrate for equal rights and against racist repression in 1930s. Even before apartheid was instituted in 1948, South African capitalism was based on white supremacy.

Significant class struggle can blow the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance"—and the whole country—apart. But black workers cannot defend or further their interests simply through struggles at the trade-union level, however militant. In the first instance, the impoverished black masses will be repressed by the "new" South African National Defence Force (SANDF), which is the old, hated SADF with the addition of a handful of "generals" from the ANC's former armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), with MK commander Joe Modise sitting in the defense minister's chair. It is necessary to call on the workers to oppose the fraud of "power sharing" with the Randlords and break from the black front men of the ANC to form a revolutionary workers party.

The proletariat must place itself at the head of the struggle against the national oppression of the black African peoples as well as the coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians, a struggle culminating in a black-centered workers government. This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution. The alternative to this is not some kind of mythical harmonious bourgeois "democracy." Although in its social composition South Africa is in many respects unique among the states produced by European colonialism, experience throughout Asia and Africa demonstrates that the frustration of the oppressed masses' aspirations for social liberation will necessarily lead to escalating racial and ethnic-tribal feuding. First among the targets will doubtless be intermediate layers such as the coloureds and Indians, while the black majority polarizes between Xhosas (predominant in Mandela's ANC) and Zulus.

Despite the ANC leaders' sugary talk of a "non-racial society," the prospects facing blacks under racist South African capitalism are truly ominous. This was put in sharp relief when former ANC guerrilla leader Tokyo Sexwale, now a regional premier, visited the black townships of Thokoza and Katlehong. Sexwale appealed for an end to the fratricidal killings, in which brother killed brother because they were blinded by blood: "We are here today to wash the blood out of their eyes so that they can see and live together in peace and harmony." But despite his plea, a township resident complained of the hostel dwellers, "Buthelezi should take all his people back where they come from. They were all brought in from Zululand.... In this location we're going to kill them all." The East Rand, where more than 1,500 people were killed in political violence last year, could become killing fields on a vast scale.

Over the last several years, the violence, largely instigated by the apartheid regime through its Inkatha puppets, took on a tribal vengeance of its own. Throughout the industrial and mining region of the Witwatersrand, township "self-defense units" (SDUs) were formed by supporters of the Xhosa-dominated ANC to fight back against Inkatha *impis* (squads) organized out of the hostels housing Zulu migrant workers. With more than 2,000 members on the East Rand, the SDUs are a force to be reckoned with. But they are not beholden to the ANC. An SDU commander in Thokoza said, "We don't trust them now they are in government." Township leaders demanded that the hostels be replaced by family units, that the hostel dwellers "must be with their families because they must see if they kill us the same will happen to their families" (*Weekly Mail*, 3 June).

As we go to press, gunfire echoes through Thokoza's streets as the self-defense units have declared that they are at war with the hostels and hostel dwellers. ANC leader Sexwale "will not come out of here alive" if he dares to show up, they said, adding that they voted for the ANC hoping it would destroy the hostels but now he wants to improve them. "How can you improve dwellings of people who kill us?" (Reuters dispatch, 4 July). While Sexwale and Mandela wish to impose "peace" in the interests of the Randlords, the burning desire of the township dwellers for revenge for the reign of Inkatha and cop terror they have been subjected to threatens to set off a bloody cycle of tribal violence. Hard *class* struggle is the only way to cut through these poisonous ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters.

The perspective of permanent revolution demands the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party built in sharp political combat against the nationalist ANC. In opposition to the "government of national unity," a revolutionary workers party must fight for a genuinely democratic government of the oppressed and exploited masses—for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote; for the expropriation of the white agri-businesses and the vast tracts of farmland seized from blacks, and the establishment of cooperative and state farms for black agricultural laborers and the toilers who were evicted to the desolate bantustans; for union-based workers militias, linking the factory to the townships and made up of class-conscious workers, including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groups, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress right-wing white terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist terror; and for the nationalization of the mines and factories under a black-centered workers government. A truly new South Africa will emerge only when those who labor will rule.

A Unique Society Produced by European Colonialism

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists long regarded the apartheid system, that nightmarish world of racist oppression, as the ultimate contemporary political evil. But for Marxists it is necessary to understand South African society, its historical development and internal contradictions, in order to carry out a revolution that will sweep this system of hideous race and class oppression from the face of the earth. Like many states throughout the world, South Africa was created by the colonial expansion of European capitalism from the 16th through the 19th centuries. However, on the southern tip of the African continent, European colonialism led to a society quite unlike any other on the face of the planet.

One type of society produced by colonialism is represented by the United States, Canada, Australia, and also Argentina, Uruguay and Chile in the southern part of South America. In these countries a large, permanent European settler population, constantly reinforced by immigration, killed off the indigenous native peoples or drove them into remote, inhospitable areas. Thus in North America, Australia and the Southern Cone of South America, the over-

whelming majority of *all social classes* is European-derived.

A partial exception is the United States, where a large black population was brought from Africa originally as slaves for Southern plantation agriculture. After the Civil War, blacks became an oppressed race-color caste concentrated at the bottom of American society. Especially since the 1950s, it has been commonplace for American blacks and white liberals to see racial oppression in South Africa as similar to that in the U.S. The apartheid system is compared to the legally enforced "Jim Crow" racial segregation of the pre-1960s South, and the anti-apartheid struggle to the civil rights movement.

An especially simple-minded version of this view was recently stated by a British academic, Barry Buzan, who predicts "democratic South Africa will resemble the U.S." (London *Independent*, 21 April). And he tells us that: "The American and South African populations, as well as being similarly composed, also relate to their landscapes in parallel ways.... Their cities are largely modern, and are arranged into highly differentiated, often ethnically defined ghettos."

In reality, the American and South African populations are not at all similarly composed. Blacks make up only 13 percent of the U.S. population, the same as whites in South Africa. When blacks gained the democratic right to vote in the South in the 1960s (a right which millions of blacks in the North had always had), this in no way threatened the political dominance of the white ruling class, much less their ownership of the country's wealth. Three decades after the "victory" of the civil rights movement, not one of the 50 U.S. states has a black governor and the possibility of a black president in Washington is nil. But in South Africa, a government based on "one person, one vote" and representing the democratic will of the black majority would immediately and directly threaten the social and economic dominance of the white ruling class. Unlike its American counterpart, the white South African bourgeoisie *could not survive* under any semblance of bourgeois democracy.

While blacks are on the bottom of American society, whites as a whole are not on top. In U.S. factories, warehouses, airports, department stores, etc., whites work alongside blacks and earn more or less the same pay. (The racial income gap reflects the concentration of blacks in low-pay sectors, and the vastly higher unemployment among ghetto minorities.) In major labor strikes, like the recent Teamster strike, the police routinely attack and arrest white workers as well as their black and Hispanic union brothers. Millions of white women and their children are on welfare. All of these things would be inconceivable in South Africa.

Whites in the U.S. do not in general benefit from the exploitation and degradation of the black population. Quite the contrary! The deep racial divide in the American working class is the main obstacle to effective labor struggle against capital. As a result, over the past generation the unions have been smashed and gutted, while the living standard of working people has on average fallen by 20 percent.

But if South Africa is fundamentally different than the U.S., despite the centrality of the black/white divide in the two societies, it is also fundamentally different than the rest of sub-Saharan Africa and all other Third World countries. British colonialists in Kenya and India, the French in West Africa and Vietnam, the Belgians in the Congo, the Dutch in the East Indies, were a thin stratum of military officers and civilian administrators, traders, plantation and mine owners who exploited the native toilers. These Europeans remained a tiny fraction of the population and retained close ties to their "mother" countries. When the European imperialists were forced to grant independence to their African and Asian colonies after World War II, the overwhelming majority of Europeans living there repatriated. They were manifestly *not* Africans, Indians or Vietnamese. Even in Algeria, where the proportion of French colonists to the native population approached that of South Africa, with independence the Europeans got out.

The various elements of European colonialism combined in South Africa to produce a unique mix. On the one hand, there was a large, permanent European immigration coming in two waves. In the 17th century Dutch Calvinist and French Huguenot settlers created a farming and livestock economy. Geographically isolated, this European settler community cohered into a distinct people, the Afrikaners, who consider themselves "Africa's white tribe." When in the late 19th century gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, large numbers of English speakers of all social classes poured into South Africa. The white settler population did not displace the indigenous African peoples but rather exploited them ever more extensively and systematically over time.

Unlike parts of Latin America, there was no significant intermarriage between the Europeans and native peoples. Originally, Dutch/Huguenot men did father children by Khoi and San women and later by women slaves from the East Indies. These children of mixed race were Christianized, taught Afrikaans as their language and raised in European cultural traditions. Their descendants were called coloureds and are concentrated in the Western and Northern Cape provinces.

However, after the initial period of colonization, a rigid sexual-racial segregation was established and maintained. There was effectively no intermarriage between Afrikaners and Bantu-speaking Zulus and Xhosas, the main body of the black African population. Indeed, there has been relatively little intermarriage between the Afrikaners and English, who don't much like one another and fought a savage war against each other at the turn of the century.

The large size, social diversity and permanent character of the European settler population in South Africa enabled the exploitation of the non-white toilers on a far broader scale and more intensively than, for example, in British India or French Morocco. Thus throughout modern South African history, the wages of blacks have been a small fraction of those of whites. By the early years of this century, the whites had seized *all of the arable farmland*, restricting blacks under the 1913 Land Act to the most barren 13 percent of the country. Thus, contrary to liberal myth, the desolate "homelands" did not originate with the apartheid schemes promoted after the Afrikaners took office in 1948, earlier, under British domination, they were known as "tribal reserves." The women and children were forced to live on the bantustans, while the men—separated from their families for most of their adult lives—were forced to work in slave-like conditions in the white-owned farms, mines and factories.

White foremen, engineers, technicians, skilled workers and, not least, a police apparatus were part of a totalitarian system for the brutal regimentation of black labor. Over half a million black miners—many contracted from outside the borders of South Africa—were forced to live in single-sex hostels surrounded by high walls and rolls of razor wire; these compounds were patrolled by mounted company goons, armored vehicles and guard dogs.

The superexploitation of black labor, combined with a white ruling caste which had mastered modern technology, has enabled South Africa to become the one relatively industrialized country on the African continent. Nonetheless, like many Third World countries the South African economy is based on the exploitation of raw materials—gold, diamonds, platinum. Agricultural products and minerals make up almost two-thirds of South Africa's exports, gold alone accounting for 30 percent. Thus, much of the country's extensive manufacturing sector depends on the revenue generated in Rand gold mines. The Mercedes auto plant in East London, for example, does not produce cars for export but rather for affluent whites whose incomes derive, directly or indirectly, from the mining sector.

The development of South Africa has produced a near-complete overlap between race and class. Practically the entire industrial proletariat now consists of black Africans, with some coloureds in the Western Cape. In the past there existed a sizable if privileged white working class, while many Afrikaner farmers were relatively poor by the standards of white South Africa. However, a major aim of Hendrik Verwoerd's Nationalist Party government in 1948 was to intensify the superexploitation of the blacks in order to transform Afrikaner workers and poorer farmers into a petty bourgeoisie concentrated in the state bureaucracy. Today, one-third of the white labor force (and *half* the Afrikaner workforce) is employed in the government sector, mainly as useless paper-pushers. An American academic, Jeffrey Herbst, pointed out that "apartheid was in many ways the most comprehensive program of racial entitlements ever to exist" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1994). And it still is.

In South Africa the struggle of labor against capital is integrally bound up with the struggle of the oppressed black African people against white domination. The proletarian revolution is at once the supreme act of national liberation.

The relationship between the social and national transformation of South Africa was spelled out by Leon Trotsky in the 1930s, when the country was still a British colony and had a sizable, if privileged and generally racist, white working class. When the Stalinists came out with the slogan of a "black republic," some South African Trotskyists condemned the slogan as equally harmful to the revolutionary cause as the demand for "South Africa for the whites." Trotsky criticized this kind of color-blind workerism on the part of his followers in South Africa, pointing out the latter slogan means "supporting complete oppression," while the demand for a "black republic" means "taking the first steps toward liberation." More generally, Trotsky explained:

> "Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of the almost eight million total) is composed of non-Europeans. A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses. In its turn, that will give them what they are so lacking today—confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, a cultural growth.
>
> "Under these conditions, the South African republic will emerge first of all as a 'black' republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites or brotherly relations between the two races—depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.
>
> "Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change the relation not only between the classes but also between the races and will assure to the blacks that place in the state that corresponds to their numbers, thus far will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"On the South African Theses" (April 1935)

We have sought to encapsulate the Trotskyist program for South Africa in the slogan of a "black-centered workers government." Today, the social power and combativity of the black African proletariat is manifest for all to see. However, for the black working class to lead the struggle for national liberation it is necessary to break with the nationalist misleaders of the African National Congress, who now openly act as the junior partners of the Randlords.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Berry/Magnum

Work in Progress

Gold miners in Driefontein (left), part of powerful black proletariat. Black freedom requires socialist revolution—those who labor must rule!

Oakland: Racist Cop Riot at Lake Merritt

Video footage shows cops spraying pepper gas at black teenagers at Lake Merritt, June 5.

Virgil Waldon

OAKLAND—Suddenly and without warning, on June 5 some 200 cops swept down upon hundreds of black people enjoying the late Sunday afternoon following an annual festival at Lake Merritt, a park near the city center. Attacking with billy clubs, mace and pepper gas, racing police motorcycles and vans, the uniformed thugs injured dozens of people and arrested up to a hundred, some on serious felony charges.

Cops beat black photographer Scott Andre Patterson to the ground for trying to record the attack, seizing and destroying his camera and film. One witness described a scene like something out of Soweto: "I saw women running, trying to get away and dragging their kids then turning around and getting a face full of Mace" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 June). The California Highway Patrol blocked off nearby freeway exits. It was a calculated assault designed to terrorize black youth away from downtown. We demand: Release all prisoners and drop all charges now!

The cops' own spokesman, Captain Michael Meyers, undermined the official cover story that they were merely "responding" to a "full-scale riot," admitting to the *Chronicle* (6 June) that there was no serious trouble until *after* the cops charged in and "tried to make an arrest in the closely packed crowd," claiming they "heard what sounded like gunshots." But no one was shot—the cops couldn't even produce a gun. In fact, the cops had been harassing black youth at the festival all weekend long. KTVU Channel 2 reporter Randy Shandobil noted that the station's tapes show the cops massing fully *two hours* before they went on a rampage. They were *looking* for an "incident" to start a crackdown.

Black Oakland Under Siege

The Oakland police have been on an ongoing racist killing spree: Nathan Cosby, a black 32-year-old public school custodian and member of AFSCME Local 257, gunned down by racist stormtroopers last January 6; Luke Grinage and his 62-year-old wheelchair-bound father, Raphael Grinage, shot to death just before Christmas for the "crime" of refusing to surrender the family dog; 19-year-old Baraka Patrick Hull, killed with a bullet in the back because he looked "suspicious"; black teenager Jerrold Hall, shot dead in the back of the head by a BART transit cop.

In 43-percent-black Oakland, the city government and big business are trying to promote capitalist investment by creating an image of a downtown "safe" for white yuppies and businessmen. And this means *driving out the black youth from the center of their own city and penning them into the ghetto*. A year ago the city had the cops seal off the Lake Merritt area from blacks by blockading 17 intersections on the basis of "anti-cruising" laws. Whites "had no problem getting through the checkpoints," one witness noted (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 June 1993). More recently, Oakland's black Democratic mayor Elihu Harris floated the idea of a 10 p.m. curfew for all youth under 18. City attorneys also unsuccessfully pressed for an ominous, precedent-setting restraining order to prevent 18 black alleged "gang members" from congregating within 1,000 yards of a nine-block area of black East Oakland and, if they live there, make them carry apartheid-style internal passport IDs.

January 21: Spartacist League and Labor Black League join in protesting Oakland police killing of black AFSCME member Nathan Cosby.

Black youth from Oakland have already been swept away from Telegraph Avenue by the Berkeley cops and rad-lib racist administration, and literally driven from the beaches in Alameda. The Alameda "city fathers" even considered making a bridge into the island town one-way (out) to block "cruising" blacks from Oakland. Black youth had no place left to go but the Lake Merritt area—and now Oakland's killer cops are trying to make even this little piece of green off limits!

Oakland's poor black neighborhoods constitute one of the infant mortality capitals of the country. Nationally black babies die at a rate two and a half times that of whites—*and it's rising*. Life expectancy among blacks dropped to 69 years in 1990, compared to 76 for whites. Five years ago Oakland schools fired nearly 150 teachers and cut music, physical education, auto shop and industrial arts classes, and still ran a $20 million deficit. Today, Mayor Harris is slashing city services and going after the living standards of city workers.

While money has been systematically *taken away* from public schools and hospitals serving blacks in places like Oakland, the state is pouring money into prisons overflowing with blacks and Latinos. In East Oakland some *60 percent* of youths aged 16-19 are not in school and have no job; even minimum-wage jobs are scarce. Nationally, *one in five* black youth are in jail or on probation.

In their drive to maximize their profits while "downsizing" their workforce, the racist capitalist rulers of the U.S. have written off a big section of the black population as "surplus." The current drive for "welfare reform," from Congress and Clinton to Republican governor Pete Wilson and the Sacramento Democrats, aimed especially at young mothers and their kids, means that layers of ghetto poor and minority people will *die*, because the decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them. In order to enforce this genocidal campaign, increasingly naked police terror is being unleashed against the ghettos and barrios.

Racist Police State U.S.A.

The police rampage at Lake Merritt came barely a month after the LAPD staged a riot against Latinos celebrating Cinco de Mayo in Los Angeles. From the prison-building boom to the racist "three strikes you're out" laws, the ruling class is systematically strengthening its machinery of repression. California—and the rest of the country—is looking more and more like a giant "democratic" racist police state.

The racist capitalist class has launched a hysterical anti-immigrant campaign aimed at setting the oppressed at each other's throats. Wilson is joined by Democratic Senators Feinstein and Boxer in pushing for acts of murderous cruelty against "illegal" immigrants—kicking their kids out of schools, preventing medical treatment. To enforce this racist brutality would require a huge internal ID system akin to internal passports. We say anyone who made it here should be allowed to stay. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Twenty-five years ago the Black Panther Party was arrested, shot up and murdered by what was then literally a "white power structure" in Oakland. But a year ago the white police chief was replaced by a black chief, Joseph Samuels; the mayor is black (as was his predecessor) and 25 percent of the cops are black. Samuels promotes "community policing," a bankrupt scheme in which blacks are supposed to feel more at ease with "sensitive" black cops patrolling their neighborhoods. This "liberal" black Democratic Party administration is currently running for re-election, lying through their teeth about all the good things they will do, while their black and white police force carries out brutal sweeps against black youth.

The fact is, the government in this society is not run by the electorate but by the capitalist class which owns the economy. The Democratic Party is just as much a tool of the capitalist class as the Republicans—only the Republicans generally prefer to rule with the naked fist of state repression while the Democrats lie about it and do the same thing.

The core of capitalist power is their "special bodies of armed men," as Friedrich Engels put it—the cops and the army. Well aware that they are not answerable to the masses, within the

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Anti-Immigrant Frenzy...

(continued from page 16)

independent truckers who shut down the port here for ten days last fall. Other groups of unionists, including Machinists in their union colors, were scattered through the crowd. The labor presence of the *troqueros*, *drywaleros*, *costureras* (seamstresses), janitors and others points to the potential for mobilizing L.A.'s multiracial proletariat in a class-struggle fight *for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers*, to *stop the deportations* and *organize the unorganized.*

The capitalist state's ongoing racist repression and criminalization of immigrants is all about maintaining a pool of superexploited and unorganized workers, in constant fear of deportation, to slave at subminimum wages in the sweatshops, fields and factories. The anti-immigrant frenzy along with oppression of blacks and other minorities also serves to divide workers along racial lines to destroy the capacity of the entire working class to fight the bourgeoisie's rule.

Today the capitalists who have devastated U.S. industry are looking to scapegoat "illegals" and immigrants for the economic crisis that has struck California particularly hard. Trade war with the United States' imperialist rival Japan further feeds the anti-immigrant campaign, with anti-Asian jingoism directed in particular against Korean and Filipino workers and shopkeepers.

In California's depression elections, Democrats and Republicans are trying to outdo each other in immigrant-bashing. Governor Pete Wilson, who was burnt in effigy at the demonstration, is so widely hated by Latinos and many others that when he attempted to give a speech before a World Cup soccer match at the Rose Bowl he was drowned out by a chorus of hoos from the crowd of 90,000. Wilson has made "SOS" and closing the border the centerpiece of his campaign, and has sued the federal government based on the racist lie that immigrants "cost the taxpayer" billions of dollars. (In fact, immigrant workers—*particularly* "illegals"—pay many billions of dollars more in sales, income and Social Security taxes than they receive in benefits.) Wilson's notorious TV campaign ads feature scenes of threatening hordes swarming down the hills of Tijuana into California.

While Republican Wilson was the particular target of the marchers' ire, his Democratic opponent, Kathleen Brown, is pushing for apartheid-style national ID cards. Meanwhile, California Democratic Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein call for militarizing the border by deploying the National Guard and/or beefing up the murderous Border Patrol (financed by charging tolls at the border). This is a program for more racist murder. Recently an El Paso Border Patrol agent on trial for shooting a fleeing immigrant in the back was acquitted of all charges. And on the morning of the rally, an immigrant in Border Patrol custody near San Diego was shot in the chest at pointblank range.

Nationally, Democrat Clinton is sending Haitian refugees back to torture and death at the hands of the military regime, while vowing to "hold down health care costs" by excluding "illegals"! And with thousands of Angelenos, many of them immigrants, left homeless and living in public parks in the wake of the January 17 earthquake, the Clinton administration directed the INS to run random checks on quake-aid applicants.

Locally, most Latino Democratic pols boycotted the May 28 rally, not wanting to be caught between angry immigrant workers and their own party's anti-immigrant campaign. Although *La Opinión* (29 May) reported that the rally showed the "categorical response by the Latino population of Los Angeles against the anti-immigrant campaign carried out by important politicians like Repuhlican governor Wilson and Democratic California Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein," the liberal organizers seek to divert the masses' outrage into the dead end of voting for the bosses' Democratic Party.

Rally organizer Juan Gutiérrez of One Stop Immigration declared that "What ultimately counts is the ballot box." This is doubly grotesque when it is directed at the immigrant population, much of which (legal residents as well as "illegals") lacks even the right to vote in the bourgeoisie's shell-game elections. Thus the *Los Angeles Times* (31 May) reported that in a statewide opinion survey, while both Latinos and blacks oppose the "SOS" proposition, this anti-immigrant initiative is supported by 59 percent of *registered voters.*

According to official figures, in 1990 Latinos were the largest ethnic group in Los Angeles, with 40 percent of the population, ahead of non-Hispanic whites (37 percent), blacks (13 percent) and Asians (9 percent). Taking into account the at least 1.3 million additional undocumented immigrants in the state, Los Angeles is likely already a majority Latino city. Many immigrant workers travel back and forth over the border depending on the availability of work. In addition to Mexicans (who make up three-quarters of L.A.'s Hispanic population), Los Angeles County is home to almost 400,000 Salvadorans as well as other Central Americans. Many of these workers have brought with them experience in sharp class struggle in their countries of origin and form a militant sector of L.A. labor.

WV Photo

Latino "Justice for Janitors" strikers were attacked and beaten by LAPD cops in June 1990 as they fought to win union recognition.

The black population of Los Angeles has been living under racist police-state conditions that have only intensified since 1992 when L.A. exploded in a multiracial upheaval after the cops who beat Rodney King were acquitted. That explosion temporarily cut across divisions between minorities and oppressed groups facing a common enemy, the LAPD. While cops and army terrorized the ghettos and barrios, immigrant workers faced INS roundups and mass deportations, with Latinos taking the majority of arrests. The bourgeoisie's scapegoating of immigrants has served to once again increase tensions between blacks and Latinos as conditions get worse and the job pool shrinks.

Nationalist outfits like the Brotherhood Crusade have led groups of blacks to construction sites where they demand that blacks be hired and Latinos fired. Former Communist Party supporter Deacon Alexander has been active in this poisonous campaign. Meanwhile, black county supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, responding to complaints from the black upscale area of Ladera Heights, cast the swing vote that banned immigrant Latino day laborers from gathering on street corners in unincorporated areas of L.A. County. Meanwhile, organizers of the immigrants' rights rally directed their appeal almost exclusively to Spanish-speakers. This plays right into the hands of the racist rulers.

The bourgeoisie's criminalization of immigrants goes hand in hand with stepped-up terror against blacks, who remain the number one target of the racist state and the fascists in this country. Immigrant-bashing from the White House and the State House translates into vicious attacks and repression on the streets. The LAPD tags black and Latino youth as "gang members," setting them up for routine harassment, beatings and street executions. At this year's Cinco de Mayo festival in downtown L.A., cops rioted against the mostly young Latino audience, firing rubber bullets into the crowd, arresting 14 and sending 12 to the hospital. And north of San Diego, where racist vigilantes have terrorized migrant worker camps, county authorities bulldozed a camp that was home to 600.

For years the labor misleaders have pushed chauvinist protectionism targeting Mexican and Japanese workers and inciting racist terror against immigrants and minorities here at home. But the potential for a class struggle that unites white, black, Latino and Asian workers in a common fight against capitalism is real. The recent H.E.R.E. Local 11 union victory at L.A.'s Wilshire Hotel was won when Korean restaurant workers stood with the largely Latino hotel workers against management. When Chicano students at UCLA started mass protests for Chicano studies, the demonstrations quickly became multiracial with black, white, Latino and Asian students coming out to protest administration attacks and anti-immigrant racism.

It is the working class that has the power to defend all the oppressed and smash the bourgeoisie's war on immigrants in overthrowing this racist, capitalist system. But that requires a sharp battle to oust the present pro-capitalist misleaders of labor. Immigrant workers in the U.S. form a powerful living link to class struggle in their countries of origin. Los Angeles is already feeling the tremors from the social volcano of Mexico, which in the wake of the Chiapas rebellion against NAFTA is beginning to erupt. What's needed is a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party, internationalist to the core, that can lead a united working class on both sides of the border.

The Spartacist League/U.S., the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada, as part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fight for socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán. ■

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ghettos and barrios the cops think and act as an occupying army, suspending civil liberties at whim, riding roughshod over the black and Hispanic residents. Internationally the U.S. imperialists, emboldened by the destruction of the world's first workers state in the Soviet Union, are trying to rule the world in a similarly arrogant way, issuing strangling economic "sanctions" against countries like Cuba, or bombing 100,000 Iraqis to death to assert control over the world's oil supplies. Lately this is done under the fig leaf of the "United Nations"; if there were a "UN" in George Washington's time, the British would have used it to send Hessian troops against the "criminal" American colonists.

Labor Must Raise Its Fist!

What's needed is to mobilize the organized working class in sharp and uncompromising class struggle. In cities where the capitalist cops have been confronted and defeated by a labor upsurge, as they were in the 1946 Oakland General Strike, they tend to stay pushed back for a long time. The notoriously brutal and racist Richmond cops, including the Confederate-flag-sporting "Richmond cowboys," stood by quietly when 700 heavily black union longshoremen took over the street and shut down the scab Levin terminal there in 1983.

At an angry community meeting last February called by the family of Nathan Cosby and attended by Mayor Harris and his cronies, Hursey Bush of the Labor Black League for Social Defense spoke forcefully:

> "The truth is these hired guns of the capitalist state cannot be reformed. Civilian review boards have never stopped police brutality. . . Having a black mayor or police chief doesn't change any of this. Their role is to obscure these truths and to give people the illusion that somehow the system is made for them....
> "We've got a big integrated labor movement right here in Oakland and the Bay Area. It would be a powerful step forward and a real display of social power if all those unions mobilized to lead a labor/black and Latino protest to push the police back."

A labor movement worth its salt would fight to organize the unemployed, demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to spread the work around, union-run minority hiring and upgrading programs, a massive public works program at union wages, welfare payments at a living rate—for a start. The working class created all the wealth of this country. To put it to use for the benefit of the majority of society requires breaking the power of the capitalist class, seizing the means of production and establishing a workers state.

The key is revolutionary leadership. The racist trade-union bureaucracy systematically sabotages any serious struggle by the unions and must be swept aside. At the same time there is a profound vacuum of black leadership. Pro-capitalist black misleaders from Jesse Jackson to nationalist anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan to Elihu Harris are enemies of black freedom. Black workers, heavily concentrated in unions, are a critical link between the increasingly impoverished ghetto population and the social power of the working class. The task is to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight as a tribune of all the oppressed and successfully lead the workers to power through socialist revolution. ■

Correction

In our article "The Rwanda Horror" (*WV* No. 601, 27 May), an editing error garbled the name of the recently assassinated president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mobilize Midwest Labor to Win CAT Strike!

Don't Beg Congress—Organize Mass Pickets!

Smoldering rage against Caterpillar Inc.'s anti-union tyranny flared into a national strike June 21, when more than 14,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) hit the bricks. Many workers couldn't wait to down their tools and hoist picket signs: in Mapleton, Illinois, at least 150 workers set up picket lines a day before the strike deadline when an arrogant boss told them they couldn't talk about union business on "company time"! One worker said, "This is not from Detroit, we're doing this on our own."

The strike affects several CAT plants in Illinois as well as facilities in Pennsylvania and Colorado. Over 700 workers in Morton, Illinois and Memphis, Tennessee have been ordered to stay at work by the UAW tops, who are bowing to a "no-strike" contract clause. Although nearly three years have passed since CAT workers have had a union contract, UAW leaders Bieber and Casstevens insist on playing by the company rules. Even

continued on page 5

Thompson/Chicago Tribune

UAW strikers picket Aurora, Illinois, Caterpillar plant, June 21.

Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in California Elections

LOS ANGELES—On May 28, over 12,000 predominantly Latino workers marched on City Hall behind a banner proclaiming "Stop Racist Attacks Against Immigrants." The mass demonstration was called by the California Latino Civil Rights Network, a coalition of over 30 groups that includes several immigrant defense organizations such as One Stop Immigration, the Central American Refugee Center, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the AFL-CIO's Immigrant Workers Association, as well as a number of unions.

The demonstration took place as the bipartisan war on immigrants is reaching a fever pitch in the California gubernatorial race. An immigrant-bashing "Save Our State," or SOS, initiative appears to be headed for the state ballot this fall. This racist referendum would deny all basic social services, including public schooling and all but emergency health care, to undocumented immigrants and their children. All state agencies, from social workers to cops, would also be required to turn over suspected undocumented workers to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the hated *migra*.

The thousands of immigrants and non-immigrants who packed Broadway are the workers who make this city run. This was the largest Latino rally in recent L.A. history and it included a significant core from key unions. A contingent from SEIU Local 399 Justice for Janitors marched. These unionists were brutally attacked by the LAPD in 1990 in their fight to organize building workers in Century City. They were also the only union to march in protest against the racist police and National Guard sweeps in the wake of the racist 1992 acquittal of the cops who assaulted Rodney King.

Prominent in the crowd were placards of the ILGWU, which is seeking to organize the sweatshops in L.A.'s large garment district. There were agricultural workers from the UFW. Also present were militants from the drywallers, construction workers who waged a months-long strike that was one of the few recent instances of new union organization. These viciously exploited, mostly Mexican immigrant workers employed flying pickets to shut down residential construction from San Diego to Ventura and faced attacks by the sheriffs and INS roundups and deportations. Now members of Carpenters Local 2361 in Orange, they are still targets of harassment by the Border Patrol.

A flatbed rig carried a contingent from the Latin American Truckers Association, the

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Los Angeles: Thousands March for Immigrant Rights

Ciro Cesar/La Opinión

Mass demonstration marched to City Hall on May 28 demanding "Stop Racist Attacks Against Immigrants!"

Full Citizenship Rights—Stop the Deportations!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 604 | 5 August 1994

For Mass Mobilizations to Defend the Clinics!

Pensacola: Anti-Abortion Terrorists Kill Again

AUGUST 1—The double murder of an abortion doctor and his volunteer escort by an anti-abortion terrorist at a clinic in Pensacola, Florida was a bloody atrocity *waiting to happen*. The killer had ranted for over a year, on *Donahue* and other national TV shows, that murdering abortion providers was "justifiable homicide." A hundred like-minded fanatics, leaders of the anti-abortion movement, had met publicly at a convention in Chicago only a few months before, where they openly discussed murdering doctors. The killer passed out his "position" advocating death there. And then he struck.

The 12-gauge shotgun blasts fired by right-wing terrorist Paul Hill on the morning of Friday, July 29, left Dr. John Bayard Britton and escort James Barrett dead, and Barrett's wife June wounded. They had just pulled their pickup truck into the parking lot of

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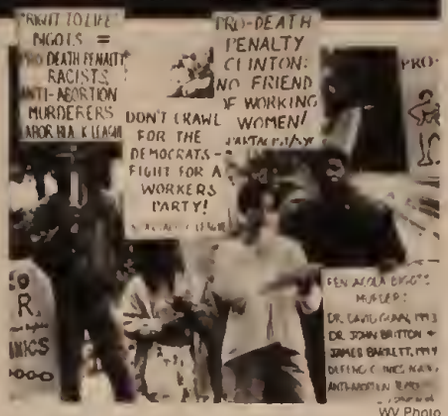

WV Photo

Protest in San Francisco, July 30.

Elections Amid Peasant Revolt, Workers Struggles

Mexico in Turmoil

With tumultuous elections in Mexico coming up on August 21, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista have issued a 2 August supplement of Espartaco. *We publish an excerpted version below.*

Ulises Castellanos

Mexican army occupied Chiapas to stem Zapatista peasant revolt last January. As August 21 elections approach, social unrest mounts throughout the country.

There is no sign of the mythical stability and social peace trumpeted by the Mexican bourgeoisie and its Wall Street masters when they signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of imperialist predation for a "Fortress North America." As we wrote after the explosion in the south of Mexico: "The Indian peasant uprising in Chiapas has dealt a dramatic blow to the capitalist triumphalism of the 'new world *di*sorder.' Only yesterday, with their 'death of communism' campaign, arrogant bourgeois propagandists declaimed that the class struggle had ceased to exist." But the Chiapas rebellion "has shown —dismaying the ruling classes of Mexico, the U.S. and other countries while encouraging the oppressed—that radical social struggle is alive."

The collapse of the Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist betrayals, has fanned the flames of interimperialist rivalry. Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc has produced fratricidal wars, escalating U.S. interventions, the threat that Cuba will be strangled. It has also produced a wave of resistance to anti-worker attacks from Japan to Europe, where Italian Alfa Romeo workers raised banners of Zapata as a symbol of rebellion. In Mexico, the economic basis of the semi-bonapartist regime which has ruled this country for more than six decades has been undermined by increasing integration into the U.S. economy. This was symbolized and spurred on by NAFTA, Wall Street's rape of Mexico. But the technocratic Salinas "free trade" regime has run into resistance from the working masses. As Mexico shows itself to be a weak link in the chain of American imperialism, this presents a very important opportunity for the international working class.

It is urgently necessary to *break with the bourgeoisie* in all its variants; in Mexico this means the urgency of a *break with the "popular front,"* which ties combative sectors of the proletariat to the "opposition" Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas—a new version of the PRI [the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, of which Cárdenas was for years a prominent leader]. PRD graffiti declares, "Neither marches nor demonstrations, Cuauhtémoc will provide the solutions," reflecting Cardenista efforts to defuse rebellion. Meanwhile, having amassed considerable political authority by heading the courageous Chiapas rising, the leaders of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) are channeling discontent toward support for the PRD.

The popular-frontist perspective of a (bourgeois) "democratic transition" is a dead end. It is urgently necessary to forge the *revolutionary internationalist leadership of the proletariat*—a leadership that knows how to unite workers battles on both sides of the Rio Grande as part of the world proletarian struggle—in order to advance toward workers revolution, the only way out for the exploited and oppressed.

No to Cárdenas Popular Front! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Elections in the Wake of Chiapas

The imperialists and their Mexican junior partners who drooled over the promise that Mexico would be peaceful, open terrain for investment have taken fright as crisis after crisis strikes the gendarme regime of capitalist order in Uncle Sam's "backyard." Attempts at "pacification" through "dialogue" followed the bombing of Chiapas Indians. Meanwhile military encirclement has continued in Chiapas, racist ranchers and their rabid dogs of war are demanding more blood, the government has acquired anti-riot vehicles from the U.S. and repression escalates in Guerrero and other parts of the country.

The pro-government *Excelsior* (28 July) claims to have discovered an opposition "Plan for Violence in 12 States" and the capital, clearly setting up the pretext for a murderous crackdown on the scale of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre if the regime considers it necessary.

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Defend Bangladesh Writer Taslima Nasrin!

Islamic Fundamentalists Vow to Kill Her

The following is based on an article prepared by Women and Revolution, *which was recently printed in the August 1994 newsletter of the International Feminists of Japan.*

The courageous Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin is in hiding in fear for her life. She is the target of a religious *fatwa* (condemnation to death) by Islamic clerics, and at their instigation the government of prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia has launched a police hunt threatening imprisonment and hard labor on charges of "deliberately and maliciously outraging the religious feelings of Muslims." But Taslima Nasrin's "crime" is to speak out against anti-woman bigotry and to denounce the bloody communalism of both Muslim and Hindu chauvinists in Bangladesh and India. For this, according to the clerics, she must be hanged.

On June 30 the fundamentalists raged through Dhaka, chanting "death to Taslima Nasrin," as they tried to enforce a one-day shutdown of the city touching off a month-long campaign for Nasrin's death. In spite of this crusade and the mobilization of some 8,000 police and paramilitary troops, secular students, cultural organizations and artists carried out their own demonstration in defense of Nasrin. The fundamentalist frenzy against Nasrin has continued to escalate: on July 26, six people were killed in Chittagong in clashes between students and Jamaat Islami, which has led the campaign against her. Two days later nearly 200,000 Muslims reportedly demonstrated in Dhaka demanding that Nasrin be hanged and all anti-Islamic activity banned.

The murderous witchhunt has been whipped up by clerics who formed a "Taslima Nasrin Peshan Committee" ("committee to grind down Taslima Nasrin"). "'She is worse than a prostitute,' fulminated Maulana Azizul Haque, the mullah who has called for her execution. 'She demands "freedom of the vagina"... This is against the Koran and Allah, it's blasphemy'" (*Guardian* [London], 10 December 1993). These are the same forces that viciously repudiated and cast out the thousands of their own womenfolk raped by the Pakistani army during the 1971 war for independence.

Nasrin remains defiant. Before going into hiding she told the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, "I am never going to stop writing and I am determined not to compromise with fundamentalists or a government which tolerates Islam as a state religion. I fight with a pen, yet they are trying to hit me with a sword. I am expressing my thoughts and they want to kill me" (quoted in the *Vancouver Sun*, 9 July).

Noted writers such as Allen Ginsburg, Günter Grass, John Irving, Norman Mailer and Amy Tan have come out in support of Nasrin. So too has noted Bombay-born writer Salman Rushdie who is himself targeted for death since 1988 under a *fatwa* issued by the fundamentalist regime in Iran. Indian women's organizations and cultural figures have protested the government's attacks on Nasrin. Some 27 Indian writers condemned the warrant of arrest, saying her "only crime is to have spoken out boldly against religious bigotry, obscurantism and oppression as a liberated modern citizen and an emancipated woman" (*The Link* [Vancouver], 9 July).

It is the duty of the international working class to rally to Nasrin's defense. Our colleagues of the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain have registered a protest with the Bangladesh High Commission in London, demanding: Drop all the charges against Taslima Nasrin! For safe passage to the country of her choice! In the U.S., the Partisan Defense Committee has written to Attorney General Janet Reno demanding political asylum for Nasrin.

Taslima Nasrin first attracted the hatred of the fundamentalists in 1991 with her essay anthology, *Selected Columns*. In it she criticizes the Koran, quoting from it to prove that religion "discriminates against women and treats them like sexual commodities." The immediate focus of the mullahs' vituperative wrath is her recent novel *Lajja* (*Shame*). *Lajja* depicts a Hindu family attacked by Muslim communalists in Bangladesh, following the razing of the mosque at Ayodhya in India by Hindu chauvinists and fascists. By the time the Bangladeshi government banned it last July, 60,000 copies had been sold.

In India the Hindu communalists and fascists of the Bharatiya Janata Party/Vishwa Hindu Parishad (BJP/VHP) have attempted to utilize *Lajja* for their vile communalist ends. Their only concern is to stoke the fires of anti-Muslim pogroms, in particular against Muslim Bangladeshi immigrant "infiltrators" who have fled from the horrendous poverty of Bangladesh to the slums of West Bengal and to cities like Delhi. Nasrin herself says, "I am very pained at what is happening with my book in India. I condemn the politics of the BJP and the Jamaat-e-Islami equally" (*India Today*, 31 October 1993).

It takes more than just obvious, elementary decency for any individual to take a stand like Nasrin has done in situations like Bangladesh today: it takes courage, especially if you are a woman, expected—in Nasrin's words—to remain "veiled, illiterate and in the kitchen." The attacks on Nasrin are the focal point of a generalized assault on women's rights throughout Bangladesh. Since the reactionary Islamic clergy pronounced her death sentence, *fatwahazi* (issuing of *fatwas*) has spread through rural Bangladesh as women are buried, stoned, caned, set ablaze for running afoul of the local mullahs. Between January and March, 110 schools where girls are taught were burned down in a campaign orchestrated by mullahs.

The deadly campaign directed at Taslima Nasrin highlights the fact that the struggle for women's liberation on the Indian subcontinent is inseparably tied to the fight against religious obscurantism, caste-based bigotry and bloody communalism which could plunge the masses into horrors surpassing those of the 1947-49 Partition, which was a direct product of British imperialism's divide-and-rule policies. The emancipation of women will only succeed through a struggle for *permanent revolution*—the revolutionary seizure of power and overthrow of capitalism by the working class, at the head of the peasantry, the masses of downtrodden women and all the oppressed, and led by a genuinely communist (Leninist-Trotskyist) party. *Defend Taslima Nasrin! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a socialist federation of South Asia!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Imperialist War and Social Chauvinism

World War I, which broke out 80 years ago this month, signaled that the global forces of production had outgrown the system of capitalist nation-states, whose rulers were driven to war in the fight over spheres of exploitation. The reformist misleaders of the workers movement cynically mobilized the masses as cannon fodder for the rapacious bankers and industrialists in the name of "national defense." This was epitomized by the German Social Democrats' vote for the Kaiser's war budget on 4 August 1914. Lenin's Bolsheviks denounced these "social-patriots" and fought to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" of the workers against all their bourgeois rulers. Today, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, sapped by decades of Stalinist bureaucracy, has ushered in a period of heightened interimperialist conflict as the world increasingly resembles that in the period leading up to August 1914.

1. The European and world war has the clearly defined character of a bourgeois, imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets and for freedom to loot foreign countries, a striving to suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy in the individual countries, a desire to deceive, disunite, and slaughter the proletarians of all countries by setting the wage slaves of one nation against those of another so as to benefit the bourgeoisie—these are the only real content and significance of the war....

4. The betrayal of socialism by most leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political bankruptcy of the International. This collapse has been mainly caused by the actual prevalence in it of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois nature and the danger of which have long been indicated by the finest representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The opportunists had long been preparing to wreck the Second International by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead, by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland, and ignoring or rejecting the fundamental truth of socialism, long ago set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, that the workingmen have no country.... It must be the task of the future International resolutely and irrevocably to rid itself of this bourgeois trend in socialism.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War" (August 1914)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Reuters

Dhaka, July 29: Nearly 200,000 Islamic fundamentalists march in Bangladesh capital demanding that Taslima Nasrin be hanged.

Legal Victory for Former Black Panther Against Prison Persecution

Jailed former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has won a significant victory against a pattern of brutal retaliation by the state in response to publicity about his years-long fight for freedom.

On June 27, a federal court in San Francisco delivered a stinging rebuke to California Department of Corrections (CDC) officials. The decision by Judge Stanley Weigel cited a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution by prison officials against Geronimo for exercising his first amendment rights, which are "critical to his longstanding effort to prove his innocence."

Ordering the CDC to house Geronimo in a "single cell in a Level III prison," the ruling goes into effect immediately. It is intended to prevent CDC officials from further vindictive measures involving Geronimo's prison status. The order specifically excludes their transferring him to a double cell except "in the event of a bona fide emergency, such as a fire or earthquake."

On July 27, the CDC filed a notice of appeal of Judge Weigel's order. The racist California state authorities are dead-set against any oversight of their burgeoning prison system, let alone interference with their decades of harassment and persecution aimed at preventing Geronimo from winning the fight to prove his innocence.

Attorneys for Geronimo sought the court order after prison officials suddenly transferred him to a two-man cell at Mule Creek Prison on January 7. This was just two days after KTTV-FOX aired a series which dramatically portrayed the compelling evidence of Geronimo's frame-up by the FBI and LAPD.

As described by the court, "irregular transfer procedures" were precipitously initiated on Christmas Eve, only two days after Geronimo decided to accept an interview with KTTV. Weigel's ruling noted that "the series exposed for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years."

Along with the CDC's "history of retaliation against Plaintiff," the court ruling described medical problems stemming from Geronimo's service as a highly decorated and twice-wounded soldier in the Vietnam War that are the basis of his need for a single cell. Weigel warned of the "possible aggravation of Plaintiff's medical condition and chilling of Plaintiff's first amendment rights."

Judge Weigel's harsh condemnation of the prison mistreatment of America's foremost class-war prisoner is noteworthy in light of the fact that year after year the courts have stripped prisoners of nearly all rights. Geronimo's legal victory was made possible by the national and international support from trade unions, community and civil rights organizations, and was greeted with substantial coverage in West Coast newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *Los Angeles Times*, *SF Weekly*, *San Francisco Daily Journal* and *Oakland Post*.

Weigel noted two earlier instances of prison system retaliation against Geronimo. A federal court jury found in 1981 that Geronimo had been put in solitary confinement for eight years in retaliation for his political associations and beliefs. In 1989, Weigel canceled Geronimo's transfer from San Quentin to the notoriously brutal Folsom prison, which took place one day after Geronimo returned from Puerto Rico, where he went to testify against the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) in the trial of Puerto Rican independence fighters.

Jonathan Eubanks

Geronimo ji Jega (Pratt) at Mule Creek Prison hellhole.

In the face of this documented history California deputy attorney general Peter Siggins incredibly claimed, "no one had an ax to grind against [Geronimo]." Where Geronimo is concerned the state will tell any tale to keep him locked up and isolated from his supporters. Papers in Geronimo's file accuse him of being an "escapee" and hatching an outlandish plot to kidnap children of prison personnel; another concoction, the product of twisted racist minds, accused him of planning to kill guards with poison darts.

The FOX TV series showed how even as he was being held in L.A. County Jail awaiting trial in 1971, Geronimo's racist jailers attempted to portray him as the mastermind of an attempt to break Panther spokesman George Jackson out of San Quentin prison. In 1974 the FBI tried to link him to the kidnapping of Patty Hearst.

This lawsuit illustrates how for over 23 years state authorities have acted on their belief that because Geronimo was a Black Panther Party leader they could retail any lie about him and do anything to him. State Corrections Director James Gomez, who lords it over the largest prison population in the country, contended that Geronimo was moved at the request of unidentified state legislative aides so he could be nearer his family in Marin County.

Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) counsel Valerie West, one of Geronimo's lawyers, exposed Gomez' explanation as "patently unbelievable" considering that Geronimo was given a work detail during visiting hours so he could not see his wife and children! Weigel's order stated, "It is doubtful...that [officials] were acting out of goodwill." As the *San Francisco Examiner* noted, "U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel stopped just short of calling Gomez a liar."

But the biggest lie, the one the courts have refused to touch, is the lie that Geronimo committed the 1968 Santa Monica tennis court murder of Caroline Olsen for which he was framed and robbed of nearly half his life.

Geronimo was framed under the FBI's COINTELPRO program of disruption, frame-up and murder of black radicals. As one FBI memo put it the "purpose of counterintelligence action is to disrupt BPP and it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge."

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover outlined the theme of COINTELPRO: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." These were not idle words—38 Panthers were killed outright. The Panthers were labeled public enemy number one and "the greatest threat to internal security." Of 295 FBI operations against black organizations, 233 of them were against the Panthers.

As Nixon escalated the war on black radicals, Geronimo was one of the state's prime targets. An FBI circular in May 1969 called for charging Pratt under the anti-Communist Smith Act with seditious conspiracy and insurrection. Geronimo was designated a "Key Black Extremist" and elevated to Priority I status on the National Security Index of those deemed by the feds to pose a "threat" to the government.

Four days after Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the cops came for Geronimo in Los Angeles. On 8 December 1969, L.A. Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops; thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired at it for five hours. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Geronimo was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed. Failing to assassinate Geronimo, they gave him the living death of prison.

How Geronimo was framed by the LAPD and FBI has been well known for years: the surviving victim's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo was suppressed at the trial; wiretap logs of an Oakland Panther house, 400 miles from the shooting, which show that Geronimo had made a call from there to L.A. Panther headquarters two hours before the murder, "disappeared." Julius Butler, an informant for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969, repeatedly lied on the witness stand, denying he worked for either agency.

FOX TV, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* have recently reported new evidence uncovered by private investigator James McCloskey that powerfully demonstrates Geronimo's innocence. McCloskey's investigation linked two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party to the Santa Monica murder. Since meeting with McCloskey last fall, L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti has acknowledged that his office is reviewing Geronimo's case but according to the *Los Angeles Times* (24 May) he has "set no deadline for completion of the review."

We cannot let Geronimo's fate lie in the hands of L.A.'s top prosecutor. The D.A.'s office together with the FBI concocted the frame-up of Geronimo and has contrived at every step to keep this innocent man behind bars. It was the D.A.'s representative to Geronimo's 1987 parole hearing who baldly stated the former Panther leader would not be released because he's "still a revolutionary."

Geronimo's 12th parole hearing is scheduled for August 24. Support for Geronimo has come from many quarters—NAACP head Ben Chavis, Congressman Ron Dellums, Amnesty International, and notably from trade unions including the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, California teachers, ILWU warehouse Local 6, Social Service Union SEIU Local 535, Chicago ATU transit workers, Pasadena Letter Carriers and many others. Most recently, SEIU Local 660 (Los Angeles County Employees) has raised its voice for Geronimo's release.

The time is now to fight for Geronimo who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system from behind bars for too long. Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga! ■

WV Photo

Demonstration initieted by the Pertisen Defense Committee outside San Francisco federal court in 1989 demends freedom for Geronimo.

Notice to Readers

With this issue, the price of *Workers Vanguard* will increase to 50 cents. A one year's subscription to *WV* will cost $10, including not only *Spartacist* (English-language edition) but now also *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*.

What's Behind "Workers Aid for Bosnia"

Imagine self-styled leftists running supplies for the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim regime, with British and French imperialist troops riding shotgun. Strange but true: that's "Workers Aid for Bosnia."

For more than a year now, a number of so-called Trotskyist groups in West Europe, particularly Cliff Slaughter's British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), have been pushing this campaign as an example of "working-class internationalism." This gives a whole new meaning to doublespeak! As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote of this pro-imperialist lash-up shortly after it emerged: "The long and short of it is that 'Workers Aid for Bosnia,' which retails the imperialist propaganda for 'poor little Bosnia,' is simply a stalking horse for NATO intervention" (*Workers Hammer* No. 137, September/October 1993).

"Workers Aid" takes its cue directly from more potent ruling-class forces, particularly in Britain and France, which have the largest troop contingents in the UN "peacekeeping" forces in ex-Yugoslavia. The British Conservative government of Prime Minister John Major has been under attack by an unholy alliance ranging from the Labour Party to right-wing Tories like "Iron Lady" (now Baroness) Margaret Thatcher for not being aggressive enough on the side of the Bosnian Muslim regime. Among the endorsers of "Workers Aid" are former Labour Party leader Michael Foot and the head of the Trades Union Congress.

Likewise in France, home to the largest USec grouping, there is a sizable wing within ruling circles pushing for a more belligerent line against Serbia, including Socialist Party leader Michel Rocard. In the recent European Union elections, a "Europe Begins in Sarajevo" slate was fielded by intellectuals who participated in the May '68 student revolt and have since moved far to the right. The Sarajevo slate campaigned to "place Bosnia at the center of the electoral debate" and demanded an end to the arms embargo against Bosnia. So does the "Workers Aid" crowd.

The WRP's *Workers Press*, which proclaims this campaign "the centre of its political work," regularly runs banner headlines reading, "Timex to Tuzla," seeking to link a defeated Timex strike in Scotland to the Bosnian mining community which is the recipient of their campaign. Accounts in the newspapers of the various backers of "Workers Aid" describe the multiethnic character of Tuzla's miners and how they sent aid to the British miners strike of 1984-85. But the "Workers Aid" campaign has *nothing* to do with supporting the multinational working class in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These "leftist" charlatans cynically use the plight of the Tuzla mining community *to promote political support to the Bosnian Muslim government* in the three-sided fratricidal war in the former Yugoslavia and *to push for imperialist support to Bosnia*.

Pseudo-Trotskyists promote "Workers Aid" scam to provoke NATO/UN imperialist intervention against Serbs.

What residual cross-communal unity and secularism may exist in cities like Tuzla has been swamped by nationalist and communalist forces on all sides, including those of the Bosnian government. Indeed, one of the tragedies of the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia, which the WRP and the other supporters of "Workers Aid" did their best to abet, is the tearing apart of heavily integrated communities. In the course of the civil war, the Serbian population of Tuzla has been reduced from 20,000 to barely 8,000, while formerly Serb villages in the surrounding area have been razed to the ground. The predominant political force there is now the Muslim nationalist Party of Democratic Action. Pointing to the growing presence of Islamic extremists, one Tuzla woman complained: "I can't wear a mini-skirt in the street without them swearing at me. They say I should be ashamed of myself."

"Make the Imperialists Fight"?

Workers Press has become a blatant press agent for the Sarajevo regime of Alija Izetbegovic, which it paints as a multinational government "democratically elected by the Bosnian people as a whole" (*Workers Press*, 7 August 1993). The WRP echoes imperialist propaganda that Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic is "the Hitler of the Balkans" (*Workers Press*, 31 July 1993). In fact, Izetbegovic is no less a diehard nationalist than Milosevic. The Bosnian leader's 1990 "Islamic Declaration" called for "the islamization of Muslims." One of his military commanders identifies with CIA-financed Afghan fundamentalist cutthroat Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and proclaims, "Bosnia must be a Muslim country" (London *Sunday Times*, 27 June 1993).

But even if the Sarajevo regime were secularist, which it is not, there would still be no basis for revolutionary socialists to give military support to the Muslim forces against the Serbs. Bosnia is not a nation and there is no Bosnian "people." Formerly a province in the Ottoman and then Hapsburg empires, Bosnia-Hercegovina was set up as a constituent republic in Titoist Yugoslavia, intended to be a model of interethnic harmony among the three closely related peoples—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims—who had become thoroughly geographically intermingled.

Thus since the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state broke up along national lines in 1991, Bosnia has experienced a communalist war in which all sides commit atrocities and "ethnic cleansing" on a scale depending upon the shifting balance of military forces. Within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, any victory for the Bosnian Muslims must necessarily come at the expense of the Serbs and Croats. There can be no democratic solution to bloody nationalist conflict in Bosnia or other regions of ex-Yugoslavia short of proletarian revolution leading to a Socialist Federation of the Balkans.

Such a perspective is utterly alien to the WRP Slaughterites, Mandel's USec, etc., whose ultimate goal lies in successfully pressuring their own imperialist bourgeoisies. Indicatively, a recent Slaughterite statement mooting a merger of its Workers International with the Morenoite International Workers League on the basis of their "joint intervention in the Workers Aid for Bosnia campaign" does not so much as mention the word imperialism. Not an accident, as they say. The Sarajevo regime centers its military strategy on provoking imperialist intervention against the Serbs. This is where "Workers Aid" comes in.

"Workers Aid" asked for guarantees of "safe passage" from the UN "peacekeeping" forces, specifically insisting that the imperialists secure a route through the northern corridor of Bosnia. On the eve of a second convoy in the spring, Workers International member Dot Gibson wrote directly to the Croatian defense minister to "arrange for the blockade on the northern route from Orasje to Tuzla to be lifted" (*Workers Press*, 15 January). A banner at a convoy "report back" conference in London last October demanded: "UN must open the Northern Route to Tuzla!" Why the northern route? Because this is Serb-held territory. *The WRP is directly calling on the UN imperialist forces to launch an attack on Serb positions. And furthermore their target is the Posavina corridor through Brcko where the Bosnian Muslims are massing forces for their next offensive!*

Where Slaughter & Co. once perennially demanded, "Make the Labour Lefts fight," now they proclaim: "Make the imperialists fight!"

Meanwhile the USec set up its own "International Workers Aid"—with an office in the Croatian city of Split—and boasts of calling on the Zagreb regime of fascist Ustasha apologist Franjo Tudjman to officially recognize it as a "non-governmental organization" (*International Viewpoint*, April 1994)! The Mandelites crow that their supporters are actually driving the trucks in these UN auxiliary convoys. But this is nothing new for the USec, which did the same

continued on page 6

Christophe Simon

Social democrats mask imperialist intervention with "humanitarian" rhetoric. Above: French "Socialist" president François Mitterrand (center) visiting Sarajevo in 1992.

Clinton's Little Drummer Persons

Rad-Libs for Imperialist Intervention

Headlines like "Give War a Chance," Demands that "The West must impose a solution in Bosnia," Calls for "Military action to put Aristide back into office." This is the language of military "hawks," hut it comes from the mouths of long-time liberal "doves" and even self-styled "radicals" and "socialists." The headlines appear in the pages not of William F. Buckley's *National Review* hut of the social-democratic *In These Times*. They are the voices of "The New Interventionists," as a headline in the *Village Voice* (10 May) labeled them, 1960s-era antiwar liberals and radicals who today beat the drums for U.S. imperialist intervention in Bosnia, Haiti and elsewhere.

The new breed of imperialist hawks has become particularly vocal since fellow Democrat and erstwhile liberal "antiwar" protester Bill Clinton entered the White House, having denounced Repuhlican Bush from the right for not intervening in ex-Yugoslavia. Among them are prominent rad-lib types like Christopher Hitchens and Susan Sontag, who during the Vietnam War went to Hanoi in an act of solidarity and denounced the U.S. as "the cancer of the human race." Other "new interventionists" include former SDS leader Todd Gitlin, liberal Zionist *Tikkun* editor Michael Lerner, Princeton professor and *Nation* editorial hoard member Richard Falk, and the social-democratic guru of the new "god that failed" crowd, one Tim Wohlforth.

These types have begun to sound like notorious right-wing Air Force General Curtis LeMay, who wanted to bomb Vietnam hack into the Stone Age. Sontag and Hitchens call for bombing Serb positions in Bosnia. Lerner calls for bombing Serbia "to give a clear message to the Serbs and to everyone else that there is a price for genocide"—everyone, that is, except the Israeli butchers he consistently amnesties, who have been carrying out murderous repression of the Palestinian Arab masses for decades.

In the name of opposing the bloody military junta, the "new interventionists" also urge Washington to tighten the screws on Haiti, where Falk (who favors a "large-scale invasion" of Bosnia) sees "a positive case for 'cheap' intervention." Pro-Democratic Hollywood *glitterati* join with former anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson and the Congressional Black Caucus to push Clinton to step up the embargo of Haiti and move toward a full-scale military invasion. Moaning that "the Joint Chiefs of Staff are the greatest pacifists in the country," Susan Sontag's son, essayist David Rieff, raves: "The Haitian military will be kicked out of Port-au-Prince by the 82nd Airborne or it won't be kicked out at all."

Falk's article in the *Nation* (20 December 1993), titled "Intervention Revisited: Hard Choices and Tragic Dilemmas," has become a manifesto of the "new interventionists." Proclaiming the "moral and legal case for intervention" in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia "compelling," Falk acknowledges an obstacle in "the memory of bloody defeat in Vietnam," which makes the U.S. "too unwilling to accept death selectively on its side in order to sustain humanitarian claims when these are tested by resistance." To get around the "Vietnam syndrome," Falk rehashes a scheme for U.S. involvement in a permanent UN expeditionary force put forward by prominent Clintonites during the election—and shelved after the Pentagon got its nose bloodied in the streets of Mogadishu.

Alexander Cockburn, the *enfant terrible* of the liberal hourgeoisie, denounces the rad-lib warmongers as "laptop hombardiers." But Cockburn *also* supports imperialist intervention in Bosnia, in the form of "a much larger [UN] peacekeeping force" (*Nation*, 23 May). In 1990, Cockburn joined with the Communist Party and other reformists in what we described at the time as the "UN fig leaf brigade" in pushing for UN economic sanctions against Iraq as an "alternative" to the Pentagon's war buildup. In contrast, we denounced the imperialist embargo and called for defense of Iraq

and defeat of U.S. imperialism in the war, noting of Cockburn and his ilk:

> "Cockburn and the CP want economic sanctions against Iraq, but nothing 'messy' like troops and warships. But to enforce sanctions, you need a blockade, and a blockade is an act of *war* backed up by the prospect of a shooting war, whether it's carried out under the Stars and Stripes or under the blue flag of the United Nations."
>
> —"Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves" (*WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990)

The UN starvation blockade not only led directly to the U.S.-led invasion, but has since killed hundreds of thousands more Iraqis, especially children and the elderly. Today embargoes have become a favored instrument in the "New World Order" for imposing U.S. imperialism's interests "on the cheap" from Cuba to Serbia to Haiti, where the already impoverished black masses suffer from ever more severe malnutrition.

From Patriotic Pacifism to Imperialist Militarism

The mutation of Vietnam doves into "New World Order" hawks is not at all strange. Buying into the lie of "détente," they evenhandedly denounced U.S imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state as "superpowers," while trying to duck the question of social revolution in Indochina. At hottom the radicalized petty-bourgeois intellectuals were reflecting the interests of a wing of the American ruling class which understood that its *losing* war in Vietnam was not in Washington's long-term interests.

As soon as the Vietnamese succeeded in driving out the U.S. and its Saigon puppet regime, a string of "sadder but wiser" antiwar liberals like Joan Baez and Jane Fonda came forward to make their amends with U.S. imperialism through anti-Communist denunciations of the Stalinist regime in Hanoi. Where they had rallied behind a patriotic-pacifist appeal in the late 1960s-early '70s to "bring our boys home," we Spartacists called for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" and marched behind the banner: "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

The rightward lurch of the radicalized intelligentsia was exemplified hy the *New York Review of Books*, which started out as an organ of "literary" strikebreaking, seeking to "fill the gap" in the 1966 NYC newspaper strike. During the Vietnam War it became the principal organ of the rad-lib milieu, publishing articles such as Mary McCarthy's reports from North Vietnam under U.S. bombardment. As Democrat Jimmy Carter moved to morally and militarily rearm American imperialism with his anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade in the late 1970s, the rad-libs' "anti-imperialist" rhetoric gave way to impassioned calls for (capitalist) "democracy" in East Europe. By the early 1980s, the *NYRB* was filled with articles singing the praises of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the religious company union for Wall Street and the CIA.

"The God That Failed," Again

The itinerary of the Vietnam-era radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia is hardly unique. It recalls that of the self-proclaimed "independent" leftists around the magazine *Partisan Review* in the 1930s. (*NYRB* founding editor Barhara Epstein is a former *Partisan Review* editor.) Although they excoriated the CP Stalinists for the frame-up Moscow trials and bloody purges in Russia, even printing an occasional article hy Trotsky, these intellectuals were a product of the Popular Front period when radical "leftism" was viewed in liberal circles as "respectable." When the Soviet Union's popularity plummeted in petty-bourgeois "democratic" opinion following the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, these "disappointed intellectuals" (as Trotsky called them) became rabidly anti-Soviet, and virtually the entire *Partisan Review* crowd later signed on to defend the war aims of U.S. imperialism in World War II. In the postwar years, these former "leftists" were among the most rahid anti-Communist ideologues of the Cold War.

At the time Isaac Deutscher observed that while Stalinists who became anti-Cnmmunists could do no better than to become police informers, their ex-Trotskyist counterparts became ideological apologists for Western imperialism Very much intertwined with the *Partisan Review* crowd in this respect were Max Shachtman and James Burnham, who, refusing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, split from the Trotskyist movement at the onset of World War II. Denouncing the Soviet Union as a new form of exploitative class society dubbed "bureaucratic collectivis n," Shachtman was pushed hy the prevailing winds of the Cold War in the late 1940s in the direction of mainstream social democracy (Burnham became a raving right-winger).

In this period the Shachtmanites were associated with the similarly "third campist" British group of Tony Cliff, which broke from Trotskyism in refusing to defend North Korea against U.S. imperialism but maintained more of a leftist veneer, reflecting the higher level of working-class consciousness and struggle in the British Isles. By the early 1960s, Shachtman had become a full-fledged "State Department socialist," backing the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in the name of "democracy." Later many of Shachtman's disciples went on to become prominent Reaganite "neo-cons," while the Cliffites (represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization) became ardent "left" cheerleaders for the anti-Soviet war drive from Poland to Afghanistan and for Yeltsin's counterrevolution in the ex-USSR.

Today, Shachtman's social-democratic grandchildren are in the forefront of the "democratic" imperialist offensive. The unofficial voice of the pro-Clinton Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), *In These Times* (26 July 1993), last year featured a grotesque appeal for U.S. intervention in Bosnia by Tim Wohlforth, squeezed lemon and former toady of political bandit Gerry Healy, headlined "Give War a Chance." More recently, *In These Times* (30 May) has called on Clinton to take "military action to put Aristide back into office" as "a step toward a genuinely new world order." Yugoslav-born DSA co-chairman Bogdan Denitch (recently a candidate in elections for the Croatian parliament of Holocaust apologist Franjo Tudjman) issues shrill demands for U.S. forces to join in a UN military intervention in Bosnia.

The liberals and their social-democratic hangers-on cover their crawling before imperialism hy raising bourgeois "democracy" to the highest principle. After all, they see this racist, capitalist state as *their* state. In justifying an expeditionary force to the former Yugoslavia, Denitch pleads: "Where a democratic nation is under attack by an undemocratic one, and where the point is to restore democracy, there we can take action." Where the liberals urge the imperialist powers to adopt "just" and "democratic" policies, we Leninists understand that imperialism is not simply a policy but a *stage* of capitalism marked by an ever bloodier and more brutal grab for markets and areas of investment. From the A-bombing of Hiroshima and

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Pensacola...

(continued from page 1)

the Pensacola Ladies Center as a half dozen or more shells burst through the windshield. As he did every week when he flew in from his home near Jacksonville for appointments at the Pensacola clinic, the courageous doctor was wearing a hulletproof vest—standard practice for abortion providers these days. But Hill shot him and Barrett right in the head.

Dr. Britton, 69 years old, was the only doctor willing to perform abortions in Pensacola after the murder of Dr. David Gunn at the city's other clinic in March 1993. James Barrett, 74, was a Korean War veteran and retired Air Force lieutenant colonel, while his wife, June, 68, is a retired nurse and captain in the U.S. Health Service.

Paul Hill regularly terrorized clients and clinic workers at Pensacola's two abortion centers. Last year, he disrupted a memorial service for Dr. Gunn, yelling "you deserve to die" and other threats. Only two weeks ago, the clinic staff had demanded the FBI arrest Hill for violating the new "Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances" law, to no avail. A half hour before the murder, this known inciter to deadly violence was spotted by local cops on the clinic grounds.

Yet despite repeated firebombings, despite ongoing harassment and death threats, despite the presence of a known homicidal fanatic, Pensacola police sergeant Jerry Potts basically shrugged, "incidents where people elect to shoot at doctors are sad.... But we can't be everywhere all the time" (*Washington Post*, 30 July).

That evening, an abortion clinic in Falls Church, Virginia was firebombed. The clinic has been the scene of many anti-abortion protests.

In the aftermath of the latest murders, "responsible" voices are urging the FBI and other federal agencies to step in to defend abortion clinics. An editorial in the *New York Times* (31 July) says: "Send in the Marshals." Feminist Majority Foundation president Eleanor Smeal wants the FBI "to form a special task force." A Democratic Congressman calls on the feds to use the "same techniques" they did in infiltrating the Ku Klux Klan in the '60s and '70s. But the FBI's role in the civil rights movement was to *assist* the KKK lynchers—their racist "informers" murdered civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, and were in on the 1963 Birmingham church bombing that killed four young black girls! Last year the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, acting on orders from Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, torched a racially integrated religious commune outside Waco, Texas, murdering 86 men, women and children.

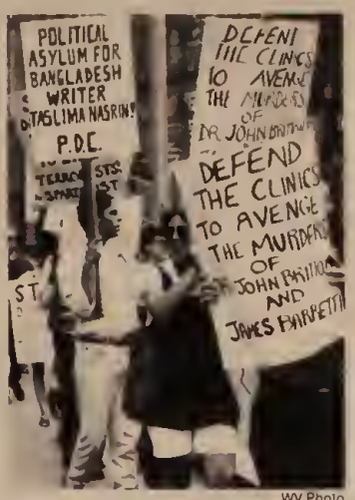
If ever an event demonstrated the suicidal futility of looking to the capitalist state—the Clinton White House, the FBI, cops and courts—to defend the rights of women and minorities, the murderous rampage in Pensacola, Florida is it. The coldblooded assassinations of David Gunn, John Britton and James Barrett cry out for justice and vengeance. Now, before the bigoted killers strike again, it is necessary for supporters of abortion rights to mobilize in force to defend the clinics the only way possible, by sweeping away the "right-to-life" mobs.

We warned after the murder of Dr. Gunn that this was not the work of a "lone wacko," but of a right-wing terrorist against women's rights. While Operation Rescue and more "mainstream" anti-abortion groups issue hypocritical "condemnations," they all promote and cover for the mad-dog killers in their midst. In the wake of the latest murders, Don Treshman, the head of Rescue America, threatened: "Up to now, the killings have been on one side, with 30 million dead babies and hundreds of dead and maimed mothers. On the other side, there are two dead doctors. Maybe the balance is going to start to shift."

Frustrated by the election of a "pro-choice" Democratic president, the right-wing anti-abortion bigots have ever more brazenly adopted a program of terror and intimidation, with chilling effect. Legal abortions are not available in 83 percent of U.S. counties, because there are no doctors willing to perform them. Blockades of abortion clinics skyrocketed *900 percent* between 1991 and 1992 alone. Fully half of 281 clinics surveyed by the Feminist Majority Foundation reported incidents in the first seven months of 1993 of murder, attempted murder, vandalism, arson, bombing, assault and battery, death threats and stalking! Last August, Dr. George Tiller barely survived a shooting as he left his abortion clinic in Wichita, Kansas.

"It should be painfully obvious to all but the blind that an entire terror network exists against the abortion clinics," said Kathleen Harris of the Spartacus Youth Club at an emergency speak-out in the San Francisco Bay Area on July 30. "The terrorists of Operation Rescue crawled out of the same cesspool that breeds the lynch mobs of the Ku Klux Klan. The same terror network against abortion clinics also is responsible for burning crosses against blacks and busting up picket lines against the workers."

Pensacola has become the focal point of the "right-to-life" terrorists. It was in this Klan-infested Florida panhandle city that Randall Terry founded Operation Rescue in 1986. At the center of the anti-abortion mobs in Pensacola is John Burt, the local head of Rescue America, who was the "spiritual adviser" to Michael Griffin, the murderer of David Gunn. Burt is an admitted "former" Klansman who was active in the lynch mob terror against school integration in St. Augustine in the 1960s. Burt also "advised" the two men who bombed the Pensacola Ladies Center and the homes of two abortion doctors on Christmas Day, 1984—six months after an earlier bombing at the clinic. Two years later, Burt and three others stormed into the Ladies Center, slamming the director against a wall, and trashed the clinic. In 1988, Burt and an accomplice parked outside the clinic with a trunkful of steel pipes, explosives and detonators. Last September, Burt pinned a note to the door of Dr. Britton's office threatening: "What would you do if you had five minutes left to live?"



WV Photo

New York: Outraged demonstrators at Foley Square, August 1.

The liberal feminist "pro-choice" organizations (NOW, NARAL, etc.) look to the "Billary" White House to defend women's rights. So, too, do reformist leftists like the Workers World Party, which calls on the government to protect women's rights. But like the Republicans, the Democratic Party of American capitalism is an *enemy* of poor and working women. Clinton has already given Congress the green light to remove abortion coverage from the health care bill. His legislation to "end welfare as we know it" targets poor and minority women and their children for starvation and death. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration pushes the reactionary "family values" campaign, as Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala imitates Dan Quayle in lambasting the media for sympathetic portrayals of single mothers.

NOW, NARAL, et al. place their faith in "their" bourgeois state and in federal legislation like the clinic access law. This is a dangerous diversion: we warned from the outset that, far from defending abortion clinics, such legislation would be used against the left and workers movement—to bust up strike pickets and militant abortion defense actions. Indeed, the "power feminists" themselves have time and again acted to *demobilize* militant defense of abortion clinics, seeking to impose "nonviolence" pledges, promoting the use of unarmed, defenseless "escorts" and preaching reliance on the courts and cops who, especially in the Deep South, heavily overlap with the KKK killers.

What is needed to win the raging war to keep abortion clinics open are *mass, militant mobilizations* drawing in all defenders of women's rights and seeking in particular to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement. It is necessary to *drive off and disperse* the rightist mobs who lay siege to the abortion clinics and thus provide a screen for the killers like Hill and Griffin. Pensacola is a right-wing bastion dominated by the Navy, including Corry Station and the Naval Air Station. At nearby Eglin Air Force Base, commandos are currently training for an invasion of Haiti. Less than an hour away is Mobile, Alabama, site of a notorious Klan lynching of a black man a few years ago. But Mobile is also home to a strong black ILA (longshore) local which could provide the core of a disciplined detachment of worker marshals to make short shrift of the racist anti-abortion terrorists.

Avenge the murders of Dr. Britton and James Barrett by mobilizing to defend the clinics! Free abortion on demand—For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Bosnia...

(continued from page 4)

for Polish Solidarność in the early '80s, running supplies "donated" by the CIA through its conduits in the German SPD and other West European social-democratic parties.

Workers Power: The Blue Flag's Flying Here

Guarding the left flank of the pro-imperialist "Workers Aid" lash-up is the British Workers Power (WP) group, which likewise raises the call, "Solidarity with Bosnian Muslims!" WP complains that the WRP's northern route strategy "could easily be interpreted as a call on the UN to blast its way through" and chastises the USec for refusing even to tack on a lip service slogan calling for "UN out of the Balkans" to its "International Workers Aid" (*Workers Power*, December 1993). But these oh-so-principled opportunists deem it "entirely legitimate to demand the UN give permission for the WAFB Convoy to pass through the Serbian-controlled Posavina Corridor, and to place a nominal UN escort at the head of the Convoy." Nothing like having British SAS (Special Air Services) Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, UN commander for Bosnia (formerly with British occupation forces in Northern Ireland), along for the ride to give you a sense of security.

Indeed, Workers Power's main gripe with the imperialist presence in Bosnia is that Sir Michael & Co. "have not lifted a finger to stop ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs. The same article which calls for "UN troops out of the Balkans" also urges support for a picket of United Nations offices in London "demanding the opening of Tuzla airport." WP also raises the slogan "Lift the arms embargo." From the mouths of Workers Power & Co., this is simply a mealy-mouthed way of calling on the imperialists (and the ultrareactionary Saudi monarch and Iranian mullahs!) to arm the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim forces. The United States Senate recently decided to join Workers Power in its endeavors, voting to demand that Clinton lift the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Not that "poor little Bosnia" is having any trouble getting weapons. Particularly since the formation of the Bosnia-Croatia federation engineered by German imperialism last spring, arms have been pouring into the Muslim nationalist regime via Zagreb. In early May, an Iranian air force transport carried in at least 60 tons of explosives and other raw materials for weapons production. The Bosnian Muslim forces have also been reinforced by "volunteers" from Turkey, Malaysia and veterans of the CIA-backed *mujahedin* war in Afghanistan. But that shouldn't bother the USec. WRP and WP, who all opposed the Soviet intervention against feudalist forces in Afghanistan.

Workers Power also has "wide" (bourgeois) backing for its demand to open the Tuzla airport. This became a rallying cry for anti-Serbia hawks in the West when the U.S. and NATO forces bombed Serb positions earlier this year to pressure Belgrade into accepting an imperialist ultimatum. In May, U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of NATO's southern flank, called for the creation of an "exclusion zone" around Tuzla to eliminate a Serbian weapons concentration near the airfield. This demand was raised again last week as part of renewed imperialist military threats against the Serbs following the collapse of the latest imperialist-sponsored "peace" deal.

With their call for solidarity with the Bosnian Muslims, Workers Power et al. have placed themselves squarely at the service of the nationalist Sarajevo regime and its NATO imperialist sponsors. Always on the lookout for a lesser evil, WP hops from tailing one reactionary force to another: only two years ago their Austrian comrades engaged in a joint action with Serbian nationalists and fascists!

As proletarian revolutionaries, we oppose all sides in the orgy of murderous nationalism that has ripped up the former Yugoslavia, while at the same time we fight against the UN/NATO economic blockade of Serbia and we call for defense of Serb forces against *imperialist* military attack. ■

Rad-Libs...

(continued from page 5)

Nagasaki, to the carpetbombing of Vietnam, to the bombing of Panamanian barrios and Iraqi cities, "democratic" U.S. imperialism has sown mass murder around the globe.

For decades, only fear of war with the Soviet Union restrained the bloody hand of American imperialism, which would otherwise have certainly used nuclear weapons in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, as well as against Castro's Cuba. But with the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, Washington proclaimed a "New World Order," reasserting its intent to rule the world. As the U.S. bourgeoisie gears up for new wars of neocolonial conquest and ultimately world war against its imperialist rivals—in which all sides will be armed with atomic weapons—the choice is truly, as the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it, between socialism and barbarism. And the "new interventionists" are the drumbeaters for a new imperialist war. ■

L.A. Transit: Unions Under the Gun

LOS ANGELES, August 2—Transit workers on the West Coast are battling attempts by capitalist politicians, both Republican and Democrat, to wipe out hard-won union gains and even the core of the unions themselves. In L.A., bus mechanics met at the Convention Center today and voted to accept a contract after eight days on the picket line. The agreement gives the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) enormous power to carry out the "privatization" of bus lines through contracting out, with resulting layoffs. In addition, the contract contains divisive "two-tier" wages for new hires.

In L.A. the strike was solid as drivers and clerks honored the mechanics' picket lines. But in a stab in the back, United Transportation Union bureaucrats kept Metrolink rail workers, members of UTU Local 84, on the job while their brothers and sisters were out against the rest of the transit system. The private companies which make up Foothill Transit, which will be the prime beneficiaries of the privatization, ran hundreds of scab buses—driven by Teamsters!

The transit union tops never fought against the scab buses and anti-union campaign orchestrated by Mayor Richard Riordan. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown also came out against the strike, calling for the imposition of a strikebreaking 60-day "cooling off" period.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, some 2,000 workers at the Bay Area Rapid Transit system (BART) have had it with union-busting attacks and are in open revolt against their own union leadership. BART workers decisively voted down (twice!) a rotten contract recommended by their own union misleaders that used work-rule changes to attack seniority—the heart of unionism. Without seniority, workers are at the mercy of racist, labor-hating management who will victimize minorities and union members who speak up, setting worker against worker. The contract would also have frozen wages, sharply increased the cost of health benefits and used unionized lead workers as a club against other workers.

In separate negotiations at AC Transit, where some 1,700 East Bay bus drivers and mechanics represented by Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192 have been working without a contract since the end of March, the ranks rejected the bosses' "offer" by a two-to-one margin on July 11. But in a dirty backroom deal, Local 192 misleaders agreed to a "voluntary cooling off period" until August 5. And across the Bay, San Francisco city workers' union tops agreed to an across-the-board wage freeze and a ban on strikes because otherwise, moaned SF Labor Council president Josie Mooney, "it would have been a war, and nobody wanted that" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 July).

After Vice President Al Gore intervened and Governor Pete Wilson imposed a no-strike order for 30 days, the bureaucrats in the BART unions, SEIU Local 790 and ATU Local 1555, insisted that the law mandated this strikebreaking order be imposed for a full 60 days! War has been declared by the bosses, but labor's hands are tied by class traitors at the top who must be ousted.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacist League on July 26 as the strike began.

* * *

Over 7,000 transit workers shut down L.A.'s bus, trolley and subway system at midnight on July 25. The strike against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority is finally on—and it is a fight that all working people, minorities and poor in Los Angeles can and must win.

With bus and train drivers from the United Transportation Union and clerks from the Transportation Communications Union honoring the picket lines of striking Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) mechanics, the strike has quickly crippled the MTA. But Mayor Riordan, the County Supervisors and the rest of the MTA board have declared they want to crack the union, "privatizing" bus routes, contracting out work, freezing wages and cutting health benefit payments. Over 80 mechanics were laid off last week. This strike is a critical class battle for all Southern California labor—city/county workers, truck drivers, longshoremen, L.A. teachers, aerospace, airline, hotel and construction workers. Victory to the L.A. transit strike!

With the union workers solid, the MTA bosses are trying to run the Red Line subway and Blue Line trolley during the day, adding cars to the Metrolink commuter rail, and hiring private bus company scabs to run 300 buses. Any attempt to run trains with management scabs can and must be stopped by mass picket lines. The way to win this strike and win it fast is to shut down all L.A. transit systems, bringing downtown, Century City and the capitalist profits of Pacific Rim bankers grinding to a halt. Transit workers in the Bay Area are under similar attack and are itching to go out on strike. Like L.A. transit workers, Bay Area workers are currently chopped up into a dozen different unions and locals—this strike points clearly to the need for all transit workers to be in one industrial union. Strike together to win!

The key to winning this strike is leadership. In every bus barn and shop, strike committees drawn from among the workers themselves must take charge and run this strike. The contract expired on June 30, but the union tops did everything they could to prevent a strike, and continue to keep strikers in the dark. The real problem is political—the trade union bureaucrats are in bed with the ruling class, aiming to "mediate" the conflict between capital and labor in order to maintain the status quo. But given major shifts in the American economy and changes in the world situation, a program of maintaining the status quo necessarily means assisting the capitalists in carrying out major cuts in the standard of living of the workers. From rubber workers in Alabama to Caterpillar workers in Illinois, strikes have erupted as workers are pushed to the wall.

Through the last four presidencies—Carter, Reagan, Bush, and now Clinton—the U.S. ruling class systematically deindustrialized the unionized Midwest and moved operations to the open-shop South as well as offshore. Their purpose is to drive down wages and drive up productivity, and that means destroying organized labor. Having driven down U.S. wages by over 20 percent, now they're after unionized municipal workers who the bosses say make "too much" money.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalist rulers around the world now believe there is no limit to their exploitation of labor and minorities. In 1917 the working people in Russia overthrew capitalism and established their own state and a planned economy. When the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy later usurped political power from the workers, the Soviet Union very much resembled a giant labor union with bureaucratic leadership, only with state power. The capitalists hated the Soviet Union because for them it still symbolized the workers revolution. Having been destroyed from within by the Stalinist bureaucracy whose final betrayal was to restore capitalism, the Soviet Union is no longer there to suggest the seizure of power by the workers. Now, in western Europe just as in the U.S., the ruling class is waging a wholesale attack on the working class—with double-digit unemployment, attacks on unions and minorities, and the gutting of social welfare programs which had been maintained for decades.

It is desperately necessary to fight. But from letting Reagan fire striking air traffic controllers in 1981 to hobbling and selling out Teamster truckers earlier this year, the current misleadership of the unions has blocked the mobilization of labor's real power at every point. These treacherous bureaucratic middlemen must be removed and replaced with a leadership politically armed with the methods and program of class struggle. Their collaboration with the ruling class is politically expressed and organized through the Democratic Party, which ties workers to the capitalists who exploit them. The Republicans prefer to rule with the naked fist of state repression. The Democrats lie and do the same thing. Workers need their own party—a class-struggle workers party, committed to the fight for a workers government.

What counts in a strike is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, militancy, organization and discipline, and their relation to the decisive means of production. Labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization—the picket line, solidarity strike, secondary boycott. The capitalists' arsenal is their state—the courts, cops, and ultimately the army—which is not neutral but the guardian of the capitalists' "law and order." Whatever helps the workers win, the capitalist state can declare "illegal." But there are no "illegal" winning strikes. And if you play by the rules laid down by your enemy, you are guaranteed to lose. Any "cooling off periods" will be an attempt to cut the throat of the strike. In the Bay Area, Vice President Gore intervened to get a "cooling off" period to head off a pending BART strike. Coal miners knew what to do when Democrat Jimmy Carter invoked a Taft-Hartley injunction against their strike in 1978—they burned it.

Teamster truck drivers got a tough lesson in the class nature of the state during their strike last April: strikebreaking

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Bay Area Transit Workers Rebel Against No-Strike Union Tops

WV Photo

Striking Los Angeles transit workers at downtown picket line, July 27.

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Eric Miller/Impact Visuals

Workers greet formation of COSATU trade-union federation in Western Cape in 1986. Powerful black workers movement challenged apartheid system but has remained shackled to ANC/SACP nationalist popular front.

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

AUGUST 1—The first part of this series (*WV* No. 603, 8 July) explained how the apartheid system—centrally based on the superexploitation of black labor—developed as a product of the European colonial subjugation of pastoral peoples in southern Africa. It described the explosive conditions created by the "power sharing" coalition government of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and the white ruling

PART TWO

National Party of F.W. De Klerk. In particular, we pointed out that the powerful black workers movement—believing it was "payback time"—was bound to challenge the ANC leaders, now acting as junior partners of the white capitalist class.

That challenge has now come with a vengeance! In a little over two months since the new government took office, almost 50 separate workers actions—involving gold and platinum mining, steel, textiles and apparel, telecommunications, postal service, municipal and even court workers—have rocked South Africa. Days lost due to strikes in the second quarter of this year—that is, right before and right after Mandela's election as the country's first black president in late April—are up 70 percent over the same period last year. Already there have been more strikes this year than in any since 1987, the year of the great gold strike, the largest in South African history.

Growth of the Black Workers Movement

The *New York Times* (23 July), the premier mouthpiece for the American ruling class, reports worriedly:

> "[T]he soaring hopes of workers have collided with the new economic reality, creating a fallout of strikes and disenchantment.
>
> "Unionists who regard themselves as heroes of the liberation struggle often find themselves pilloried as an impediment to foreign investment, a menace to economic discipline and a potential threat to the Government they helped elect...."

We had written that the black workers would quickly come up against the repressive apparatus of the "new" South Africa, which is essentially the same police/army/security forces of the old apartheid regime. Already there are photos of combative strikers facing shotgun-wielding cops at the Pick 'n Pay grocery store chain, pictures that looked like they were from the height of the anti-apartheid struggle. Now, just two days after Mandela personally appealed to the trade-union leaders for labor peace, tens of thousands of auto workers have walked out, striking Volkswagen, Delta, Mercedes Benz, BMW and Nissan plants in Port Elizabeth and East London.

Yet black workers cannot defend or further their interests simply through struggles at the trade-union level, however militant. The proletariat must place itself at the head of the struggle for the national liberation of the black African people as well as the coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians, a struggle culminating in a black-centered workers government. This question stands at the heart of the relationship of the black workers movement, which developed over the last generation, to the now-bourgeois nationalist ANC leadership. It is out of a struggle against this new ruling layer and its "labor lieutenants" that a racially integrated, revolutionary vanguard party must be built.

* * *

Formed in 1912, the African National Congress has historically exercised political hegemony over the black African masses, at various junctures eclipsing, absorbing or subordinating rival and other independent organizations. In its first decades of existence, the ANC was a relatively small organization of the black African elite, whose main activity consisted of futilely lobbying the British imperial authorities to pursue more liberal policies in South Africa.

As part of the rightward turn of the international Stalinist movement toward "popular frontism" in the mid-1930s, the South African Communist Party entered the ANC. Over the course of the next several decades the SACP cadre became completely intertwined with the non-Stalinist, petty-bourgeois nationalist elements in the ANC, producing a hybrid political formation.

The weakening of British imperialism after World War II led in South Africa to its displacement in 1948 by the Afrikaner Nationalist regime, which strengthened and rigidified the racist

Salguero/NY Times

Weekly Mail & Guardian

The "new" South Africa: black workers striking Pick 'n Pay grocery store chain in July faced shotgun-wielding racist cops.

police state under the banner of apartheid (separateness). At the same time, the wave of anti-imperialist struggles which swept colonial Africa and Asia in this period had strong reverberations in South Africa. A new generation of radical black nationalists, exemplified by Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, ousted the conservative "old guard" of the ANC and turned the organization toward militant action. During the 1950s, the ANC led a series of mass campaigns in defiance of the new apartheid legislation, such as the pass laws.

The Afrikaner nationalist regime responded with ever more savage and effective repression, culminating in the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. In its aftermath, the entire leadership and most of the cadre of the ANC and rival nationalist Pan-Africanist Congress were imprisoned or driven into exile. The 1960s saw the totalitarian suppression of all black struggle and independent political life.

In this heyday of apartheid capitalism, South Africa was a magnet for American and British investment, the U.S. business magazine *Fortune* writing in 1972:

> "The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capital is not threatened by political instability or nationalization. Labor is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible."
>
> —quoted in Martin J. Murray, ed., *South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition* (1982)

The 1970s: Eroding the Apartheid Police State

Yet just as these words were written, events began to explode South Africa's image as a veritable paradise for multinational banks and corporations. In 1973, a mass strike wave of factory and municipal workers in Durban signaled the emergence of a new black union movement which would become one of the largest and strongest in the Third World. At the same time, a new generation of student-youth, centered around Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), were trying to break the shackles of apartheid slavery.

Partly inspired by the defeat of the South African army in Angola by the Cubans and their left-nationalist Angolan allies a few months earlier, in June 1976 thousands of black youth marched through Soweto protesting the compulsory teaching of Afrikaans—the language of the hated oppressor—in the schools. The white-supremacist regime answered with a bloodbath. While the heroism and martyrdom of South Africa's black plebeian youth captured the world's attention, the Achilles' heel of the apartheid system was its dependence on black labor.

The continuing growth of black unions led in 1979 to their legalization, in the regime's calculation a means of more effectively controlling a movement which it could not simply suppress. Nonetheless, these unions were still too weak to seriously challenge the apartheid system. Union organizers—who included a number of white radicals—recognized that the white-supremacist regime was not going to be dislodged or even liberalized in the near future. Hence, they saw their task as one of gradually building up the union's strength on the shop floor. However, we predicted at the time:

> "In a longer historic term, apolitical bread-and-butter unionism cannot prevail in South Africa. The white racist oppression of the black masses is too deep, too brutal, too all-sided, too obvious. That most black workers have their families and relatives on the bantustans in itself goes against a narrow trade-unionist consciousness."
>
> —"The Struggle for Independent Black Unions in South Africa," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

While the ANC retained the passive allegiance of the black masses as "their" liberation organization, the activists who came to the fore in the 1970s—both student militants and union organizers—emerged outside the organizational structures of the ANC/SACP and did not share its ideological outlook and program. The dominant current among student-youth was the BCM.

The new black union movement lacked a single, dominant current but was rather highly politically diverse. Some unions were led by old ANC/SACP veterans, others were affiliated with the Black Consciousness Movement. However, the two most important union groupings—the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)—were genuinely independent of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movements.

no credit

Powerful mass strike wave in Durban in 1973 marked the emergence of new black workers movement.

The NUM was organized by a young black lawyer, Cyril Ramaphosa, who had previously been one of the directors of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by Harry Oppenheimer, to promote the development of a black middle class. Oppenheimer, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate, was the godfather of the "liberal" English-speaking capitalist opposition to the Afrikaner Nationalist regime. Anglo American invited Ramaphosa to organize the gold miners in order to head off their unionization by more radical forces.

In its first years the NUM was an extremely cautious, narrowly economist and apolitical union. Nonetheless, given the truly hellish conditions of black gold miners, it grew rapidly into the country's largest union. In later years, under the pressure of its base, the NUM engaged in some bitter, hard-fought battles with the mine bosses. However, Ramaphosa always represented the political right wing of the black union movement before becoming the new general secretary of the ANC a few years ago.

The most important union grouping in the late 1970s and early '80s was FOSATU, whose leadership represented a quasi-syndicalist current which later came to be called "workerism." They expressed distrust that an ANC government would ride roughshod over the black workers movement, pointing to post-colonial Africa, especially Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, where post-independence nationalist regimes suppressed the unions which helped them to power. A 1982 address by FOSATU's general secretary Joe Foster was generally regarded as a declaration of trade-union independence from the ANC/SACP. Describing the ANC as "a great populist liberation movement," he argued that "workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organization...to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will [in the] end have no option but to turn against their worker supporters" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, July 1982).

While the FOSATU leadership was clearly to the left of both the ANC/SACP and the Black Consciousness Movement, it was fundamentally incapable of politically defeating and displacing them as the leadership of the oppressed black African masses. In a critical assessment of FOSATU's "workerist" politics, we wrote:

> "Foster's assertion of the need for independent working-class organization and his warning about the potentially treacherous character of petty-bourgeois nationalism—in themselves entirely valid statements—are used here to justify trade-union economism. Foster defines the task of trade unions as defending the sectoral interests of workers within the framework of apartheid capitalism. He assigns to the nationalist-populist ANC the herculean task of liberating enslaved black people from white colonial rule with perhaps incidental aid from the black union movement. But this is a task that petty-bourgeois nationalism *cannot* fulfill. The only way to ensure that national liberation movements do not turn against their worker supporters is for the workers movement to place *itself* at the head of the oppressed black people, to combat every manifestation of white racist rule ..."
>
> —"South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key," *WV* No. 366, 9 November 1984

The failure to develop a revolutionary workers party in South Africa would lead over the next decade to the increasing subordination of the black union movement to the petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC, which in turn became increasingly directly subordinate to the white ruling class.

The 1980s: Prelude to the "Power Sharing" Deal

Whereas in the early 1970s Wall Street and the City of London viewed South Africa as a bastion of political stability amid the turbulent Third World, a decade later they saw things very differently. The American imperialists in particular were concerned with the growth of anti-Western radicalism among the black masses. The South African Communist Party (SACP) was one of the few in the world which retained and even enhanced its popular authority. SACP head Joe Slovo was best known as leader of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). In 1981, a study commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation, titled *South Africa: Time Running Out*, concluded "all the ingredients of a major crisis are present there. The dangers of political instability, large-scale racial conflict, and the growth of Communist influence are real."

The Rockefeller Foundation's forebodings were realized in the black township revolt of 1984-85. The regime's collaborators and police informers were terrorized and in some cases killed. Rents went unpaid. Effective control of the segregated black cities like Soweto and Alexandra passed into the hands of popular committees generally supportive of the ANC. Militant bands of plebeian youth, calling themselves "the

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Financial Times

Soweto youth saw Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 as harbinger of liberation. ANC leadership betrayed struggle for black freedom in "power sharing" deal with white ruling class.

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

comrades," became the shock troops of the revolt.

Black militants in South Africa and leftists throughout the world believed that the hated white-supremacist regime was about to fall. But while the black masses had the power to "make the townships ungovernable," in the ANC/SACP's watchword of the day, the white ruling class retained both the military force and political will to isolate and crush the revolt. As we wrote at the time:

> "South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down."
>
> —"South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985

By 1986 the Afrikaner National Party regime of P.W. Botha had broken the township revolt, killing over a thousand blacks and imprisoning 20,000 anti-apartheid activists.

Nonetheless, the revolt had convinced decisive sections of the white ruling class and even more so their senior partners in Washington and London that some kind of deal with the ANC was needed if South Africa was to regain any degree of political stability. Prominent white businessmen such as Anglo American's Gavin Relly journeyed to Lusaka, Zambia for well-publicized meetings with the ANC's exile leadership. While denouncing such meetings as treasonable, the Botha regime itself began secret negotiations with the imprisoned Mandela in 1986, as well as establishing contact with the ANC exile leadership.

The beginnings of "power sharing" talks reflected the fact that during the township revolt the ANC re-established its political/organizational hegemony over the black masses. The Black Consciousness Movement lost ground and prominent militants to the ANC. The township revolt greatly enhanced the popular authority of the pro-ANC unions and tended to discredit the semi-syndicalist FOSATU, which continued to concentrate on shop-floor organizing as if nothing much had changed in South Africa.

The FOSATU ranks, especially shop stewards in the Transvaal, pressured the "workerist" leadership into participating in the mass revolt against the apartheid state. In November 1984, FOSATU (represented by Moses Mayekiso) joined with student and community groups as well as pro-ANC unions in organizing a stayaway strike in the Transvaal around the demands of equal education for all, opposition to rent increases and the removal of white troops from the townships.

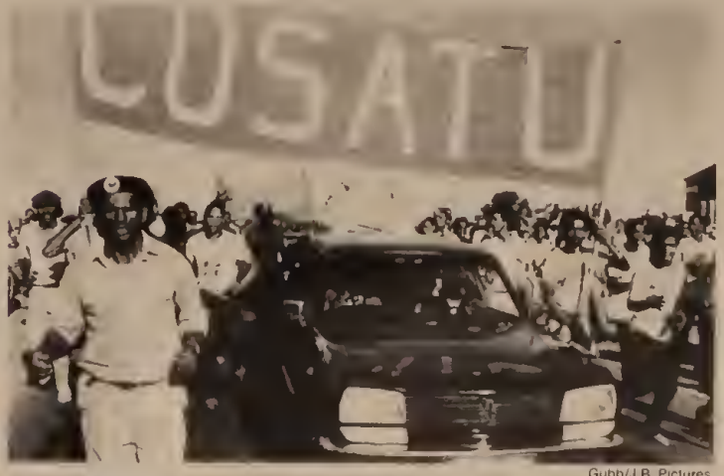
An insider's history of the black union movement by Jeremy Baskin, a leading trade-union official in the early 1990s, describes the factional struggle in FOSATU precipitated by the township revolt:

> "Fosatu's participation was not without internal tensions. Many established leaders argued that the federation was bowing to populist pressures. But these leaders were losing their tight grip on the federation. Even within Fosatu's central committee there was growing pressure for a more engaged approach. This reflected rank-and-file impatience, particularly in the Transvaal, with what was perceived to be Fosatu's political hostility towards mass action."
>
> —*Striking Back: A History of COSATU* (1991)

Thus, during the course of the township revolt those elements in FOSATU who favored actively collaborating with the ANC gained the upper hand over the core of the established leaders, who opposed such a policy.

The township revolt demonstrated that syndicalism or labourite social democracy could not prevail in South Africa's black unions. These unions could not stand passively outside a mass upheaval against the apartheid system as the FOSATU "workerist" leaders had initially tried to do. And since the FOSATU "workerists" had *no program or perspective* for leading the struggle against national oppression, they could participate in it only by accepting the dominant ANC leadership.

Indirectly, the township revolt also brought Ramaphosa's Mineworkers into the ANC camp. Ramaphosa's policies were always guided by what was acceptable to the Anglo American bosses, his original sponsors. Now that the Anglo American bosses were actively pursuing a "power sharing" deal with the ANC, Ramaphosa led his union into a nationalist popular front with the ANC.



Gubb/J B Pictures

Funeral march commemorates murdered trade-union activist in Port Elizabeth, 1986. Following suppression of township revolt in mid-1980s, COSATU emerged as main organizer of mass militant black struggle.

In November 1985, the Mineworkers, FOSATU and pro-ANC unions merged to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest organization of black labor in the country's history. We wrote:

> "The formation of COSATU certainly strengthens the economic power of black workers, and for this reason is to be welcomed by communists. But it also underscores the danger that the black working class will be used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. The new federation is demonstrably closer to the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC) than were the main union groupings which came together to form COSATU."
>
> —"South Africa: Black Union Federation Launched," *WV* No. 393, 13 December 1985

With the suppression of the township revolt, the unions soon emerged as the principal organizations of mass, militant black struggle. This was dramatically demonstrated by the great miners strike in the summer of 1987, the largest strike in the Rand gold fields in South Africa's history. At its height 340,000 miners were involved, and almost five million working shifts were lost. The strike ended in a standoff. Under the threat of mass firings, the union agreed to terms slightly better than those offered by the mine bosses before the strike. Nonetheless, the Randlords were more shaken by the sheer scale and combativity of the strike than triumphant over holding the line on wages.

However, the growing social and political power of COSATU was paralleled by its increasing subordination to the ANC. In 1987, COSATU's national congress endorsed the 1955 Freedom Charter, the basic program of the ANC, over the rearguard opposition of the "workerists." The COSATU "workerists" like NUMSA leader Mayekiso sought to resist the federation's increasing subordination to the ANC by putting forward a "workers charter" which would "articulate the basic rights of workers" and be "guaranteed by the constitution of a people's government." In other words, they advocated a pro-labor program to be implemented by a future ANC government under the pressure of a strong trade-union movement. We wrote of the COSATU "workerists" at this juncture:

> "The road to liberating the toilers of South Africa is not, however, through maintaining a strong trade-union movement under a petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC regime which it is assumed will replace white-supremacist rule. What's needed is the establishment of a black-centered workers government through smashing apartheid capitalism. This poses the formation of a racially integrated workers party, drawn primarily from class-conscious militants in the predominantly black unions. This is the only road forward if the protestations of 'socialism' and 'workers power' by left-wing militants in COSATU are not to be simply a means of pressuring the ANC."
>
> —"South Africa: Blacks Defy Apartheid Elections," *WV* No. 486, 29 September 1989

A quasi-syndicalist current could exist in the black union movement only as long as the white-supremacist regime was relatively stable and there was no immediate prospect of an ANC government. Once Mandela was released from prison in 1990 and the "power sharing" negotiations began in earnest, the COSATU "workerists" either had to support this development, seeking to influence its outcome, or put forward their own program for governmental power. But they never had a program or perspective for taking state power. Hence at this point Mayekiso and the other "workerist" leaders joined the SACP, hoping in this way to play an influential role in shaping the "new" South Africa.

The Road to the Mandela/De Klerk Government

While secret negotiations between the National Party regime and the ANC leaders had begun in 1986, for four years these talks went nowhere. Expectations that Mandela was about to be released from prison were repeatedly frustrated. The maximum the ANC leadership was willing to concede at this time was still less than the minimum demanded by the white ruling class.

The logjam in the ANC/National Party negotiations was broken by developments not in southern Africa but rather in East Europe—the breakup of the Soviet bloc and the disintegration of the Kremlin bureaucracy under Gorbachev. Like many Third World nationalist movements and regimes, the ANC based its strategy on playing off Moscow and Washington. For decades, the Soviet Union had been the ANC's primary international sponsor, supporting it in various diplomatic forums and providing arms for Umkhonto's symbolic guerrilla actions.

However, Mandela, Sisulu and Oliver Tambo (then ANC president) were by no means agents or even loyal clients of Moscow. Rather they sought to use Soviet support as a means of pressuring Western imperialism to pressure the South African ruling class into accepting a "power sharing" deal. This was the aim of the international campaign for economic sanctions and corporate divestment. After meeting with Gorbachev in 1986, Tambo called for a kind of global "popular front" against the apartheid regime: "East and West, North and South can and must act together in a decisive manner for the triumph of democracy in South Africa."

The collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989-90 thus brought with it the collapse of the ANC's entire international strategy. If the disintegrating Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy was abandoning East Europe to Western imperialism, it was certainly not going to support a client state in southern Africa. The ANC leaders now had to act within the framework set by Wall Street and the City of London and their South African partners. As National Party leader Gerrit Viljoen explained in justifying the legalization of the ANC and SACP to his white constituents:

> "Our situation has changed fundamentally by what has happened in the international field, in Eastern Europe, Russia, and in several African states recently. The total effect of all these things puts the threat posed by the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress in an entirely new context."
>
> —quoted in David Ottaway, *Chained Together: Mandela, De Klerk, and the Struggle to Remake South Africa* (1993)

While the legalization of the ANC/SACP and Mandela's release from prison in early 1990 clearly posed a "power sharing" deal with the white

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Haiti...

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million Hutus, has the support of Belgium, the former colonial overlord, and the blessing of the United States. Thus, Tutsi commander Paul Kagane was being trained at the U.S. military college at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas when he was named head of the FPR military forces.

As over Somalia, television and newspapers have been filled with heartrending images of starving Rwandan children and victims of massacres. But by now it's notorious how this propaganda served as a cover for the murderous racist occupation of Mogadishu. The UN fig leaf provides the U.S. with a modern "humanitarian" cover for a very old game: imperial domination of poor black nations. Clinton wants to reassert American imperialist hegemony over the world on the cheap. *We say: U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!*

It's a sign of the times when *Newsweek* (18 July) presents "The Case for Kind Colonialism"! In a debate titled, "Should We Invade Haiti?" the racist "pro" side echoes Clinton's classic Yankee imperialist "it's in our backyard" rationale, while the racist "con" side argues that Haiti represents no vital U.S. interests and besides it's a "snake pit." In the "New World Order," the doves of yesteryear have become rabid interventionists in Bosnia, Haiti and Rwanda, while old-time hawks have gone "isolationist"—in good part because they love Haitian strongman General Cedras.

These days, the phrase on every liberal ideologue's lips is "saving failed states"—under the aegis of UN "multilateralism." UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali has long been among the advocates of this "new" colonialism, arguing that "the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty...has passed" (*An Agenda for Peace*, June 1992). For Clinton and the American ruling class, the end of the Cold War means the U.S. should be global gendarme of the "New World Order," certainly within the Western hemisphere. The U.S. made its bloody intentions clear with the barbaric "Desert Slaughter" war on Iraq in 1990-91, made possible by the collapsing Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy under Gorbachev.

Then the U.S. moved on to invading Somalia. But the Somalia adventure became a debacle, mostly because recalcitrant Somali clans inflicted some casualties against U.S. troops in retribution for large-scale UN/U.S. massacres. In selling the Rwanda intervention, the Clinton administration claims to have learned the "lessons of Somalia." The lesson is that the U.S. still hasn't overcome the "Vietnam syndrome"—fear of a *losing* dirty imperialist war. And since the American population won't stand for casualties in imperialist adventures, this leads to repeated invasions of tiny defenseless states, from Reagan's rape of Grenada and Bush's assault on Panama to Rwanda and Haiti.

From the start we have denounced the U.S. economic sanctions against Haiti as an *act of war*, demanding "Down with the starvation blockade—Yankee imperialists hands off Haiti!" We have also warned of the danger these neocolonial war moves pose to the Cuban deformed workers state, just across the Windward Passage from Haiti, whose economy is being battered by the vindictive U.S. boycott, particularly after Soviet aid was cut off three years ago.

The U.S. blockade of Haiti has massively increased the misery of Haiti's poor; yet some so-called "socialists" actually criticize the imperialists for not squeezing hard enough! The International Socialist Organization chastises Clinton and the UN for not carrying out "a serious embargo" (*Socialist Worker*, June 1994). This view is shared by...the U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute. An SSI paper (March 1994) insists that the "bottom line" is a "worldwide U.N. embargo, enforced by warships of the United States" on "all trade and aid...*targeted much more heavily on Haitian military and civilian elites*" (emphasis in original).

Meanwhile, the Congressional Black Caucus and liberal white politicians have been demanding that the U.S. "restore democracy"—but some of them are getting cold feet, perhaps mindful that they could be saddled with responsibility for the inevitable racist atrocities which will be committed in the name of "democracy." And these atrocities are already being prepared. The lists of Aristide supporters which have been gathered by U.S. immigration personnel have not, in fact, been used to grant asylum (only 1 in 120 applications were accepted!), but they provide a very useful hit list of "troublemakers" in the event of an occupation.

Reporting on revelations by a source in the INS, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* (13 April) quoted Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights: "There is a huge information-gathering process going on in Haiti by the INS and by the Coast Guard when it returns all the repatriated Haitians. By this time, U.S. officials and the entire Haitian-military know the structure of the Haitian opposition from top to bottom. It's much like what happened 30 years ago in Indonesia when a hundred thousand Indonesians were slaughtered after a CIA-backed coup, in which the CIA apparently fed the names back to the murderers."

There are serious divisions within the American ruling class over how to deal with Haiti, in particular given the right wing's deep antipathy to the populist priest Aristide. The racist U.S. government is mainly concerned to slam the doors on desperate black refugees. Washington's irresolution was reflected in the hasty retreat last year by the USS *Harlan County* in the face of a handful of junta thugs. The *New York Times* has been so worried about getting into a quagmire that it has uncharacteristically recalled the bloody history of U.S. colonialism in the Caribbean. A recent article by Larry Rohter notes:

> "The Marine commander Smedley Butler, for instance, led forces in Panama, Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua, and once likened the American role in the region to that of 'trustees of a huge estate that belonged to minors.' He later repented his actions and in a famous autobiography called himself a 'racketeer for capitalism,' who 'helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 24 July

For the working people of the United States, especially for the oppressed black and Hispanic minorities, it should come as no surprise that the yuppie racists in the White House treat the dark-skinned workers and peasants of Third World countries with contempt and brutality. The American working class must oppose Washington's imperialist adventures down the line, as part of the struggle against our own capitalist exploiters. U.S. out of Rwanda! Hands off Haiti! ■

Le Bolchévik

Paris, July 1: Ligue Trotskyste de France demonstrates against French imperialist intervention in Rwanda.

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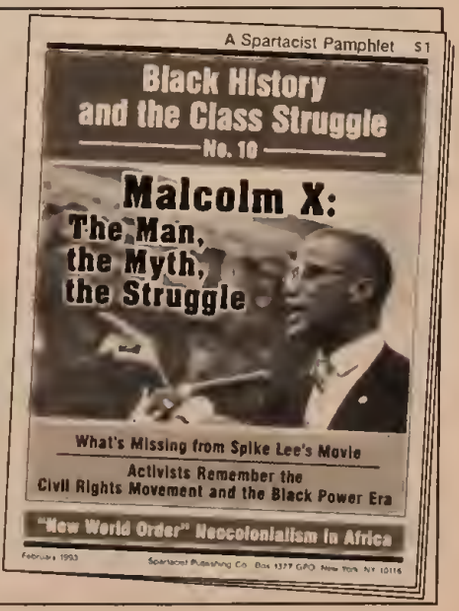


Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

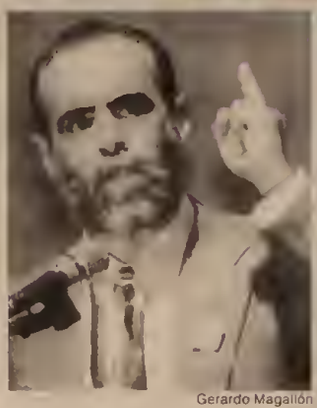
Bloody "pacification" is already hitting the bourgeois opposition; when a highway "accident" almost killed Chiapas PRD candidate Amado Avendaño and cost the lives of three of his assistants, the PRI's presidential candidate brushed it aside with shameless cynicism. With the rise in repression in recent days, four young PRD activists were barbarically tortured in Mexico City, recalling the fate of the four Cardenista students murdered in August 1988.

Each of the nine presidential candidates "recognizes" that the situation demands big changes and promises that his or her government will guarantee a peaceful road to a regime of "democracy." The only ones not represented in this contest are the workers—all the parties participating (including those government-sponsored fake opposition parties such as the bogus Partido del Trabajo [Labor Party]) represent the bourgeoisie. They are committed to continuing policies of pillage and robbery; none opposes NAFTA. It's no accident that Mexican capitalism, subjugating the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism and class collaboration backed by repression, has succeeded in slashing real wages much *more* than the Pinochet dictatorship did in Chile. Thus the profits obtained from this exploitation are sky-high.

It is the elementary duty of Marxists to stress that in these elections there is no force for which the exploited should vote. *Not one vote for the bourgeois parties!* The only solution is to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed to socialist revolution.

For seven decades the working class has been held in thrall to the corporatist, semi-bonapartist PRI regime. Despite deep-going fissures in the PRI's system of control, the *charros*, gangster-bureaucrats of the CTM [Mexican Labor Federation], still manage to oblige more than a million workers to join their [pro-government] May Day demonstration each year in Mexico City. This year the "independent" trade unions put together a unitary march, unlike the "two, three, many marches" of previous years, but in reality these unions continue to be subjugated to the neo-PRI—the PRD. The way to break the stranglehold of the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants is not the search for a fictitious bourgeois "democracy" (leaving intact the subjugation and exploitation of the working people) with calls for "unity" of all, including sectors of the bourgeoisie, but hard, unified and well-organized class struggles. What's urgently necessary is to win the *political independence of the proletariat* from these apparatuses of bourgeois rule, mobilizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed with a revolutionary program which can uproot the repression and misery that have deepened after 70 years of governments "of the Revolution."

AP



Gerardo Magallón

AP

Mexican presidential candidates compete in promoting NAFTA attack on working class (clockwise from right): populist PRD's Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, ruling PRI's technocrat Ernesto Zedillo, rightist PAN demagogue Diego Fernández de Cavallos.

Break from the Popular Front!

The PRD has been key to efforts to defuse Mexico's "social bomb." The Cárdenas-led popular front arose in order to rein in the wave of struggles that broke out after the 1982 debt crisis, including powerful strikes and mobilizations of auto and electrical workers, the Cananea miners, Sicartsa steelworkers and many other workers, as well as peasant protests and the movement of the CEU [University Students' Council, which led the mass occupation of the National University in late 1986 and early 1987]. Due to the union and "left" leaders' complete lack of a revolutionary class-struggle program, the neo-Cardenistas were largely able to pacify and subjugate these mobilizations to bourgeois electoralism and the rules of the game imposed by the capitalist state.

The PRD now openly backs NAFTA and assures Yankee imperialism that the popular front is the best way to control social unrest. In the famous May 12 candidates' debate Cárdenas underlined that he wants to govern with figures "from business, banking, commerce...." In his May 22 declaration "99 Years from the Birth of Lázaro Cárdenas" [his father, the nationalist president who ruled from 1934-40], he promised, "We will also govern with the Armed Forces" of bloody repression, "which we want people to respect and love," and even invited the "high command of the Armed Forces" to nominate those who would occupy "the political posts designated by the president" in his administration. And the popular frontists have the gall to say "Mexico is not Chile" when we recall the bloody results of collaboration with the "constitutionalist high command" under Allende's Unidad Popular!

In fact the PRD's lack of answers to the most burning needs of the population has produced the dangerous phenomenon of "Diegomania," a growing sympathy toward the candidate of the rightist PAN [Diego Fernández de Cevallos]. It is quite evident that support for Cárdenas has fallen greatly since the days of "Cuauhtémoc" frenzy [during the presidential elections of] six years ago. The technocratic regime of [president Carlos] Salinas imposed itself through blatant fraud, making the computer tallying system crash rather than recognize an opposition victory, and vilely murdered hundreds of rank-and-file PRD supporters. But allying with the PAN, appealing to the army and enlisting fake-lefts through "committees to defend the vote," Cárdenas sought to turn angry protests and seizures of town halls into a kind of theater that would serve as an escape valve for the population's rage.

Against the lie of a bourgeois "democracy" in this country of volcanic class struggles ruled by a semi-bonapartist regime, we fight for the proletarian democracy of a *workers and peasants government*. Only a workers and peasants government would put an end to NAFTA robbery, breaking with the International Monetary Fund and the debt which suffocates the working people, mobilizing the militant solidarity of the workers to the north of the Rio Grande and across the oceans against any imperialist aggression. A proletarian regime would provide the countryside with the machinery and products of the city which it needs. Defeating all the white guards [landowner terror squads], it would have its red workers and peasants army guarantee the free organization of Indian communities, the expropriation of landowners and *caciques* [rural bosses] and agricultural production for the benefit of all. It would create the conditions for liberating women from oppression and domestic slavery; it would guarantee the right to free abortion on demand and uproot discrimination against homosexuals. Only such a government can eradicate all forms of social oppression, because it is the only kind of government that can eliminate the social bases of the injustices imposed by bourgeois society.

The workers of Mexico want to fight and have carried out important battles in the recent period. This spring the Metropolitan and Chapingo university unions went on strike while teachers have mobilized in Nuevo León, Zacatecas, Tlaxcala, Puebla and other states; in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas, 10,000 teachers marched in defiance of bourgeois repression. In the auto industry—which employs 360,000 workers in Mexico, linking them to proletarians from the U.S. and Canada to Germany, Japan and South Africa—there have been hard-fought struggles at the giant Volkswagen plant in Puebla as well as Ford plants in Cuautitlán, Hermosillo and Chihuahua. But repeatedly strikes, even by "independent" unions, are derailed by subordination to the corporatist apparatus of arbitration and conciliation. Playing by the bosses' rules means you lose!

The current social unrest in Mexico, from Indian peasants in the south to the capital to the *maquiladora* (free trade zone) industries with their heavily female workforce in the northern border region, lays the basis for some hard working-class struggle. This can extend across the border to the proletariat in the U.S. But such battles will not be waged by tame reformists who are politically subordinated to the bourgeoisie, whether the PRI or PRD or the U.S. Democratic Party. What is posed was graphically shown by the fight of Sony workers in Nuevo Laredo last April against a six-day workweek and undemocratic union "elections." When several hundred workers managed to effectively block six of the seven Sony plants in the city, the police were sent to bust up their picket. This was followed by firings of union activists.

For decades the semi-corporatist "unions" of the CTM have maintained a rigid stranglehold on the millions-strong Mexican proletariat, chaining it to the PRI, within which CTM leader Fidel Velázquez' machine represents a hard right wing. Wildcat strikes and opposition currents are brutally suppressed by CTM *charro* thugs working together with the police. Where unrest can't simply be suppressed, the regime has had recourse to the replacement *charrismo* of the other components of the CT (Congress of Labor), including the CROC, CROM, etc. And meanwhile, workers are subjected to starvation wages through "pacts for stability."

In order to wage a winning fight against this misery, worker militants should *elect workers committees* independent of state controls and all of the bourgeois parties (including the PRD), to drive out the *charro* bureaucrats and lay the basis for genuine unions as organs of struggle of the workers. In *maquiladora* industrial "parks" such committees cannot be limited to individual plants but must be spread through the area to mobilize the concentrated proletarian power. In border regions and against "multinational" companies, there must be appeals for real international solidarity through industrial action by workers on the other side of the line.

The potential is there, from heavily

Taboada/AP

Miranda/NY Times

Zapatista guerrillas' New Year's rebellion as NAFTA went into effect sent shock waves from Mexico City to Washington. Right: EZLN leader Subcomandante Marcos.

Pentagon Beefs Up Mexican Repression

Nuñez/Cuartoscuro

U.S.-supplied helicopters in Chiapas. Huge flow of riot-control vehicles pours into Mexico from U.S. in preparation for possible unrest after August elections.

The Zapatista Indian peasant uprising in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico at the beginning of this year, just as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was going into effect, set off alarm bells in Washington. Instead of juicy profit opportunities to use the Mexican "hinterland" for low-wage export production, suddenly the rulers of U.S. imperialism saw the spectre of Central American-style unrest in their "backyard." This was followed by the assassination of the presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio of the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in April. Now with Mexican elections scheduled for August 21, events are coming to a head.

Expectations of fraud are so pervasive that it is widely said that the real election starts on August 22, and will be played out on the streets. The pro-government press repeats sensational "revelations" of plans to "destabilize" the country following the elections. The staid *Excelsior* (28 July) claims that "sitdowns, civil resistance, occupation of city halls, blockades, explosions, kidnappings, invasion of hotels, gasoline stations and even maritime terminals" are scheduled. It talks of a "national guerrilla front," claiming armed groups are active not only in Chiapas, but also in Guerrero, Puebla, Veracruz and several other states. The patent purpose of such scare propaganda is to set the stage for a government crackdown against post-election protests.

But the preparations are not just at the level of propaganda. The Salinas regime has been heefing up its military arsenal, with the full support of the Clinton administration in Washington. Almost immediately after the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, in the Lancandon rain forest near the Guatemala border, several hundred U.S. troops were sent to Guatemala. In April, reports leaked out that huge amounts of military vehicles were being imported by Mexico from the U.S. The UPI (1 May) relayed a story from the Mexico City daily *Reforma* that "Mexican customs officials say more than 3,000 military vehicles ordered by the Mexican Defense Ministry have entered Mexico from the U.S. in 1994, including armored vehicles with water cannon, jeeps, trucks, motorcycles—and tanks."

Water cannon, armored trucks, tanks—these are not intended to put down guerrilla struggles but for use in *urban* areas. An AP dispatch made this clear, noting that some of the armored vehicles were "fitted with plows to break through barricades." Meanwhile, in Washington, an amendment to the Defense appropriation bill passed by the House of Representatives gives the attorney general authority to transfer up to 10,000 U.S. troops to the border with Mexico. There are also reports circulating that racist anti-immigrant outfits are planning to mass at the border around August 21, particularly around San Diego, California. In short, the Mexican government and its U.S. godfathers are gearing up for potential civil war. For all the talk of "democracy," keeping Mexico "safe" for U.S. investors means being prepared to impose the kind of military-dominated authoritarian rule common to others of the imperialists' low-wage "production platforms," such as Indonesia, Thailand or South Korea.

In the event of repression around the elections, the left and labor movement in the U.S. must be prepared to mobilize in the streets in defense of the Mexican working people.

After Chiapas

The first American troops arrived in Guatemala on January 8, *one week* after the uprising next door in Chiapas. They were part of a new U.S operation called "Fuertes Caminos Sur '94" (Strong Roads South, '94), billed as a "civic action" exercise supposedly to build roads, hospitals, etc. In February, the Mexican newspaper *El Financiero* was reporting that the initial staff of "Fuertes Caminos '94" was made up of DEA and CIA agents and U.S. military personnel. *El Dia* (14 February) reported that 4,500 U.S National Guardsmen were scheduled to participate in the operation, several hundred at a time; 12 Black Hawk helicopters were to be handed over to the Guatemalan army. The New York City *El Diario/La Prensa* (18 April) cited the head of the Mexican National Assembly of Human Rights, Armando Quiroz Alejandre, saying that up to 6,000 American troops were involved.

Even more alarming stories began surfacing about the large amounts of military equipment pouring into Mexico. The *San Antonio Express-News* (27 April) broke the story: "The Mexican government quietly is importing millions of dollars worth of riot-control vehicles across the Texas border, apparently in preparation for any civil unrest after the late-summer presidential election." The reporters, John MacCormack and Carmina Danini, had identified "two hulking blue armored trucks" and what turned out to be a Commando LAV-150 water cannon in a freight forwarding yard in Laredo. According to its manufacturer, Textron, 18 such water cannons were purchased by Mexico. A company official was quoted in the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* saying they would be useful "with the approach of the upcoming elections."

The armored trucks are 17-ton Cobra riot control vehicles, equipped with a plow, gun ports and water cannon with a 2,000-gallon tank. In addition, the Cobra's special features include a video recording system and guns to shoot "indelible dye to mark dissidents"! A police equipment vendor noted, "This could be used by a snatch squad" to single out and grab protest leaders in the middle of a crowd. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, already by January at least 16 armored fighting vehicles had been shipped to Mexico over the last year. The Mexican weekly *Proceso* has printed photographs showing training under way with the water cannon and Cobras in Military Camp No. 1 in Mexico City.

Tulane University professor Roderic Camp wondered about the Mexican government "if they are really planning fraudulent elections that would produce the kind of reaction that this equipment is made for. The point is, they have not used this type of equipment ever before." The *Express-News* reporters noted that "the last time the Mexican army intervened forcibly in an urban setting was the 1968 Tlatelolco protest march." But while the PRI managed to restabilize its rule with that bloody massacre which killed hundreds, today the long-ruling PRI-government is in a process of terminal decay. The Yankee imperialists are well aware of this, as these preparations for a bloodbath show. ■

Latino El Paso garment workers, California janitors and "drywallers" to Caterpillar workers and Teamsters across the U.S. who have come up against brutal strikebreaking by the companies and cops. In the context of a *maquiladora* strike, joint actions by Mexican and U.S. workers stopping the transport of goods across the border, for example, or solidarity strike action by Japanese workers against Sony, or U.S. workers against Ford, or German workers against Volkswagen (as occurred during the 1987 VW strike), can bring the NAFTA bosses to their knees. And a fight for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers, as our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S have raised for years, can undercut the anti-Mexican racism and protectionist poison whipped up by the bourgeois politicians and their labor "lieutenants."

While Mexican workers are presently held in thrall by a pervasive repressive apparatus, they have tremendous potential power. Against crackdowns by the police and labor contractors/company cops of the CTM, *plant occupations* backed up by *workers defense committees* can be a powerful response, sparking wide support and extending the struggle to other sectors (as happened at Ford-Cuautitlán). The July 28 demonstration against repression called by the syndicalist Movimiento Proletario Independiente (MPI), which includes the bus transport workers of Mexico City's Ruta 100 organized in SUTAUR, points to the possibility of *mass workers mobilization against repression*. Should the government bring in the military and paramilitary apparatus it has been building up to put down unrest around the elections, a solid strike by transport workers (bus, metro, colectivos [minibuses]) could bring the capital to a standstill.

The EZLN and the Popular Front

To its credit, the EZLN refused to disarm after valiant Indian combatants succeeded in resisting the onslaught of the bourgeoisie's armed forces. The Chiapas rebellion touched off a wave of peasant land seizures in the teeth of white-guard terror, as well as mass demonstrations against repression and significant outbreaks of rebellion in the working class (see "Toward Workers Revolution," *Espartaco* No. 5). After months of sowing illusions in the regime's "pacification" spokesmen like Manuel Camacho Solis, the Zapatistas said "no" to the accord proposed by the government (doing so in a way and at a time that clearly favored Cárdenas).

Millions of workers and youth in Mexico and around the world hoped that the Chiapas uprising would signal the beginning of a revolution. But in hundreds of manifestos, interviews, resolutions and communiqués the EZLN stresses that what it seeks is *not* to take power nor to make a revolution, but instead to pressure for "a political solution in Mexico's transition to democracy."

This reaches the extreme that when PRI presidential candidate Colosio was mysteriously assassinated, Subcomandante Marcos asked, "Wouldn't it be better to kill one of us instead?" (i.e., one of the insurgent Indians). He warns that "the explosion is imminent" and that "the only possibility of stopping it" is to "really open room for democracy" (*La Jornada*, 21 June). In other words, the EZLN leadership declares that far from fighting to overturn the system of exploitation it wants to help prevent the social struggles that the bourgeoisie fears so much.

Despite the fact that Cárdenas solidarized *with the federal army* against

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Financial Times

Mexican auto workers, like these at Volkswagen Puebla factory, are key link to international workers struggle in the U.S., Germany and Japan.

South Africa...

(continued from page 10)

ruling class, the exact terms of such a deal were yet to be resolved. De Klerk initially sought to play off the Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement against the ANC. In this way the National Party leaders hoped to acquire fnr themselves a bonapartist role in the "new" South Africa, acting as arbiter between the violently hostile hlack factions. Encouraged by powerful forces in the white state apparatus, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi now escalated his terrorist attacks on the ANC. The fighting spread from the Zulu homeland of Natal to the hlack townships of the Vaal Reef, where Zulu migrant workers clashed with the ANC-dominated civic associations.

It was generally helieved that the "Reef War" was engineered and manipulated by a sinister "third force." To no one's surprise, this "third force" turned out to be senior cadre in the police and military. Official protestatinns that they were acting without the knowledge of De Klerk and his ministers were believed by no one. The regime's support for and complicity in Buthelezi's terrorist attacks on the ANC—the "Inkathagate" scandal—led in mid-1992 to a temporary breakdown in the "pnwer sharing" negotiations.

Seeking to assuage its angry and disenchanted ranks and to bring renewed pressure on white ruling circles, the ANC/SACP then launched a campaign of "rolling mass actions." Some more radical leaders, such as SACP general secretary Chris Hani (who was later assassinated by a white racist) and SACP national organizer Ronnie Kasrils, spoke of exercising the "Leipzig option." This was a reference to the mass protests which had brought down the old-line Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker in East Germany in 1989. However, unlike the demoralized and decomposing bureaucratic caste resting atop the deformed workers states of East Europe, the capitalist class in South Africa was determined to hold onto the key levers of political power, a determination fully backed hy its partners in Washington and London.

The testing ground for the "Leipzig option" was to be the Ciskei, a Xhosa hantustan ruled by a notoriously repressive despot, Brigadier Gqozo. Kasrils announced a campaign for the "peaceful overthrow" of this apartheid puppet. In September 1992, as Kasrils led 50,000 unarmed protesters into Bisho, "capital" of the Ciskei, Gqozo's thugs—hought and paid for by the National Party regime—opened fire with machine guns. Twenty-nine of the protesters were killed, over 200 wounded. The South African army, massed at the "border" of the "tribal homeland," watched the Ciskei forces mow down the fleeing demonstrators. And De Klerk then publicly denounced the Communists for provoking the vinlence!

Slovo & Co. responded by groveling before the Randlords. "Self-criticism" over the Bisho massacre within the ANC/SACP served as the occasion for the re-ascendancy of the more right-wing leaders. In a position paper ("Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?"), Slovo openly called for scrapping the principle of one persnn, one vote and forming a coalition government with De Klerk's National Party regardless of the outcome of any elections. This *anti*-democratic program was prettified as "a 'sunset' clause in the new constitution which would provide for *compulsory power-sharing* for a fixed number of years" ([emphasis in original] *African Communist*, 3rd Quarter 1992). The maneuvers leading to the present Mandela/Slovo/De Klerk government were simply a working nut of this npenly declared betrayal of the black toilers by their ANC/SACP misleaders.

However, the fate of the "new" South Africa will *not* be determined by constitutional clauses and agreements between the ANC/SACP leaders and the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange. Just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid "power sharing" deal between the Randlords and their new black front men.

Given the massive and stark inequalities between the white ruling caste and impoverished black African toilers, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of South Africa to a wnrld socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the apartheid state.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mexico...

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the Chiapas insurgents, Marcos "distinguishes" between the PRD with its PRIista "vices" and the figure of Cárdenas himself, who is the embodiment of the PRD—thereby encouraging those who seek a "revolutionary" orientation from the EZLN to support Cárdenas.

Espartaco

Mexico City, May Day 1994: Independent unions march in opposition to PRI-dominated corporatist labor federation demonstration.

Zapatista spokesmen told Cárdenas: "If you take power and make the government change, we will support you."

The declared purpose of the "National Democratic Convention" (CND) called by the EZLN is to unite "honest Mexicans" (i.e., exploiters and exploited) for "peaceful democratic change," that is, for the victory of the "democratic" *bourgeois* opposition. The EZLN command has now openly called to "vote against the candidates of the Institutional Revolutionary Party and its satellites" (*La Jornada*, 31 July). The CND explicitly excludes "those that disagree with trying out the electoral path" and calls for a *bourgeois* "transitional government." While the EZLN acts as an armed pressure group on the bourgeoisie and ally of the popular front, and Cárdenas declares his "agreement" with the EZLN's objectives so as to better entrap the discontented population, the urgent need is for the *independent class politics of the proletariat, showing the way toward workers revolution.*

This policy is sharply counterposed to that of Mexico's fake left. Among the most enthusiastic capitulators are those who devote themselves to discrediting the name of Trotskyism, identifying it with reformist servility. The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," has shamelessly dissolved itself into the Cárdenas campaign. The *Militante* group, followers of Ted Grant's British Labour-ite tendency, which is part of the Cárdenas/Muñoz Ledo *bourgeois* party, tries to cnrral radicalizing youth with its call to "vote for a PRD government with a class program" (it already has one, a program of its *capitalist* class!). It appeals to the PRD to call a "general strike" against repression by the very same armed forces together with which Cárdenas declares he wants to govern.

The Partido Obrero Socialista-Zapatista (POS-Z—Socialist Workers Party-Zapatista), Mexican section of the morihund [Morenoite] International Workers League, has launched the slogan to "vote EZLN" and for a "government of the EZLN and the workers, peasants and people's organizations," with the pretense that this represents a class alternative to voting for the bourgeois parties. Inasmuch as the EZLN lends itself *de facto* to winning support for the PRD from workers and radical youth, the POS-Z's call is nothing more than a "new" manifestation of its standard line of *tailing the popular front.*

Today in Mexico a smell of *ancien régime* is in the air; things are falling apart; it's no accident that the situation is compared to the last days of Porfirio Díaz [the dictator overthrown in 1910]. Yet the fake left seeks only to *repeat* the experience of 1910-17, when due to the lack of a communist leadership capable of mobilizing the proletariat as a class, the bourgeoisie was able to frustrate the revolution, subordinating the masses through class collaboration decorated in nationalist rhetoric. Today under the image of the peasant fighter Zapata, whose assassination was the symbol of the frustration of that revolution, there has broken out a radical petty-bourgeois nationalist armed peasant movement. Liberal commentators praise the EZLN for not having an "ideological program." But the fact is that it does; the orientation toward the popular front under the self-same formula of "democracy." The preachers of "post-modern"-style class collaboration claim that the dénouement will be determined by the efforts of the "civil society" of distinguished lawyers, engineers and the regime's numerous kept intellectuals. But the popular front means workers' blood—we do not forget Spain, Indonesia, Chile, Bolivia and all the other defeats prepared by such class collaboration.

The frustration of the 1910 Mexican Revolution demonstrated in the negative what the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 demonstrated in the positive. The only way to satisfy the burning needs of the working people—including their democratic demands, the struggle for the land and against the imperialist yoke—is for the proletariat to take power at the head of the poor peasants and all the oppressed and extend the revolution internationally. This is the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution.*

In order fnr the proletariat to put itself forward as an independent alternative, it is essential that it have a party representing its international and historic interests. Mexico has a combative, largely young working class which is increasingly linked to the proletariat of North America and the world. The Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) invite worker militants seeking the road forward in the auto plants, in the *maquiladoras*, in every sector, as well as radical youth, to discuss the path and the program for building the revolutionary workers party that we need. If there is a new Río Blanco or Cananea [strikes that were precursors to the 1910 Mexican Revolution], this time the struggle must not end up subordinated to the bourgeoisie; it must point toward workers revolution! For this to occur what is urgently required is revolutionary leadership.

We must take the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of workers revolution. As we wrote after the uprising in Chiapas: "we salute the valiant Chiapas insurgents with the red flag of world proletarian revolution while clearly stating that we are not Zapatistas—we are Bolsheviks." The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), of which the GEM is part, is determined to forge the world party the proletariat needs in order to save humanity from new calamities.

Not one vote for the bourgeois parties! Break from the popular front! Forge a revolutionary workers party! For a workers and peasants government as part of the Socialist United States of Latin America! ■

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Decatur...

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to the fight against racism and unemployment. Only by taking up the struggle against the special oppression faced by black working people can the unions forge the kind of integrated struggle needed to beat back the capitalist attacks.

But a genuine fight against unemployment and race-terror must challenge the racist profit system itself. That's why the AFL-CIO bureaucracy went all out to sabotage the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in nearby Springfield last January 16. Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization affiliated to the Spartacist League, the call for labor-centered action to spike a Klan provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday drew support from significant sections of Decatur and Springfield labor. But state AFL-CIO head Don Johnson issued a backstabbing directive ordering unions to stay away. Still, a hard core of labor and blacks turned out in Springfield on January 16 to oppose the KKK.

Riding the coattails of the capitalists' one-sided war on the unions, the Klan returned on May 7 for racist recruitment rallies in Springfield *and Decatur*. This time the deadly threat against blacks and labor was ignored, as the UAW tops instead mobilized thousands to cheer Democratic politicians at a CAT workers' rally 80 miles away in Peoria. Under a class-struggle leadership these thousands of workers would have taken the fight to the CAT bosses by *crushing their racist dogs of war*. But rather than taking on the class enemy at home, the UAW tops waved little American flags and railed against our working-class brothers abroad and the products they make. This is a program for defeat.

Protectionism Poisons Workers' Struggles

Union misleaders use national chauvinism as a political straitjacket on labor, preventing hard class struggle while binding working people to their own exploiters. Some leaders of the locked-out Staley workers push the notion that they are fighting a "British invasion" by

AP

June 25: "Corporate Campaign"-style civil disobedience is met with brutal cop assault.

opposing Lyle and Tate, the corporation that currently owns Staley. Behind this nationalism is the idea that they could get a fair shake from American capitalists and their government. Fat chance. Look at what happened when Local 7837 members and supporters sat down in front of the Staley plant gate on June 25. As a video distributed by the Staley Workers Solidarity Committee graphically shows, state and local cops viciously sprayed gas pointblank into the faces of dozens of peacefully demonstrating workers. *This atrocity was 100 percent American-made*. The main enemy is at home!

Now the URW tops are pushing even more virulent chauvinist poison in the strikes against Dunlop and Firestone, which are Japanese-owned, and Armstrong, which is Italian-owned. A Local 998 official in Oklahoma City said: "It's America against Japan.... That's why we have the American flag. This is a Japanese company and they come in and start taking things away from us" (*State Journal-Register*, 13 July). Local 713 in Decatur complains that under Japanese ownership, Firestone management has been pushing "Japanese-style programs" like Quality Circles and Employee Participation Teams. But union-busting is as American as pizza pie. Such programs are a product not of "Japanese culture" but of the union-busting policies carried out by General MacArthur's occupation forces in Japan after World War II. Years of labor defeat have paved the way for their widespread introduction in the U.S. These defeats resulted from the AFL-CIO's role as domestic, and international, labor cops for U.S. imperialism.

Build Class-Struggle Leadership!

Capping 15 years of defeats with not a single significant victory to point to, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland wants to protect his shrinking dues base by embracing labor-management "cooperation" to enhance productivity—i.e., intensify exploitation. He's even come out for a Clinton administration proposal to legalize company unions. Begging Congress for a "permanent replacement worker ban," the AFL-CIO tops offered to send *all* labor disputes to arbitration. Impressed by such pro-capitalist reasonableness, *Business Week* (23 May) opines that, in the wake of "one of the most successful anti-union wars ever," the U.S. might be "better off...with a healthier union movement," especially if the unions "become partners with management in boosting efficiency"—that is, in disciplining the workers.

Many workers bitter at the betrayals of Kirkland & Co. are attracted to the activism being sold by Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc. Rogers' strategy entails toothless consumer boycotts, stockholder protests, informational leafletting and civil disobedience. This is the same losing strategy which squandered the militant solidarity of striking meatpackers during the Hormel strike almost a decade ago. What Rogers shares with Kirkland is a strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party, capitalism's "lesser evil." Rogers' civil disobedience action of June 25—where Staley workers and supporters were told to allow the cops to brutalize them with mace—was a demoralizing defeat. Opportunist fakers like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) actually criticize Local 7837 for not undertaking more of this crap. Hell no! Meekly letting union supporters get maced and beaten without resistance only embolden labor's enemies. It's time to stand up and fight!

At CAT and Staley, the urgent task is to *stop the scabs—mobilize the entire labor movement in mass picketing*. Take a page from Toledo's labor history: defy the injunctions. Pull out ADM with mass pickets. Enlist the unemployed in the struggle: demand a massive public works program at union-scale wages with no discrimination in hiring. All transport of raw materials and finished products must be halted. *Workers Vanguard* has learned that some Teamster-driven trucks are crossing URW lines to transport stockpiled tires! Meanwhile, union rail crews are moving trains to the vicinity of the struck plants and then amicably turning them over to management personnel to be taken across the picket lines. *All rail and truck traffic in the area must be stopped—"hot-cargo" scab products!* A large delegatinn of angry strikers would remind Teamster and rail union tops that the picket line means don't cross.

Militants must prepare for an escalation of the government's strikebreaking moves. Any mobilization of the National Guard should be answered by the workers sitting down *inside* a couple of key industrial sites; let the bosses beg to regain control of their precious capital.

This kind of militant struggle can win if it doesn't play by the bosses' rules. It's necessary to forge a leadership that will unceasingly combat the poison of national chauvinism that sabotages labor struggle, a leadership that will push the fight for black freedom to the forefront. What's needed is a class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government that will expropriate industry and replace the capitalist boom-bust cycle—the bankrupt system that produced the Midwest "rust bowl"—with international socialist economic planning. ■

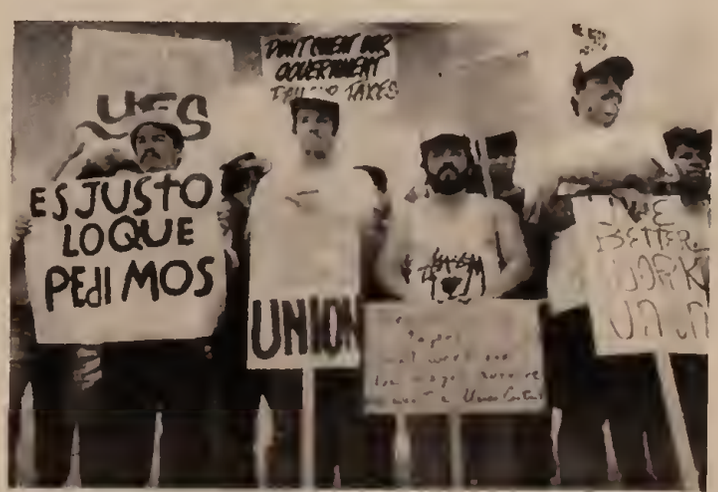
L.A. Transit...

(continued from page 7)

injunctions, SWAT team attacks on picket lines, dozens of arrests on trumped up charges. In L.A., Teamster Jesse Acuna faces bogus assault and "torture" charges for defending his union picket line. From the persecution of the McNamara brothers in 1910-1911, to the North American Aviation strike in 1941 to recent brutal cop attacks on Justice for Janitors and striking drywallers, Los Angeles bosses have considered "their" city an open shop town. And the viciously racist LAPD is their armed fist. It is not only an outrage but a serious danger that cops from L.A. Sheriffs to the BART police are affiliated with the labor movement. These racist hired guns of the bosses must be ousted from the unions.

Courageous strikes like those of the SEIU janitors, the Southern California drywallers and other heavily immigrant workers, have withstood cop attacks and been an example to all of labor. Class struggle by racially integrated unions cuts across the attempts of the ruling class to divide the workers by playing the race card—from the vicious racist oppression of blacks built into this capitalist system from the bottom up, to racist anti-immigrant hysteria. When the black and Latino masses exploded in rage after the April 1992 whitewash acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, there should have been union strike action against *la migra* sweeps and the martial law occupation of the ghettos and barrios. Now, there is a real possibility in this strike for an alliance between the largely black and Latino strikers and the multiracial working class and oppressed masses of L.A.

The MTA and the bosses' media are trying to whip up "public opinion" against the strike, by oozing concern over the commuter—even though it is an open book how the capitalists deliberately destroyed public transportation in L.A. And now, even as they raise fares again, they are deliberately sending the bus system into decay in favor of heavily subsidized rail designed to funnel yuppie commuters into the center city, speeding past poor and minority communities. Most of the real "public" are workers and poor people who have to squeeze into overcrowded buses and who are sick and tired of having to pay for the greedy rulers who whine that they have no money after looting the economy and leaving it devastated. In fact, L.A. transit workers could mobilize massive demonstrations of support by calling for free mass transit—abolish the fares!



Barrera/L.A. Times

Striking Latino drywall workers waged sharp struggle in face of LAPD and *migra* repression.

Mayor Riordan, with his privatization schemes to bust unions, and Governor Wilson and the Sacramento Democrats—are all going after the poor, minorities, sick, aged and homeless in an equally relentless fashion. A hard-fought winning strike by transit workers could galvanize the explosive, pent-up anger at the bottom of this increasingly barbaric, decaying system by linking labor's struggle with demands that address the needs of poor and working people who have the most to lose by the attacks on city services. A fighting labor movement would reach out to the unemployed by fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all.

What's necessary is to unite the struggles of all the oppressed behind a political mobilization of the working class to seize the capitalists' property and establish a planned economy. Only a workers revolution can sweep away the capitalist parasites and give us a future.

Spartacist League
26 July 1994

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* will skip the second issue in August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 2.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Clinton's Colonial Adventures!

U.S./UN Keep Your Hands Off Haiti!

AUGUST 1—With yesterday's United Nations rubber-stamp resolution, the invasion of Haiti threatened by President Clinton has been brought a step closer. To ensure the resolution's passage, deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who has been very coy about calling for a U.S. invasion, submitted a letter calling on the international community to take "swift and definitive" action. This letter was requested by Latin American bourgeois rulers, fearful of popular unrest against *yanqui* aggression, as a cover for their capitulation to the U.S. diktat.

Over the last month, 17 warships carrying 2,800 Marines and nearly 6,000 naval personnel have been massing in the area just north of the blockaded country, conducting mock raids and "rescue" scenarios. This is in addition to 17 Coast Guard vessels seizing refugees in the Windward Passage. In charge of this flotilla is the high-tech USS *Mount Whitney*, with the commander of the U.S. Navy's Second Fleet on board.

Imperialist Troops Out of Rwanda!

"The administration's pre-invasion checklist is virtually complete," noted *U.S. News & World Report* (1 August). Plans call for an invasion force of 15,000, followed up by a "multinational" occupation force of 25,000. Grotesquely, Washington asked Israel to participate as "peacekeepers"—no doubt based on their years of experience bloodily "pacifying" the Palestinian people. Already a multimillion-dollar "reconstruction plan" has been drawn up, under which Haiti would again become a protectorate of the United States as it was from 1915 to 1934.

But Haiti is not the only target in Clinton's sights. Only days before, the White House announced the dispatch of up to 4,000 U.S. troops to deliver "humanitarian aid" to Rwandan refugees on the Zaire border. Following the Somalia model, Clinton stressed that the U.S. troops would be part of an international relief effort—but then added the possibility of setting up an American military base in Rwanda for over 2,000 more troops.

Behind the truly genocidal bloodshed in Rwanda is a history of imperialist rivalry and "divide and rule" (see "The Rwanda Horror: Bitter Legacy of Colonialism," *WV* No. 601, 27 May). The Hutu majority militias which slaughtered hundreds of thousands of the Tutsi minority this spring were armed and backed by France. The Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), which has now taken over the country, driving out well over a

continued on page 11

WV Photo

New York City, July 28: Spartacist League joins in protest against threatened U.S. invasion of Haiti.

CAT, Staley, Firestone: Class-Struggle Leadership Is Key

Labor "War Zone" in Decatur

"Corporate Campaign," Protectionism Sabotage Union Struggle

DECATUR, Illinois—A wave of labor struggle has spread across the Midwest as members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) struck five Bridgestone/Firestone tire plants on July 12 and three Pirelli Armstrong factories a few days later. The walkouts brought the number of striking rubber workers to nearly 8,000, including the tire builders who walked out of Dunlop's plant in Huntsville, Alabama. Also on strike since June 21 are 14,000 Caterpillar workers, members of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Undermined and misled from the start by the UAW and URW Internationals, these limited struggles are a far cry from the industrywide action needed to marshal labor's forces against highly profitable corporations that are intent on squeezing out every last dollar from the workers. Yet in a few key industrial centers the opportunity is growing for a powerful outburst of concerted labor action extending *across industry lines* and led by militant unionists.

Nowhere is this possibility more sharply posed than here in the central Illinois manufacturing city of Decatur. The industrial belt on the city's east side includes not only the large CAT and Firestone plants that are on strike, but also Staley Manufacturing Co.'s huge corn processing plant, where 760 members of Paperworkers (UPIU) Local 7837 have been locked out for over a year. Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), a processing "competitor" that has been aiding Staley during the lockout, also owns two large plants in this complex of factories and rail lines. Meanwhile, four locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) are poised to strike Illinois Power, which services a huge mid-state region, when a 30-day contract extension runs out on August 1. "All we need now is ADM. The place would be paralyzed," commented one CAT striker to *Workers Vanguard*.

That is exactly right. With 7 percent of Decatur's entire workforce already either on strike or locked out in bitter conflicts, the road to *victory* lies in pulling together these forces in a common strike front. It was just such a citywide shutdown 60 years ago in the auto parts manufacturing city of Toledo, Ohio that helped set the stage for the militant organizing drives that built the UAW and other industrial unions. The 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike was led by socialists in the American Workers Party who welded workers from different crafts and industries along with the unemployed into a powerful force. They built mass pickets in defiance of injunctions, drove off the scabs, battled the police, faced down the National Guard—and won. The main obstacle to this kind of hard class struggle today is the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its dead-end strategy of union-management "cooperation." In particular, the union tops' obedience to the bosses' government and support to their Democratic Party is a ticket for defeat for labor.

Labor Must Fight Racial Oppression!

Decatur has one of the highest unemployment rates in Illinois. This joblessness falls especially heavily on Decatur's black population, which finds itself increasingly segregated into a depressed inner-city ghetto. Like in CAT's Peoria, hiring in this company town has never included more than a tiny percentage of black workers. And in the past year the Ku Klux Klan has targeted this region and Decatur in particular in a recruitment drive for racist terror. Though most blacks have been excluded from higher-paying unionized jobs by the massive layoffs, there still exists a core of veteran black unionists in the UAW, UPIU and URW to help link the power of organized labor

continued on page 15

Slodounik/Decatur Herald & Review

Decatur, Illinois: Rubber workers hit the picket line; workers at Catarpillar and Staley ara already out. For mass pickets! Midwast labor's gotta play hardball to win!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

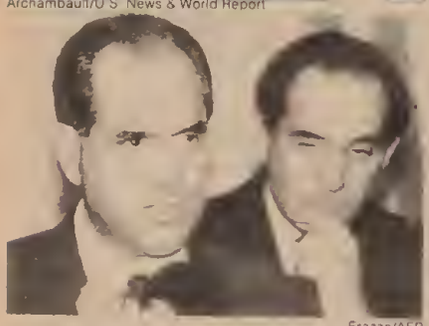
No. 605

2 September 1994

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism! U.S. Hands Off Haiti!

Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report



Frazza/AFP

La Repubblica

President Clinton, Miami *gusano* chief Jorge Mas Canosa (bottom, left) and New Jersey Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli (bottom, right) join in pushing hardline Cuba policy. Above: boats packed with Cuban defectors off the Florida coast.

AUGUST 30—In a cascading series of moves this month, the Clinton administration dangerously escalated Washington's 35-year-old crusade to crush the Cuban Revolution. It reversed the previous U.S. policy of welcoming all Cuban "refugees," sharply cut the amount of dollar remittances by exiles to relatives in Cuba and brandished the threat of a naval blockade. What this adds up to is a calculated program to spark a counterrevolutionary uprising. Meanwhile, these would-be cops of the world have been gearing up to occupy Haiti in the name of supposed "humanitarianism" and "democracy." Today the Pentagon announced it was "moving briskly" toward an invasion of Haiti. The Yankee shark throwing its weight around is a threat to all the peoples of the Caribbean.

At present the Caribbean is literally hobbing with American gunboats, including some diverted from the Pacific fleet. An imperialist armada of 70 U.S. Navy warships and Coast Guard vessels is stationed off Cuba, including the advanced Aegis electronic missile control ship USS *Vicksburg*. This is in addition to the U.S. fleet already blockading Haiti. We have insisted from the outset that the economic sanctions against Haiti pose a direct threat to Cuba.

For now, the Pentagon is deploying some 7,000 additional American troops to Guantánamo Bay on the island's southeast coast, which is being readied to receive tens of thousands of anticipated *balseros* ("raft people"). With 15,000 Haitians already incarcerated in tents behind barbed wire on this naval base stolen from Cuba, Guantánamo has become a huge concentration camp—a fitting symbol of U.S. imperialism's neocolonial subjugation of the peoples of Latin America. Piercing Washington's "free world" pretensions, in mid-August hundreds of Haitians revolted against the inhuman conditions imposed by their American jailers, and 120 of them tried to escape by swimming to Cuban territory.

As we go to press, the U.S. government has announced that it will accede to Cuban leader Castro's demand that it accept the annual quota of more than 20,000 Cuban emigrés that was agreed to a decade ago but never implemented. At the same time, Clinton continues to intensify the economic embargo which is strangling the Cuban economy and provoking the mass desire to escape from imposed conditions of hunger and poverty. When the collapsing Stalinist regime in the USSR ended its decades-long assistance to Cuba, in particular cutting Cuban industry off from cheap oil supplies, the island was placed in desperate peril in the face of the imperialist colossus to the north.

The capitalist media seek to whip up an anti-communist frenzy over the *balseros* leaving Cuba. This flight is cynically provoked by Washington with its brutal starvation embargo and sabotage of legal immigration. Yet the fact that several thousands (including many who do *not* oppose the Castro regime) are prepared to risk their lives in flimsy crafts in the Florida Straits shows how desperate the economic situation has become under the U.S. imperialist onslaught. Only four years ago, Cuba

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U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Down With the Embargo!

Daniel Fonle

Hundreds of thousands defending the Cuban Revolution came out to honor policeman and navy officer killed by hijackers.

Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Red Star Printing
Chicago, Illinois
20 June 1994

Editor, Workers Vanguard

Militant Bolshevik Greetings Comrade!

Regarding your recent articles on NAMBLA [North American Man/Boy Love Association] and age-of-consent laws; what exactly do you mean by "effective consent"? Denouncing age-of-consent laws as "reactionary" would seem to fly in the face of three inescapable facts:

First: Though children are physically ready for sexual activity as early as the onset of puberty, they are certainly not emotionally ready, nor are they possessed of the good judgment necessary to give any kind of *informed* consent until they are a good-deal older. I myself started sexual activity at the age of twelve and, though I enjoyed myself immensely at the time, I can see clearly in retrospect that this [had a] catastrophic effect on my emotional development that *to this day* poisons my sexual relationships. In light of this, an age of consent set at about eighteen strikes me as very reasonable.

Secondly: I can also state from experience that while sex *among* teen-agers is not so damaging, sex between "mature" adults and teen-agers is exploitative. Not only are such liaisons based upon an un-equal power relationship, but the sort of adult attracted to children is by nature predatory if not psychotic. Society has a self-evident duty to protect children from exploitation be it economic, emotional, or sexual.

Thirdly: Even though children mature at varying rates, a hard-and-fast rule is needed to protect them. Writing a vague law about "effective consent" is unmitigated foolishness. Such a law will be re-interpreted, bent, and effectively broken by paedophiles instantly.

Evidently no one connected with your newspaper actually *has* any children, otherwise they would not favor their exploitation. *Real parents* have no interest in trendy double-talk about "effective consent." By adopting such a posture, the Workers Vanguard is indulging in the worst sort of petty bourgeois pseudo-intellectualism.

The "adults" at NAMBLA are sick and probably can't help themselves, but the editor of the Workers Vanguard should know better.

Yours For A Better World
R.M. Schultz

WV replies: Just who is "sick" here? R.M. Schultz's letter is steeped in twisted bourgeois "morality." NAMBLA is the target of vicious witchhunting for simply advocating the right of consensual sex between minors and adults. The logic of Schultz's position is that the bourgeois state should have jailed whoever he was involved with as a youth (and maybe he himself would have been shipped off to reform school).

The vendetta against NAMBLA—whipped up by the media, enforced by school boards and courts, cheered on by rad-libs embracing the Clinton/Reno White House—has nothing to do with protection of children. It is part of a generalized campaign against sex designed to regiment the population and bolster the authority of the bourgeois state. Lurid tales of "child abuse" have been used to close day-care centers, jail teachers and browbeat women into traditional roles.

Possibly the most vicious case of government repression of this kind was the 1991 "satanic abuse" witchhunt in the Orkney Islands. Nine children, aged 8 to 15, were seized from their South Ronaldsay homes in a pre-dawn raid by British social workers. Separately held in homes across the Scottish mainland and denied communication with their families, the children were repeatedly interrogated, tricked and lied to for five weeks, while their parents fought unfounded allegations of ritual sex abuse.

The government's anti-sex and anti-gay laws reveal more about the repressed and sadistic character of capitalist government than anything else. Its "solution" to most anything is terror and prisons. The "age of consent" laws are akin to the horrible "parental consent" laws for teenage abortions. Schultz's talk of "real parents" reeks of Stalinist glorification of the family. In Stalin's onslaught against the rights of women he also prohibited abortion; as Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, this policy was "the philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme."

We are for radically lowering the age of adulthood, and for *replacing*—not simply "abolishing"—the current laws with the principle of "effective consent." As opposed to the forces of bourgeois reaction and supposed "progressives" pushing "family values," we wrote in our letter defending NAMBLA's right to march in the "Stonewall 25" gay pride march in New York City: "Advocating the concept of effective consent in sexual matters, we denounce the reactionary 'age of consent' laws which seek to straitjacket the sexuality of young people."

In its issue for "Stonewall 25," the reformist *Socialist Action* (June 1994) printed without comment a scurrilous letter urging a "public outcry" against us for defending NAMBLA, and absurdly claiming that "a lot of money and powerful people" are helping this small and vulnerable group. In their quest for respectability, the social democrats of Socialist Action pander to the most reactionary homophobic social attitudes.

Certainly it's true that humans have a pretty rocky road dealing with sexuality, particularly at puberty when one is least socially and psychologically prepared to cope with the surge of hormones that accompanies adolescence. That is precisely why we say that "effective consent" must be concretely determined.

In our journal *Women and Revolution*, we have addressed in more depth the complex issues of sexuality and children, in "Children, Family and State: Something About Incest" (*W&R* No. 28, Spring 1984) and "Children, Sex, State Witchhunters: The Uses of Abuse" (*W&R* No. 29, Spring 1985). Thus we have written: "The question is one of effective consent. One might say that a girl of 11 is too young, whereas one of 14 is able to decide for herself what she wants to do. But in a situation as embroiled and sensitive as the family, mechanical guidelines break down."

Contrary to the image of the predatory outsider called up by R.M. Schultz, much adult-child sexual interaction occurs within the family. Unlike latter-day Cotton Mathers who preach hellfire and lock up "deviants" in the stocks, Marxists oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated "norms." As we noted in "Something About Incest":

> "The trouble with incest is *not* that a young child has had a sexual experience—children are sexual beings. We are not talking here about outright and clear-cut coercion and violence, beatings, rapes, but about the more complex and sexual relationships. The problem is how this sexuality gets expressed and deformed in a world of patriarchy, sexual repression and enforced monogamy for 'adults' only."

We might add, the guilt and fear pounded into us about sex by this repressive, puritanical society need not exist for future generations under socialism. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

On the Bourgeois Division Between Mental and Manual Labor

Under capitalism, the educational system is used to promote the class stratification of society, training the future managers and technicians of the ruling class in "ivory tower" academia while relegating working-class and minority youth to a future of menial labor—and, increasingly, no education and no jobs at all. Communism strives for the elimination of all aspects of exploitative class society, including the spurious distinction between mental and manual labor. This theme was elaborated in The ABC of Communism, *written by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky for the workers and peasants of Russia newly emancipated by the October Revolution of 1917.*

In a class society where capitalism is dominant, science is divorced from labour. Not only does it become the property of the possessing classes. More than this, it becomes the profession of a small and comparatively narrow circle of individuals. Scientific instruction and scientific research are divorced from the labour process. In order that it may avail itself of the data of science and may turn them to account in production, bourgeois society has to create a number of institutions serving for the application of scientific discoveries to manufacturing technique; and it has to create a number of technical schools which will facilitate the maintenance of production at the level rendered possible by the advance of "pure" science—by which is meant science divorced from labour. Furthermore, the polytechnic schools of capitalist society do not merely serve to supply capitalist society with technical experts; they supply in addition those who will act as managers, those who will function as "captains of industry." In addition, to provide the personnel which will supervise the circulation of commodities, there have been founded numerous commercial schools and academies.

In all these organizations, whatever is linked up with production will endure. But everything which is concerned merely with *capitalist* production, will die out. There will persist everything which promotes the advancement of science; there will perish that which promotes the severance of science from labour....

In communist society there will be no close corporations, no stereotyped guilds, no petrified specialist groups. The most brilliant man of science must also be skilled in manual labour. To the pupil who is about to leave the unified labour school, communist society says: "You may or may not become a professor; but in any case you must produce values." A child's first activities take the form of play; play should gradually pass into work by an imperceptible transition, so that the child learns from the very outset to look upon labour, not as a disagreeable necessity or as a punishment, but as a natural and spontaneous expression of faculty. Labour should be a need, like the desire for food and drink; this need must be instilled and developed in the communist school.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Just Out!

Spartacist

(English Edition)

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This special issue of English-language *Spartacist* is devoted to publishing the main resolution adopted by the Ninth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. held this summer.

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Free Jesse Acuna!

Teamster Striker Railroaded

LOS ANGELES, August 29—Teamster Jesse Acuna was sentenced today to *five years* in a California state prison for the "crime" of defending his job and his union on the picket line. Acuna was convicted August 3 on trumped-up charges of assault with a deadly weapon. He was one of a group of Teamster pickets who were almost mowed down by a scab on April 15 during the three-week freight strike last spring.

The courtroom was thick with class hatred. During the trial, on one side there was a multiracial contingent of Teamsters who came out to defend their union brother Jesse against the frame-up. On the other side were the cops and prosecutors representing the trucking bosses who were determined to send Acuna to prison to show that Los Angeles is an "open shop" city. With sneering contempt for the working-class defense witnesses, the prosecutor swaggered through the trial knowing that in the halls of capitalist injustice he was on his home court.

Jesse Acuna was first charged with attempted murder. With flimsy evidence the prosecutor turned the trial into a racist, anti-union appeal, portraying strikers as goons and herating Acuna as a "coward" who was proud of being "a good duker from [Latino] East L.A." The confrontation in court was summed up when the assistant D.A. sneered at a Latino Teamster testifying for Acuna, "You don't like me much, do you?" The union brother shot back: "Well, I'm not exactly the type of person people like you have over to their house for lunch."

At the sentencing, despite a plea to the judge by Acuna's son and daughter and a probation officer's report which recommended one year in the county jail, the judge was determined to make an example of this militant unionist. Acuna, a single father and a Teamster for 19 years, is being sent to state prison. Teamsters in the court were angry and bitter, saying Jesse got more time because it was a labor case in L.A., an anti-union town going back to the conviction of the McNamara brothers for the 1911 bombing of the ferociously anti-labor *Los Angeles Times*.

While the prosecutors played hardball, neither Teamsters president Ron Carey nor his "old guard" opponents mobilized union power to defend Acuna. Installed in office by a government-run election coming out of a Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) act lawsuit that put the Teamsters under the feds' thumb, Carey took down picket lines without obtaining amnesty for Acuna and the dozens of militants facing criminal charges across the country.

Following Acuna's arrest, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a letter of protest, demanding all charges be dropped. In an expression of solidarity, PDC representatives attended the court proceedings and contributed to Acuna's legal defense. This courageous union militant must not be abandoned. All labor must rally to his side.

WV Photo

Victimized Teamster striker Jesse Acuna.

A member of Acuna's defense committee told *Workers Vanguard* that funds are still urgently needed to defend Jesse. Readers can contribute to the Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. Free Jesse Acuna! Drop all charges against Teamsters strikers!

Outrage Over New Videotaped Police Beating

Compton, California

LOS ANGELES—In videotape footage hauntingly evocative of the brutal 1991 beating of Rodney King, a burly cop stands over a 17-year-old Latino nearly half his size, delivering a flurry of blows to the young man's head as he lies prone. The video, shot by a neighbor and aired several days later by a local television station, shows the July 29 beating and arrest of Felipe Soltero by Compton cop Michael Jackson. It once again exposes the racist cop terror perpetrated daily upon minority youth.

Earlier that day, a social worker from "Children's Services," citing a lack of "supervision," attempted to take away Felipe Soltero's five younger siblings, whose ages range from 22 months to 14 years. After Felipe refused to hand them over, the cops were called. When he asked to see a warrant, the video shows Jackson slamming Soltero in the cheek with the butt of a baton, then beating him senseless. On the tape you can hear the screams from neighbors begging the cop to stop. Charged with "interference with a police officer," Soltero was later released to seek medical treatment for a concussion, numbness from an elbow injury, headaches, impaired vision and psychological trauma.

This outrage has struck deep chords among all minorities and working people in the L.A. area. An integrated demonstration was held in front of the Compton police station on August 4. Since the cop Jackson is black, the *Los Angeles Times* and other bourgeois press immediately framed this police attack as black vs. Latino. Latino and black misleaders have cynically fueled racial tensions in this once largely black city of 90,000 which now has a Latino majority.

In a sordid squabble over jobs at city hall, leaders of the Latino Chamber of Commerce have disgustingly dubbed the black-dominated Compton city government as an "apartheid state" where "only blacks have rights" (*Long Beach Press Telegram*, 6 August). In response, black city officials are touting the "sensitivity to ethnic diversity" and "community-based policing" of the Compton cops. But the truth is that Jackson, like all cops, is a hired thug for the racist capitalist class that runs this country.

There has been a spate of cop killings of Latinos in the Los Angeles area. On July 16, Flavio Aragon, hounded by police, "fell" to his death from a second-story apartment. Then, on August 4, Michael Fiero Arocha was killed by the cops, shot three times as he obeyed orders to raise his hands.

Cop terror against minority youth is escalating along with the vicious anti-immigrant drive in California. In a sinister and revealing speech, an author of the racist, anti-immigrant "Save Our State" Proposition 187 told an Orange County audience: "You are the posse and SOS is the rope" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 August).

A union officer at SEIU Local 399, which recently demonstrated in defense of former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), described the "two-point" program of California governor Pete Wilson: "1) He wants to throw all African-Americans in jail, and; 2) Send all Latino immigrants back south of the border" (*Voice of Local 399*, August/September 1994). But the answer of California labor officialdom is to chain labor and minorities to racist, anti-immigrant Democratic Party politicians like Feinstein, Boxer and Brown. Meanwhile, Clinton, following in the footsteps of Republicans Reagan and Bush, is escalating state terror with his crime bill for more cops and prisons, more death penalties, and taking guns away from the population.

From Rodney King to Felipe Soltero, there is no justice for the oppressed in capitalist America. But the multiracial working class, led by a revolutionary workers party, can lead the fight to smash the racist terror of the cops and sweep away the rotting system of exploitation that they "protect and serve." ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

Black Workers Strikes Shake Mandela/De Klerk "Power Sharing" Deal

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board, SL Central Committee

Friday, September 9, 7:30 p.m.
602 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(#1 or #9 train to 116th St & Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

BERKELEY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism! U.S. Hands Off Haiti!

Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba

U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Down with the Embargo!

Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member of Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 308
Chair: Laura Wells, Spartacus Youth Club

Wednesday, Sept. 7, 3 p.m.
Room 334, Circle Center
(near the Illinois Room)
University of Illinois at Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacist Video and Discussion

Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Saturday, September 10
For more information: (404) 521-9338

ATLANTA

Dublin Spartacist Group Leaflet

Irish Airline Workers Fight Against Government Cutbacks

DUBLIN—For the past two months, workers at TEAM Aer Lingus, the maintenance subsidiary of the Irish state-owned airline, have been subjected to an escalating series of layoffs as management seeks to impose wage cuts, job losses and a draconian rollback in working conditions. Today less than a third of the 1,900 workers remain in work. This assault on a stronghold of trade unionism has been carried out by the coalition government of Fianna Fáil (the main bourgeois party in the Republic of Ireland) and the Labour Party, led by deputy prime minister (Tanaiste) Dick Spring.

Alan Betson

Dublin Airport: TEAM Aer Lingus workers and their families protest cutbacks, August 20.

The TEAM dispute has dominated the front pages of the Irish press for weeks. As the Dublin Spartacist Group pointed out in a leaflet (reprinted below), the assault on TEAM workers is a crucial showdown between the bourgeoisie and the whole of the labour movement. Along with the Labour-backed Programme for Competitiveness and Work (PCW) austerity pact, it is a step in preparing other publicly owned industries like the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) and CIE (bus and rail transport) for privatisation through the imposition of thousands of redundancies [layoffs].

Yet from the outset, the trade-union leaders at TEAM have preached reliance on so-called "neutral" arbitrators like the government's Labour Relations Commission (LRC) and the Labour Courts, while the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) works overtime to "mediate" the dispute. Meanwhile, the workers' anger is channeled into ineffective marches around the airport access roads, occasionally augmented by worktime union meetings which have led to delays in flights. TEAM workers' anger boiled over early on in the dispute when they surrounded Labour traitor Spring's car and gave it a working over as he drove away from a workers' protest.

We demand that Labour get out of the coalition government! Obscenely, Dick Spring now moots a break with Fianna Fáil prime minister Albert Reynolds *from the right*, over the question of holding talks with the Sinn Féin/IRA Republicans, a demonstration of Labour's craven fealty to British imperialism. The union bureaucrats refuse to even countenance class struggle, fearful of disrupting the Labour Party's coalition with the bourgeoisie. The 10 July Dublin Spartacist Group leaflet, over 4,000 copies of which have been distributed to air transport and other semi-state industry workers, emphasises that what is needed is effective strike action to *shut down the airports.*

TEAM Aer Lingus: An Attack on the Whole Labour Movement

Shut Down the Airports!
All-Out Strike by Air Transport Unions!
Build Mass Picket Lines: Nobody and Nothing Should Pass!

The gloves are off on the government side. In the wake of the sellout Cahill deal [an earlier "rationalisation" scheme proposed by Aer Lingus' chief manager], the ruling class is back for more. The outrageous demands made on TEAM Aer Lingus workers—hundreds of redundancies, 48-hour working week in the winters, ripping up hard-won union conditions—are an attack on the whole union movement.

Everyone knows that the rest of the semi-state companies are threatened, like a line of dominoes: Telecom Eireann, ESB, CIE and B&I [British and Irish ferry service]. The threatened closure of Irish Steel makes it perfectly clear. This is class war! And so far it's all happening from one side—the bosses and their Labour Party friends in the Dáil [parliament] are on the offensive.

But the union leadership is stalling and talking, drawing up phoney "alternative strategies" for TEAM management, and trying to put a word in the ear of the LRC and the Labour Party ministers in the coalition. Militant Labour sums up this whole losing perspective when it calls for exerting "maximum pressure" on the government. This is a recipe for defeat. The government is out to cripple the unions throughout the semi-state sector, it will have to be *beaten* by real trade union action. The government figures it can shut down Irish Steel—but it can't run this country without air transport. The fight back has to start at the airports.

The only way to save the jobs and conditions and defend union organisation is to strike now, and strike hard! Aer Lingus and Servisair workers are already in dispute: all the air transport unions should be out, with the shop stewards reporting to regular joint mass meetings. Shut down the airports! Put up mass picket lines that nobody and nothing will pass! Other sections of the workers will then be able to act in solidarity by joining the pickets. An airport strike would open the way for solidarity strikes by ESB and other workers.

There is talk now from the trade union councils in Dublin and elsewhere of a national half-day stoppage in support of TEAM. All well and good—but a one-off protest action is not enough. (And if we wait for the ICTU to organise a stoppage as the Socialist Workers Movement recommends, we'll be waiting till Christmas!) The heart of this fight must be strike action and picketing to shut down the airports. The Irish Workers Group calls for occupying the TEAM workshops, but that would leave the airport itself open and the other airport workers on the sidelines. Shut down the airports, full stop!

Stop the government-employer offensive in its tracks! Follow the lead of the militant Air France workers last October: they reminded Europe what class struggle looks like, and showed that *class struggle is the only way to win!*

Smash the PCW! No to Privatisation!
For a Shorter Working Week,
With No Loss of Pay!

This is a political dispute from the beginning. The Maastricht Treaty "convergence targets" mean vicious austerity for workers in every member country: fewer services, fewer jobs, higher taxes, lower wages.

With the victory of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet bloc, the idea of the "welfare state" is being thrown out the window, and the European governments are gearing up for trade war with the U.S. and Japan (when they're not falling out among themselves). Dog-

Spartacist Pamphlet—Just Out!

Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

Includes the entire text of Gauche révolutionnaire/Jeunesses communistes révolutionnaires pamphlet, "The International and the State," with a reply by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Published in English and French

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Corrections

In the article, "Stop the Frame-Up of Keith McHenry!" (*WV* No. 603, 8 July), we reported that McHenry had finally been released on bail June 1 while noting that the San Francisco group, "Food Not Bombs," was asking for donations for McHenry's bail. The money being raised is to repay the thousands of dollars incurred in loans for McHenry's bail.

In the article, "*The Communist International After Lenin*—Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time" (*WV* No. 602, 10 June), we incorrectly stated that James P. Cannon's January 1929 introduction to Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the Communist International, Criticism of Fundamentals" had never been reprinted. In fact, Cannon's introduction was reprinted as an appendix to both the 1936 and 1957 Pioneer Publishers editions of *The Third International After Lenin*. However, it is not included in the 1970 Pathfinder Press edition currently available, nor in Pathfinder's collection, *James P. Cannon Writings and Speeches, 1928-31*.

eat-dog competition threatens to take the world into a third interimperialist war. Protectionist poison like [general workers union] SIPTU's campaign to "save Irish jobs" doesn't save a single job. Instead it fuels racism and anti-immigrant hatred and helps the capitalist rulers to spread national chauvinism which only serves to split the working class.

That is why it is vital to fight against the position in a TEAM union leaflet against so-called "Eastern European/Third World cheap labour." This sounds like some right-wing British union leader sounding off about "cheap Irish labour" in the building trades, as a job-trusting excuse for failing to unionise and fight for the interests of *all workers*. We are for *organising the unorganised*, whatever country they come from or work in, on the basis of international workers' solidarity and common struggle. The capitalist class wants the workers to pay for bigger profits; that means breaking the unions, and there is no better weapon for splitting and weakening the working class than racism.

The Reynolds/Spring capitalist government want to get the kind of victory that Margaret Thatcher won over the British miners ten years ago. Since then the British unions have been badly weakened, losing hundreds of thousands of members. The bosses have got away with murder in every department: slashing jobs, imposing draconian anti-strike laws, derecognising unions, freezing public-sector pay. The British miners lost because their strike was attacked by the Trades Union Congress/Labour right wing, and the so-called "left" leaders were content to leave the miners to fight alone, despite their verbal "support." These weak-kneed reformists were terrified of a general strike, which would have posed the question, "who rules: the capitalists or the working class?" Instead they advised the workers to put their faith in a future Labour government.

The official leadership tied the British miners' hands behind their backs. Don't let Labour and ICTU do this to the TEAM workers. Now is the time to *put an end to class collaboration!* There is nothing "neutral" about the Labour Relations Commission's "arbitration," or the bosses' courts or the entire capitalist state for that matter. They are there to ensure the domination of the bosses. The only language the ruling class will understand is *class struggle!* Smash the PCW austerity pact, the government and the employers aren't "social partners"—they're social vultures. They cream off a fat living, while the unemployed see their lives wasted year by year, and workers and their families face a future ruined by sackings, speed up and grinding wage control. No to union-busting privatisations! Fight for jobs for all: for a sliding scale of hours to divide the available work among workers (including the unemployed) at full union rates.

Wojazer/Reuters

Combative Air France strikers beat back Balladur government's cutback/privatization plans by occupying the runways, October 1993.

Labour Party: Which Side Are You On? Get Out of the Coalition! Down with Labour Party Class Collaboration!

TEAM workers and their supporters have a right to know: which side is the Labour Party on? The Labour Party claims to defend the interests of the working class. But its participation in the coalition government is a *betrayal!* That's why we (unlike most of the rest of the left) refused to call for a vote to Labour in November 1992: on principle we will not support a coalition with the bosses' parties. Back then our leaflet (entitled "No Vote to Labour, Workers Party, Democratic Left!") pointed out:

> "For years the trade union and labour misleaders have tied the hands of the working class by brokering class-collaborationist deals with the bosses. First it was the PNR [Programme for National Recovery] and the PESP [Programme for Economic and Social Progress], both explicitly designed to prevent class-struggle opposition to capitalist austerity. Then it was the Labour Party/Workers Party orchestrated deal with Fine Gael to put Mary Robinson in Áras an Uachtaráin [the presidential palace] to head off the growing pressure for change. Now it is the 'Rainbow coalition' where Spring is just waiting to see if he will have enough TDs [members of parliament] to trade off for the Tanaiste's chair."

Today we say that the Labour Party should *get out of the coalition!* What we've had so far is worse than useless—whining complaints about the government being "unreasonable," applying a bit of pressure to the LRC, or a parliamentary vote here or there by TDs who just want to save their own electoral skin and let off steam. It's time to demand that Labour break with Fianna Fáil and get out of this government, now!

The Labour Party, from top to bottom, has a choice. Labour Party supporters have a choice. Either you back Dick Spring, with his precious cabinet posts, sucking up to the bosses and enforcing their anti-working-class rule, or you're with the working class, in struggle, on the picket lines and fighting for the strike action that's needed, right now. And to make a real, united fight against the government means having no truck with Labour traitors: repudiate every single misleader who knifes the TEAM and semi-state workers (whether they be open right wingers or one-time lefts who've swallowed the coalition line). Lenin called parties like the Labour Party "bourgeois workers parties": what's needed is a real working-class party that *fights* the capitalists, not on a reformist platform, but on a *revolutionary* programme. In other words, a party in the working-class struggle traditions of Connolly, Larkin and Lenin.

Repudiate the Labour Traitors! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party! For an Irish Workers Republic, within a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!

Labour and Democratic Left both put out the lie that the working class and women and all the poor and oppressed can find justice and satisfaction through elections to the Dáil, through negotiating for a few crumbs from the capitalist table.

No: A *genuine workers government* will be based on workers councils (soviets), like the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia 1917.

An *Irish workers republic* will not give concessions to boost the bosses' profits: it will expropriate the Smurfits and O'Reillys [leading Irish capitalists] and Intels without a penny of compensation, and build towards a socialist economy, using a central plan to produce for human need, and not for profit.

An *Irish workers republic* will stand foursquare for the rights of the oppressed and especially for the interests of women. Defend Travellers [Irish "Gypsies"] against persecution! Defend the rights of gays and lesbians! For the right of divorce, and for free abortion and contraception on demand. We are for the separation of church and state: nationalise the schools and hospitals owned by the Church. For free, high-quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

The struggle of workers in the Republic cannot be separated from the fight to overthrow British imperialism, hand in hand with the workers of England, Scotland and Wales and of Northern Ireland. Not least among Dick Spring's betrayals is his attempt to broker a deal with British imperialism at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. *British troops out of Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green but class against class! No to forced reunification—for a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!* ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

September 1 to October 5

The 1994 subscription drive inaugurates a new subscription policy. A one-year sub to *Workers Vanguard* costs $10.00 and now includes *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* as well as *Spartacist* (English edition), the theoretical journal of the International Communist League. As *Women and Revolution* is no longer offered as a separate subscription journal, local and national quotas for the 1994 sub drive have been adjusted accordingly.

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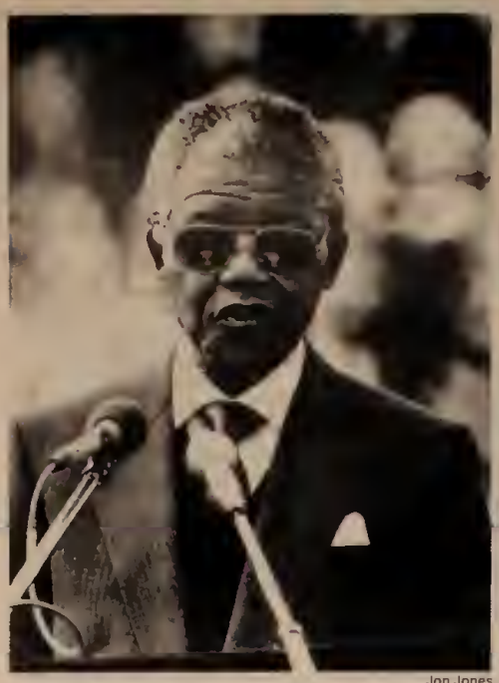


Jon Jones

AP

Nelson Mandela's "power sharing" coalition with apartheid capitalists presides over brutal police repression of militant strike wava by black workers.

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

ANC's Nationalist Popular Front Unraveling

The election this April of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president was hailed by Western bourgeois politicians and the media as a miraculous triumph of democracy. And this line was echoed by most of the left, with the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) playing a key role in the new government. Even left groups, both in South Africa and internationally, who condemn or are critical of the "power sharing" deal between the African National Congress (ANC) and the main white ruling party, F.W. De Klerk's National Party, assume that the present conditions of political openness, a quasi-parliamentary system

PART THREE

and a strong trade-union movement have become *permanent* features of the South African landscape.

Neville Alexander's Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) is campaigning for a "mass workers party" to fight for a series of democratic and economic reforms, such as incorporating the "right to work" into the new constitution. The British-centered Workers Power group calls on the black unions to form a workers party, that is, a party structurally similar to the British Labour Party, albeit on a "revolutionary program." The centrists of WOSA and Workers Power project *gradually* winning the black working class away from trade-union consciousness and political support to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and over to socialist consciousness.

With such a perspective, whatever their criticisms of the ANC, these groups assume a period of relatively stable "post-apartheid" bourgeois "democracy." They do not even consider as possibilities the rise of a black bonapartist regime capable of crushing the workers movement, an outbreak of racial and tribal warfare, and/or managerial sabotage and capital flight leading to economic chaos and collapse. Yet if the black working class, under the leadership of a genuinely communist party, does not take state power, the "new" South Africa will find itself heading in the direction of the rest of post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa.

South Africa is not West Europe. It is not a relatively wealthy, highly industrialized society capable of sustaining a mass social-democratic party backed by a strong union movement. The South African economy, as in many Third World countries, is dependent on the extraction of gold and other minerals. A privileged white caste—making up 13 percent of the population—sits atop the mass of superexploited black African toilers, with the coloured (mixed-race) population and Indians occupying an intermediate place.

In the past a shared hatred for the white rulers, especially the Afrikaner Nationalist regime, tended to suppress class and ethnic divisions within the black African and more generally nonwhite population. And after Mandela was released from prison and adopted an extremely "moderate" line, many whites came to believe that an ANC-led government would restore social peace without seriously attacking their material privileges. But the notion that the Mandela presidency would usher in an era of good will among South Africans of all classes, races and ethnic groups was exploded almost instantly.

The new government was greeted with a wave of strikes as black workers believed it was "payback time." "We want something now," exclaimed a steel worker, Mtutuzeli Mpondo, "not tomorrow or next year. We voted for change, but nothing seems to be changing, in our lives, work places, homes, and in all spheres of life." Mandela responded to the strikes by denouncing "some" unions for continuing to pursue a course of resistance rather than switching over to "reconstruction." This line was also taken by ANC general secretary and parliamentary leader Cyril Ramaphosa (former head of the National Union of Mineworkers).

AP

Protest over white fascist's murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani last year. Today, while SACP tops occupy cabinet seats in capitalist government, some militants are demanding, "What has happened to tha dictatorship of the proletariat?"

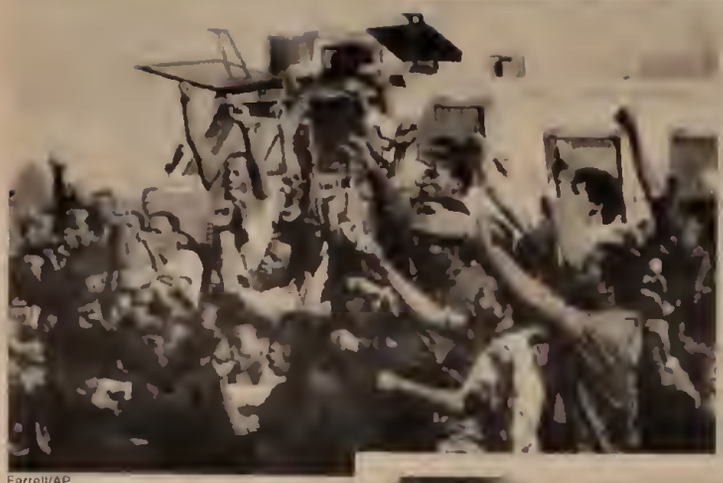
Even the Communist Party, intimately allied with the ANC for over half a century, criticized Mandela's remarks as "disturbing." Internally, the SACP has become a seething mass of contradictions. For example, the secretary of the Cape Town branch last year threatened to resign from the party to protest its "gradual abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles."

At the same time, De Klerk's National Party is talking about pulling out of the coalition government and going into opposition. This would signal the beginning of open conflict between the ANC leadership and the white generals, police commandants and senior civilian bureaucrats still entrenched in the neo-apartheid state apparatus. However, the immediate challenge to Mandela, Ramaphosa & Co. is coming not from the white capitalist class but the black working class.

Black Labor Struggles Rock the "New" South Africa

Mandela told the London *Financial Times* (18 July): "The harmony that exists between ourselves in the ANC and big business is striking." Thus the conditions, both political and economic, which over the past two decades gave rise to one of the most powerful trade-union movements in the Third World, cannot long survive under this *black bourgeois-nationalist government*. Partly due to the strength of the unions and partly to the country's economic structure, industrial wages in South Africa have been pushed considerably above Third World norms. Factory workers in Johanneshurg and Port Elizabeth now earn twice as much as those in Mexico City and São Paulo, Brazil and several times as much as in Thailand and the Philippines.

The same factors have produced sharp inequalities within the black African population. In 1990 it was estimated that the predominantly unionized, industrial workers averaged R12,000 (rand)—about US$3,500—a year, compared to R4,800 for those working in the "informal sector" of the segregated townships. Agricultural laborers earned R2,400 and those living on the desolate bantustans a mere R1,400 (Stephen John Stedman, ed., *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation* [1994]). These figures



Farrell/AP

Silva/AP

Frankenfeld/NY Times

New ANC rulers send "reformed" apartheid army (above) to keep lid on murderous conflict between Inkatha-led Zulu hostel dwellers (top left) and ANC-derived "Self-Defense Units" (left) in Tokoza. For ethnically integrated, union-based workers militias to suppress right-wing terrorism and communalist violence!

are somewhat misleading, since a good part of the wages received by black industrial workers go to support their poorer relatives unemployed in the townships or trapped on the bantustans. Nonetheless, the unions are vulnerable to demagogic nationalist attack by ANC politicians, who now claim the unions are defending the interests of a labor aristocracy, not the black African populace as a whole.

The unions are chained by the political logic of nationalist popular-frontism. In 1986 the leadership of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) issued a joint statement with the ANC proclaiming the latter as head of the "national liberation movement." In turn, COSATU was declared to be "an important and integral part" of the "democratic forces of our country." In subsequent years, the unions acted as the main mass combat organizations in undermining the apartheid system. Strikes, even around narrow economic issues, were seen as weakening the white power structure, as indeed they did. It would have been unthinkable for the large numbers of unemployed black youth, however economically desperate, to scab on COSATU strikes. They would have been reviled—or worse—as collaborators with the hated apartheid state.

But now Mandela & Co., having become political front men for the Randlords, are trying to mobilize black sentiment against the unions, claiming that the relatively high wages in the industrial sector are responsible for mass unemployment in the townships and abject poverty in the countryside. Since Mandela's appeals for labor peace in the name of "reconstruction" have had no effect, the next logical step would be breaking these strikes utilizing black lumpen scabs protected by white police. The unions are thus facing a political attack of a very different order than the decreasingly effective police-state measures employed by the white-supremacist regime in its last years.

The black industrial unions were able to push wages up sharply over the past 20 years only because the structure of the South African economy could accommodate this. South Africa is an extreme example of a Third World dual economy, what Trotsky called combined and uneven development. The workers who assemble Volkswagens (not to mention Mercedes and BMWs) cannot afford to buy the cars they build. A powerful industrial union movement was built under conditions in which half the black African labor force was unemployed.

The explanation for these apparent contradictions lies in the fact that the economy is based on the extraction of mineral wealth. Gold is still king, although as the richest veins are played out, the companies are increasingly exploring elsewhere on the continent. Mining accounts for 10 percent of South Africa's gross national product and 60 percent of its exports. The profits from the Rand gold fields, along with the platinum, diamond and other mines, support a large, parasitic white petty bourgeoisie—government and corporate bureaucrats, proprietors of retail outlets, real estate brokers, etc.—who enjoy "First World" living standards.

Base metals account for *over half* of South Africa's industrial exports. It's cheaper to smelt iron and aluminum ore in South Africa and ship slabs and ingots than to ship the ore for smelting in West Europe, North America and Japan. Primary metallurgy is by its technical nature highly capital-intensive, employing less than 10 percent of the industrial labor force.

The Afrikaner Nationalist regime consistently pursued a program of *import substitution* in manufacturing, seeking to maximize production in South Africa of both strategic goods (e.g., armaments) and consumer durables purchased by the affluent white community. Seven international auto makers, including Mercedes, BMW and Nissan, have plants in South Africa—plants which might not have been built there in a more "free trade" environment. Charles Meth, an economist at the University of Natal, pointed out:

> "Much investment has been for strategic rather than for 'purely economic reasons,' many enterprises being either unprofitable or having their 'profits' underwritten by the state. Private sector investment in manufacturing has been cushioned by the state against some of the harsh realities of capitalist competition on an international scale."
>
> —Nicoli Nattrass and Elisabeth Ardington, eds., *The Political Economy of South Africa* (1990)

The particular structure of the South African economy, closely bound up with the apartheid system, necessarily shaped the black industrial union movement which developed over the past two decades. The country's largest, most militant and most left-wing union is the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA). NUMSA's members are characteristically employed in metal foundries whose profits are based on access to cheap mineral ores, in weapons factories subsidized by the military, and in auto plants geared to the purchasing power of the privileged white community. Thus the core of the unionized industrial labor force has heretofore been relatively insulated from the competitive pressures of the world market.

The masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange and their partners in Wall Street and the City of London believed that by co-opting Mandela, Ramaphosa & Co. as their political agents they would be able to both dampen labor militancy and promote low-wage, labor-intensive industries (e.g., textiles and apparel) capable of competing with the Far East and Latin America. In a recent report, the Washington-based World Bank estimates that union activity has raised the wages of black labor 15 percent above what they otherwise would have been and argues that "higher wages have led to lower demand for labor" (*Reducing Poverty in South Africa* [June 1994]). This key agency of international finance demands an end to "conflict-ridden industrial relations" so that foreign investors will open sweatshops in South Africa instead of Taiwan or Mexico.

But unionized black workers are not buying the line that it is they who have to make sacrifices so that multinational firms and banks will provide sweatshop jobs for their younger brothers in the townships and sisters on the bantustans. Business circles have responded to the current massive strike wave with anger and dismay. One can expect large-scale capital flight.

The impact of intensifying labor conflict on multinational firms and banks is even more immediate. Since the April elections, foreign moneymen have been *divesting* themselves of their holdings in South African companies. Robert Irwin, the head of a Wall Street securities firm who recently visited South Africa, commented: "I cannot figure out what South Africa offers to the outside investor in the way of an opportunity to create jobs" (*New York Times*, 3 August). Black labor militancy in South Africa will be answered and is already being answered by a *strike of capital*, both domestic and international.

In short, the black union movement faces a political attack by the bourgeois-nationalist ANC government and economic sabotage by those who own the means of production. This underscores the utter inadequacy of the combination of quasi-syndicalism and left social democracy espoused by the "workerist" elements in COSATU exemplified by former Metalworkers leader, now ANC/SACP parliamentarian, Moses Mayekiso. The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, which has recently been presenting itself as the left wing of the COSATU "workerist" current, is agitating for a mass workers party "to defend and promote the interests of workers politically and at other levels."

However, in the present conjuncture, the workers can defend and promote their interests only by undertaking a struggle leading toward taking state power and reconstructing South African society on a socialist basis. Such a reconstruction will necessarily require a democratic solution to the many and complex national questions inherited from the apartheid state and will have to counter the inevitable offensive of world imperialism against a black-centered workers government in southern Africa. In the absence of a *proletarian internationalist solution* to the deepgoing political and social crisis signaled by the Mandela/

continued on page 13

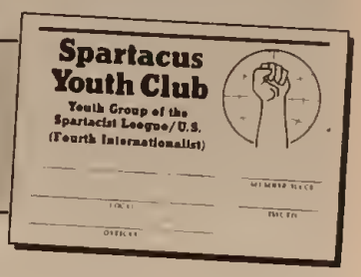
Matlala/Shopsteward

Postal workers march in downtown Johannesburg last year. Combative black unions have attracted multiethnic support, key to overcoming tribal/racial divisions through class struggle.

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

Fight for the Communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky!



The Spartacus Youth Clubs are schools of revolutionary action and education for young communists. As the student/youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, the SYCs seek to win a new generation to the side of the working class. Our youth clubs provide a training ground, in struggle, for the future cadre of the Leninist-Trotskyist party which is necessary to lead the working class to power through international socialist revolution.

For decades, fear of war with the Soviet Union restrained the bloody hand of American imperialism, which would otherwise have certainly used nuclear weapons in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, as well as against Castro's Cuba. Now, with the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, Washington proclaims the "death of Communism" and has embarked on military adventures from Somalia to Haiti. Intent on ruling the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie is gearing up for new wars of neocolonial conquest and increased rivalry with its imperialist competitors (particularly Japan), bringing the world closer to the threat of nuclear war. But from South Africa to South Korea, from the Chiapas revolt to the Teamsters strike, the class struggle rages and communism lives as the program to bring the working masses to victory. Youth today face the stark choice, as the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it, of "socialism or barbarism."

WV Photo

February 1991: New York Spartacists protest imperialist war in the Persian Gulf on anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

While the ruling class tries to lull the working people with the lie that this system is "free" and "democratic," it is really a dictatorship of the capitalist owners. The capitalists own the factories, the banks, the mines and transport systems—what Marxists call *the means of production*. Private ownership of the means of production is the basis of a system of exploitation where the vast majority of people, the workers who produce the wealth of this society, are denied the fruits of their labor. The capitalists' drive for profits necessarily leads to an immiseration of the working class, to dividing the workers along race and ethnic lines, and to imperialist wars for new markets. The whole system runs on the exploitation of labor by capital—that's fundamental, and it can't be reformed.

Socialism is not a utopia, or an ideal, or an "experiment that failed"; it is the only egalitarian alternative to the immiseration, oppression, racism and war which is endemic to the capitalist system. We fight for a socialist economy based on collectivized property, a rational planned economy, and a society where *those who labor will rule*. A socialist society, based on production for social use instead of private profit, will eliminate scarcity and the struggle for daily survival, opening the way to an expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture, and in every aspect of personal life.

What keeps something as unjust and rotten as the capitalist system going? The capitalist class has *state power* and enforces its rule through a whole system of force and violence—the cops, courts, prisons, national guard and army—to defend private property. You can see it in the recent police attacks on Teamster strikers, in the new "boot camps" for youth, in the national guard and army occupation of South Central Los Angeles which violently suppressed the multiracial youth upheaval against the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

The capitalist class also holds on to power by keeping the workers politically unconscious and racially divided. While the Republicans openly display their contempt for workers, black people and radical students and women, the Democratic Party postures as the friend of the "little guy" but in fact is the main means the American ruling class has to keep the oppressed tied to their oppressors.

The "glue" that binds the workers and radical youth to the capitalist Democratic Party is the various reformists who reject the necessity of a *class-struggle fight* in favor of losing schemes to pressure the Democrats to throw more crumbs their way. The trade-union bureaucrats aim to "mediate" the conflict between capital and labor in order to maintain the status quo. Given the bankrupt American economy, maintaining the "status quo" has meant assisting the bosses in carrying out major cuts in the workers' standard of living.

We fight to build a Leninist vanguard, a revolutionary *workers party*, to make the working class politically conscious and act not merely as a class in itself but as a class *for itself*. Students and youth cannot make the revolution because they have no social power. Nor is it a question of only blacks liberating blacks, gays liberating gays or women liberating women under capitalism. It is only the multiracial working class, organized to fight in its own class interests and led by a revolutionary party, that can overthrow capitalism and liberate all the oppressed.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution! In October 1917, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party led the working class to power in Russia. Emerging from the tsarist empire, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia showed the workers of the world that the Marxist program could be put into practice. Although this was a revolution made *in* Russia, it was not a revolution solely *for* Russia. The Bolsheviks' perspective was *revolutionary internationalist*—they fought for an extension of workers' state power internationally and knew that an isolated proletarian dictatorship could not survive. Following imperialist invasion and a bloody civil war, suffering continued isolation and conditions of extreme scarcity, a conservative parasitic bureaucracy, balancing atop the gains of October, took the reins of political power away from the workers. Rather than the state "withering away"—as Marx and Lenin had foreseen would occur as a result of international proletarian revolution—it hypertrophied under Stalin's regime, which marked the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

The watchword of the Stalinist bureaucracy was "socialism in one country." This was used to "justify" narrow nationalist policies, including the active sabotage of revolutionary opportunities internationally, in order to buy "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. Leon Trotsky made the analogy between the Soviet Union in its Stalinist degeneration and a reformist-led trade union—an organization of the working class saddled with a leadership of privileged bureaucrats, who distort the workers' political consciousness by accommodating world imperialism instead of pursuing the class struggle. He also warned that if this parasitic bureaucracy were not replaced by the rule of elected workers councils (soviets) and the revolution extended internationally, the legacy of the October Revolution would be destroyed. The ultimate crime of Stalin's heirs—and a huge defeat for the world proletariat—was the final undoing of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution with Yeltsin's August 1991 coup for Wall Street. Capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and across Eastern Europe has brought back "all the old crap": nationalist bloodbaths and communalist pogroms, vicious attacks on women and ethnic minorities, hunger and immiseration by the capitalist market.

Since 1917 the "Russian question" has been the touchstone for revolutionaries and the politically defining question for anyone purporting to be a socialist. While social democrats like the International Socialist Organization cravenly capitulated to the pressures of the Cold War and lined up with their own bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, our revolutionary heritage is that of Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition and Fourth International, which fought for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers and return the USSR to the road of Bolshevik internationalism, and for an extension of proletarian revolution in the West.

From exposing Polish Solidarność as a company union for the CIA and Western bankers, to raising thousands of dollars in a campaign of material aid for the

Young Spartacus

University of Illinois (Champaign/Urbana) contingent organized by the SYC joins the labor/black mobilization to stop the Ku Klux Klan at state capitol in Springfield, January 16.

Overcoming the Bourgeois Division Between Mental and Manual Labor

"Maintenance and the Communist Movement"

Leon Trotsky wrote in Their Morals and Ours *(1939) of the uncompromising fight to counterpose Marxist morality to the bourgeois liberal values inculcated in the petty bourgeoisie. One aspect of petty-bourgeois morals is its acquiescence to the psychology and social habit that says you'll either be an intellectual or a manual laborer, but not both. This division between "thinkers" and "doers" is a feature of class-divided societies in all parts of the world and is particularly rooted in the legacy of slavery and feudalism.*

The following remarks by comrade Jim Robertson at the recent national conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. highlight communist values and our goal of eradicating the pretentious bourgeois division between manual and mental labor.

In a very real way, this report is dedicated to Nina Hartley (who personifies the struggle against a parallel kind of invidiousness and hypocrisy, in her case sexual, inherent in the bourgeois order). America, uniquely among the advanced industrial countries, suffers from the religiosity of organized and repressive superstition. And one aspect of that, besides the Nina Hartley one, is the question of maintenance and the communist movement.

The bourgeois norm is management on top, maintenance in basement (a variation on the theme of priest-ridden Italy—man on top, woman in kitchen). When we were at our old national office, we had what I thought to be an optimal configuration. We had offices on the fifth and second floors, but on the tenth floor, right next to each other, were the Central Office and the maintenance department. It worked very well; it was real and collaborative, and it was very contradictory to the bourgeois norm which is, of course, that stockbrokers are vastly superior people to plumbers.

Dennis Silverstein

Nina Hartley, charged with "felony lesbianism," is a socialist and a champion of sexual freedom. Viva Nina!

Now, just as a semi-aside, in order to change the world, you have to be able to change it, not merely learn something to write about it. As Stalin said, "Paper will take anything that is written on it." One time, William F. Warde (George Novack) gave a nice little chat on philosophy, and he used the Marxist phrase: "The philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world; the point is to ..." At that point I picked up, "destroy them!" And the man looked visibly shaken. But there was a point.

So if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual. And if you don't know what to do with your hands, you are an ignorant person, and you are certainly not a physical scientist or an engineer. Perhaps you are Peter Camejo [a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party], who is a politically correct, socially conscious investment counselor.

Now, there are limits to this observation. Stalin robbed banks while Trotsky wrote. However, I would point out that Trotsky also organized the Red Army while Stalin seemed to have also been turning his comrades over to the tsarist Okhrana [secret police]. A model

Wilfried Bauer

Young Soviet volunteers worked under grueling conditions to finish BAM—the Baikal-Amur Mainline link to Trans-Siberia Railroad.

that I saw in life, at the College of Chemistry at Cal [Berkeley], were rather young, hot-shot professors of chemistry who, in the course of their research on the borders of known science, did their own electronics, their own plumbing, their own glassblowing and a host of other things, which they learned on their own initiative, undoubtedly under the guidance of journeymen and master craftsmen. But they did it and they did it right, because those measurements meant everything in their work.

And that shows another side of the problem. A good journeyman, without the engineering or scientific overview, necessarily bumps against a conceptual ceiling and must be frustrated. I think that Bukharin, in one of his speculative books, suggested that with the victory of the working class and the development into higher stages of socialism, the last residue of previous class-divided society to be shattered would be the monopoly of the petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills, and that after that we, increasingly united as a species, would be on the road to communism.

So you have the bourgeois dichotomy between the doer and the thinker, the blue and the white collar, work and leisure, dirty and clean, menial and advantaged. What we seek are unifying communist values that not only permit us to redo the plumbing, but maintenance teams are very close to being the nuclei of military formations. Also, since I think this is a central axis of the world, I am left therefore with some kind of blinking indifference to preoccupations such as academic multiculturalism. The pH of water does not care about one's deep ethnic-rooted taste in music, which one should certainly enjoy, if one does. But I don't see that it changes much.

Thank you.

victims of the CIA-backed Afghan mullahs, to fighting against the Fourth Reich's *Anschluss* of East Germany, we took an active part in the fight to defend the workers states. Today, with Cuba isolated and throttled by an imperialist embargo, with China and North Korea threatened by internal counterrevolution and hostile encirclement, only political revolution led by a Trotskyist party, and class struggle right here in the belly of the imperialist beast, can defend the remaining gains for the proletariat which are still embodied in those deformed workers states.

U.S./UN Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World! It's a "New World Order" of unbridled U.S. military threats and intervention. The naked power grab by U.S. imperialism is carried out around the globe under the cover of the flag of the United Nations. (Lenin aptly dubbed the League of Nations, the UN's predecessor, an imperialist "den of thieves.") The U.S. imperialists "fight hunger" in Somalia by engineering a famine and then pumping bullets into unarmed crowds of black Africans. They "give peace a chance" in the former Yugoslavia by arming Bosnian Muslims and shooting Serbs. They "bring prosperity" to Haiti by choking the desperately poor country with a starvation blockade.

During the Persian Gulf War, our fake-socialist opponents pushed a policy of patriotic social-chauvinism; they sported yellow ribbons to support U.S. troops, marched with red, white and blue "peace" signs, and pushed for the UN to enforce sanctions as a supposed alternative to a U.S.-led shooting war which could risk *American* lives. Yet the sanctions were *an act of war* and have resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs fought against illusions in the United Nations, against imperialist sanctions, and uniquely against our own bourgeoisie, raising the slogan, "*Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!*" We mobilized youth who are offered a "future" as cannon fodder, putting forward a program to ally with the working class and wage a struggle for labor strikes against the U.S.' "desert slaughter." From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima to the carpet bombing of Vietnam to the mass graves in Panama and the blood-drenched Iraqi desert, U.S. imperialism is the bloodiest war criminal on the planet.

Imperialist war is not a "bad policy" but an essential feature of the capitalist system. Historically the Democrats launch even more imperialist adventures than the Republicans. Without the "red menace" of the Soviet Union to unify the imperialist powers, today interimperialist rivalries are heightened. As we pointed out then, the Persian Gulf War was in good part a warning by the U.S. to its economically more robust rivals Japan and Germany. *You can't end imperialist war without ending capitalism.*

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! American capitalism is racist to the core. Since slavery black people have been integrated into key sectors of the American economy but forcibly segregated at the bottom as a race-color caste in all spheres of society: jobs, housing, education, the military. The Civil War against chattel slavery and the civil rights movement against Jim Crow segregation held out the promise of black equality. But racist oppression is so inherent in American capitalism that it can not be eradicated short of a socialist revolution. Given the strategic role played by black workers in the labor movement, there will be no American workers revolution unless the revolutionary party has a heavily black leadership component, and the multiracial proletariat is consciously mobilized to open the road to black freedom through *revolutionary integrationism*: integration on the basis of real social equality in an egalitarian socialist society.

With the deindustrialization of the U.S., the old racist status quo of "last hired, first fired" has worsened to a nightmare of hopelessness for black youth who are never hired. There are no jobs, so the ruling class increasingly sees black youth as a "surplus population" to be penned in the ghettos by racist killer cops or warehoused in prison hellholes and "boot camps." The defeat of liberal token-ist integration schemes and the increased isolation of black youth have fueled a defeatist "nationalist" mood, as seen in the renewed popularity of the dangerous demagogue Louis Farrakhan, who, as we have forthrightly said, is bad news for black people. For all the talk of "empowerment," Farrakhan accommodates white racist segregationists by opposing integrated struggle and pushes poisonous anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant chauvinism in his bid for crumbs from the racist rulers.

Only a party that actively fights all manifestations of racial oppression in America can lead the multiracial working class to victory. From our nationwide campaign of protest over the elementary issue of the right of black people to get equal treatment at Denny's restaurants, to our powerful labor/black united-front mobilizations against the KKK and Nazi fascists, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have fought for an alliance in struggle between anti-racist youth and the integrated labor movement to defend black rights.

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Stop ISO Gangsterism! For Open Political Debate!

ISO Attacks Death Penalty Abolitionists

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club on July 31 and distributed nationwide to protest the latest acts of gangsterism by the International Socialist Organization

On Wednesday, July 27, a group of three Spartacus Youth Club activists, including a young black woman, was set upon by thugs in the hallway of Boston University's Marsh Chapel outside a publicly advertised anti-death penalty forum. Literature and petitions to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther Party member and courageous journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless"—were ripped out of our comrades' hands, seized in stacks off our literature table, torn to shreds and thrown out on the street.

Who is responsible for this despicable act of racist violence? Skinhead fascists? Kill-crazy, pro-death penalty, "right-to-life" terrorists? "Off-duty" cops? No, this was the work of self-avowed "socialists," the International Socialist Organization (ISO). This attack took place outside a forum which was publicly advertised in the ISO's July *Socialist Worker* and was led by Boston ISO branch leader Brian Kelly. Like a "grade B" movie bully, Kelly kicked a high school student in the chest and bellowed, "I'm going to kill you." Kelly's supporting cast included ISOers David Whitehouse, Ann Sydor, Kit Cooley, and nameless "extras." The goons "justified" their physical violence to others attending the forum with the lie that we Spartacists are "disrupters."

Violence and slander are the tactics of the capitalist ruling class which seeks to suppress militants and divide the working class and revolutionary movement with COINTELPRO dirty tricks, strikebreakers, gangsters, cops, etc. For these same tactics to be used by the ISO against other leftist organizations can only play into the hands of reactionaries. Such methods poison relations between various sections of the left and block the development of socialist class consciousness by rendering free discussion of ideas impossible. They don't have to consider other theories, they just beat up anyone who raises a dissenting view.

The attack at Boston University is not an isolated incident but an example of the gangsterism for which this tendency is known *internationally*. The American ISO is a satellite of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's thuggery prompted another leftist tendency, the *Socialist Organiser* group, to call for a labor movement inquiry into violent assaults just one year ago at the SWP's "Marxism '93," advertised as a "week of discussion and debate." In August 1992, the ISO's Canadian group launched a brutal attack against our comrades outside a "public" debate, dragging a small woman comrade and bashing her, spread-eagled, against a door divider. This misogynist outrage prompted an independent witness to publish a protest letter. But the ISO continues to substitute the fist for the brain, seeking to draw a *blood line* to seal off new members from political debate. Organizational loyalty founded on unreasoning hatred instead of political program makes for an inherently unstable group and can serve to drive honest militants out of left politics altogether.

Young Spartacus

New York University campus cop bars door to building at behest of ISO members to seal off Spartacists from publicly advertised meeting, August 25.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacists have fought to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal because his case embodies what the death penalty is all about. Capital punishment is racist "legal lynching" by a capitalist state whose whole system of injustice includes the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

As a Black Panther, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who spoke out powerfully for all the oppressed, Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted for death by the Philadelphia police. Framed for killing a cop and sentenced to death for his political views, Jamal fights what would be the first political execution since the government electrocuted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for being Communists and Jews. Thousands of unionists, students, civil rights activists and death penalty abolitionists around the world have joined the campaign to save Jamal's life.

In response to the growing support for Jamal's case, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) are on a crusade to silence him and his supporters in order to make it easier to kill him. The ISO, which has maintained a deafening silence on Jamal's case and now assaults his supporters, also supports cop "strikes" and calls for cop "unions" (like the FOP?). Just as Jamal was to begin broadcasting commentaries from death row on National Public Radio's (NPR) prestigious *All Things Considered*, the FOP succeeded in banning Jamal from the airwaves by marshaling a powerful array of reactionary forces, including Senate Republican leader Robert Dole. The very day NPR caved in to the FOP, President Clinton addressed thousands of cops to promote his new "three strikes you're out" crime bill and called for capital punishment for "cop killers."

Anybody who has taken to the streets to walk a picket line to defend their union against the bosses, or defend an abortion clinic against Operation Rescue, or joined a demonstration against racist violence, knows that the cops are there to beat your heads, that they are the hired thugs of the capitalist rulers, the sworn enemies of the working class, minorities, immigrants, women and gays. Yet at anti-fascist demonstrations across the Midwest, the ISO assists the cops by herding leftists through metal detectors into police holding pens for impotent "protests" under the thumb of the cops. When anti-fascist militants surged to sweep the Nazis off the streets of Ottawa in May 1993, the ISO's Canadian comrades served as junior cop auxiliaries, protecting the fascists by linking arms to force the crowd back.

What kind of socialist organization makes common cause with the cops? Find out for yourself—get our special packet, "ISO Truth Kit—Polemics with the Cliff Tendency."

The origins of the ISO date from their international leader Tony Cliff's break with the Trotskyist movement in the 1950s when he lined up with British and American imperialism in the Korean War. That's why we call the ISO and their social-democratic ilk "State Department socialists"; "socialists" whose appetite to pressure and cozy up to the mythical "liberal" wing of imperialism inevitably leads them to outright anti-Communism. Faced with the hostile domestic climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the Cliff tendency spun out a "theory" of "state capitalism," of some "new class rule," to justify blocking with their own bourgeoisie against the degenerated Soviet workers state.

Throughout the 1980s, wherever American imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive raged hottest, you would find the ISO—lined up with the U.S. ruling class. Behind the Pope and Ronald Reagan, the ISO screamed for solidarity with Polish "Solidarity"—Lech Walesa's company "union" which has brought capitalism back to Poland, impoverishing the working class and especially women who are also the first targets of Solidarność's clerical reaction in outlawing abortion. Behind the CIA-funded and armed *mujahedin*, the ISO screamed for the blood of Russian soldiers in Afghanistan and hailed this victory for the forces of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism which has forced women into veils, leftists into jails, and author Taslima Nasrin into hiding in fear for her life.

We Trotskyists fought tooth and nail to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution, and to return to the liberating program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks through a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats. But the ISO hailed the capitalist counterrevolution as "the Russian Revolution of 1991." The destruction of the Soviet Union has ushered in a nightmare of nationalist bloodletting, racist pogroms, inequality and poverty. Internationally, U.S. imperialism now sees a green light to strangle the Cuban Revolution and intervene militarily everywhere from Africa to the former Yugoslavia to Haiti.

Only now that the Soviet Union is gone does the ISO claim to be a party in "the Bolshevik tradition." This is nothing but dirt-cheap camouflage for a group trying to carve out its own turf as a "socialist" pressure on mainstream liberals and the Democratic Party White House. For months, these ostensible socialists kept an eye on "their" new president with a regular "Clinton watch" in *Socialist Worker*. They are still riding Clinton's coattails. The ISO said not one

ISO Truth Kit

A Spartacist packet including articles from *Workers Vanguard*, *Workers Hammer* and *Spartacist Canada*.

Polemics with the Cliff Tendency

- An Anti-Marxist Flinch—The "Theory" of State Capitalism
- The Struggle Against Fascism
- "State Department Socialists" in League with Imperialism
- For Open Political Debate—Down with Stalin-Style Thuggery and Cowardly Exclusionism

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Racist Repression Against Hip-Hop

Clothes, Cops and the Capitalist State

Kowal/AP

Andrea Van Winkle, left, and sister Kerry stay out of school in Morocco, Indiana to avoid racist harassment.

It started out with a few young white women wearing "hip-hop" clothes—baggy jeans, flannel shirts and boots—and ended up in a racist frenzy in Morocco, Indiana. In this isolated Midwest town, Andrea Van Winkle, her sister Kerry, their friend Alizabeth Grzych and a number of other teenagers face constant verbal harassment, physical attacks, school suspensions, death threats and an all-out assault by racist students and the Ku Klux Klan. And for what? Well, according to one of the racist creeps, it's because "they act like black people. They're nnt black, so why should they act like it? It's not right" (*USA Today*, 11 December 1993).

Hip-hop styles of clothing have been widely popularized by black performers in rap music videos. In a rural Indiana town that is about 99 percent white, when a bunch nf young high-school women began to dress differently, braid their hair, and make it clear they're anti-racists, the visceral bigotry just below the surface of small-town life began to openly rear its ugly head.

Late last year, tensions reached a boiling point when students tried to rally in support of the girls and were met with a pro-KKK "white power" counterdemonstration. At one point, the school principal had to empty the school because of a bomb threat. Since these incidents, five of the girls have dropped out of school in fear of their lives, and one of only two black students, Jacob Campbell, was driven out. Alizabeth's father guards their home with a .357 Magnum pistol.

Cavello/Newsweek

Newsweek magazine illustrated some of the clothing outrageously declared "verboten" by school administrators across the country.

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The words "KKK," "White Power" and "Wigger" are scrawled all over school lockers and desks at North Newton High. "Wigger" is a revolting term that combines the words "white" and "n----r" to describe anti-racist white people. It is also thrown out at black men who date white women, or black people decried as "not black enough."

School principal Gene Bell backed the racists. Initially the girls were suspended. Andrea Van Winkle says that after she complained to Bell about racist harassment, he told her "if we didn't wear those braids and clothes the boys would not bother us." The girls have filed suit against the school and several officials for compensatory and punitive damages. We hope they win.

The clothes one wears and the music one listens to can be anything from a simple matter of taste to a political statement. Clothing or personal lifestyle can't change society or its problems. But these young women are conscious integrationists who sympathize with rebellious sentiment found in rap music and for that, the racists hate them. Morocco, Indiana is halfway between the cities of Indianapolis and Gary, with their substantial black and working-class populations. The next time there's a racist rally in Morocco, we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs would love to see integrated busloads of workers and anti-racist students take a trip to North Newton High to teach the racists a quick and unforgettable lesson in tolerance.

Across the country the racist bourgeois state has been targeting young people, especially blacks and Latinos, for their so-called "gang" attire. In Southern California the anti-immigrant and anti-gang hysteria has especially set up Latino youth for cop repression. Jessie Gonzalez, a Latino teenager in nearby Panorama City, was found guilty under a "sweeping injunction designed to stem gang activity" and sentenced to 90 days in jail and three years probation (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 August 1993). His crime? The pnssession of an electronic pager and a glass bottle! Here's the hypocrisy of the ruling class: fascist skinhead scum are given free rein to flaunt Nazi regalia as they terrorize minorities, but minority youth who dress in hip-hop attire face constant cop repression.

Asian youth have also been on the receiving end of police brutality. Claiming that Asians look "androgynous" and therefore hard to peg as male "gang members," cops in L.A. suburbs like Fountain Valley and Monterey Park routinely stop, photograph and even detain young Asian women on the basis of their "gang" clothing (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 August 1993).

Three young Vietnamese women, Minhtran Tran, Annie Lee and Quyen Pham, were harassed, detained and photographed by the Garden Grove Police Department in Southern California as part of a compilation of ominous secret police dossiers on "suspected" gang members. Previously, these honor roll students endured repeated harassment from local businesses. It was assumed they were in gangs because they wore baggy clothes. The ACLU filed a class-action lawsuit against the Garden Grove police on behalf of the young women.

From racist dress codes and curfews to anti-smoking, anti-booze, anti-drug and anti-sex campaigns, the state is seeking to regiment young people according to 1950s-style "family values," to inculcate docile submission to authority. This is all part of the capitalist state's efforts to shape a generatinn as cannon fodder for the next imperialist war or racist adventure abroad. Along these lines, the California State Assembly has recently approved a bill that allows public schools to *require* students to wear uniforms.

To do away with the stifling repression nf youth, the bigotry against young women who dare to be "different" and the inequalities of a race- and class-divided society requires a socialist revolution! ■

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word in opposition to Clinton's NAFTA rape of Mexico and at BU last semester shared a platform with and glad-handed a high-ranking representative of the Mexican government which rained death on the *Zapatista* Indian rebels in Chiapas. Along with Clinton the ISO hails neo-apartheid, the ANC's swindle of black freedom in a deal with South Africa's racist butchers.

On the domestic front, when Teamster strikers faced off against riot cops, and Spartacus Youth Cluh memhers joined the picket lines to help defend the union, the shamefaced ISO stayed away, knowing the reception they'd get as "socialists" who routinely cross picket lines and who campaigned for years for the capitalist government to "clean up" the Teamsters. With Clinton pushing a crime bill that will throw thousands more people on death row, the ISO switches into high gear...to bloody those who fight for the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Ahu-Jamal.

For the ISO, the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence. In this they follow the example of their political forebears, the German Social Democrats Noske and Scheidemann who drowned the 1919 workers revolution in blood and instigated the killing of the Spartakist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. *This* is the tradition the ISO springs from like cholera bacteria from a leaking sewer.

The German Spartacists and Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks form *our* revolutionary heritage. Uniquely on the left we practice what was the norm in the communist movement—before Stalinism wrecked it—the practice of open political debate. Lenin's scathing and often humorous polemics against the Mensheviks, Kautskyan social democrats, and his own Bolshevik comrades stand in sharp contrast to the Stalinists' crushing of dissent and mind-numbing uniformity. It's an irony of history that hysterical anti-Stalinist social democrats like the ISO ape Stalin's methods. We Trotskyists believe that it is only through the clash of opinion and test of action among various forces claiming to be socialists that political clarity can be achieved and a Leninist party forged to intervene in social struggle.

What kind of "socialism" does the ISO represent if they go around beating up other leftists? If you really want to stop the fascists through powerful labor/black mohilizations such as we have initiated, if you really want tn fight against the racist death penalty as we do in practice, if you believe huilding a society run by the workers who produce the wealth means huilding picket lines, not crossing them, if you want to fight for an international socialist revolution, then join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Michigan Day Care Witchhunt

State Steals Student's Baby

Lubens/Detroit Free Press

A University of Michigan student has become the latest victim of the ruling-class assault on gains for women's rights. Nineteen-year-old Jennifer Ireland, who had a child as a high-school sophomore and went on to graduate third in her class and win several college scholarships, has been told by a Macomb County, Michigan judge that she's not fit to raise the child. What did the young woman do that was so heinous? She put her three-year-old in day care while she attended classes!

Judge Raymond Cashen, who called the young woman "sexually indiscriminate" (for having sex with her boyfriend), ruled July 26 that the child's father, 20-year-old Stephen Smith, will make a better parent because he plans to leave the child with his mother while he attends classes at a community college. The judge wrote that under Ireland's care, little Maranda Kate Ireland-Smith would be "in essence, raised and supervised by strangers." With the father, however, the child would be cared for by blood relatives, which he deemed would give the child a "feeling of security, a state of permanence."

This is but the latest chapter in the witchhunt against "demon day care." It's not in day-care centers, but within the "sacred" family, which prescribes monogamy for women, that real child abuse usually occurs. As we wrote in "The Devil and Day Care" (*Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992):

> "Witchhunts against day care, drugs, teen sex and porn are designed to manipulate the population into chasing imaginary devils, while hiding the fact that this society has done unimaginable harm to youth with its enforced inequality, poverty and deep cuts in everything from basic medicine to education."

The essence of the "family values" crusade—that day care, abortion and working women are the cause of society's woes—bears a huge resemblance to the Nazis' rallying cry of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (children, kitchen, church), which encapsulated the desire to turn women into the breeders of Aryan warriors. The bourgeoisie's aim in promoting "family values"—through its laws, courts and cops—is to drive women out of the workforce and back into the home, where their domestic drudgery reproduces the next generation of workers for the capitalists to exploit.

Jennifer Ireland's case has spurred outrage across the country. That such an egregiously anti-woman ruling was handed down to begin with is a sign of the intense, bigoted reaction of a capitalist class running scared in the face of widespread anger and discontent. Ireland herself retains a chance—an appeals court ruled August 9 that she may keep custody of Maranda through the duration of the appeals process. All supporters of women's rights must rally to Jennifer Ireland's defense! It will take a socialist revolution—which will open the road to replacing the family, instituting free 24-hour day care, socialized housework and free abortion on demand—to liberate women once and for all from state-imposed "morality" and domestic drudgery. ■

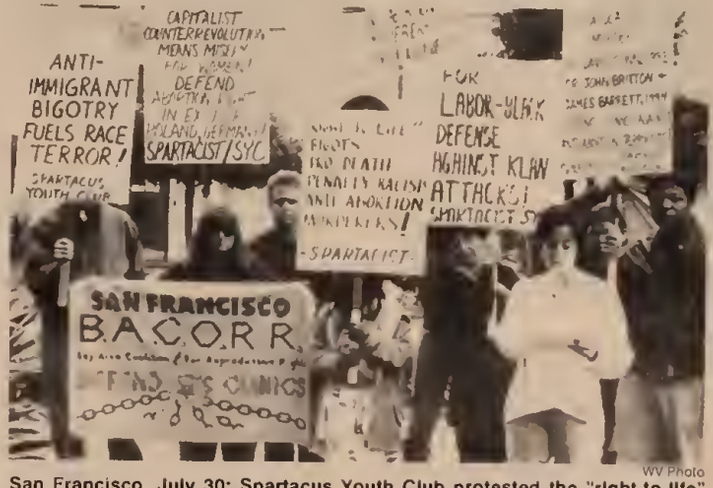
Join the SYC...

(continued from page 9)

Down With Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism! The ruling class is pushing a vicious campaign of national chauvinism to deflect discontent with the shrinking economy. The labor misleaders abet the capitalists in pushing racist anti-Mexican and anti-Japanese chauvinism in the union movement, falsely blaming immigrants and foreign workers for "stealing American jobs." Today immigrants are an increasingly large (and often militant) sector of the U.S. working class. We oppose the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico and call for cross-border organizing and united working-class struggle against the capitalists from the Yukon to the Yucatan. We fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families, for union organizing of the unorganized and specially oppressed immigrant population, against attempts to deprive "illegals" of social services, and against the racist "English only" campaign in schools and workplaces.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All! Defend Our Class-War Prisoners! Alongside the Partisan Defense Committee (a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League), the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight on behalf of those who are victimized for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. From Teamster striker Jesse Acuna, who was vindictively sentenced to years in prison for defending his picket line, to former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), we will not let the ruling class wipe out the memory of these heroic fighters. As young socialist activists, we embrace these imprisoned fighters as our own and struggle for their release. The SYCs are extremely active in the fight against the racist death penalty and to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter on Pennsylvania's death row. An award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless," Jamal was framed for killing a cop and sentenced to death for his political views. Join the fight against racist "legal lynching." *Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Defend Gay Rights! Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family, which is integral to capitalism as the chief means for inheritance of property and instilling authority. We Marxists fight for women's liberation as an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole working class against capitalism. Bourgeois feminists look to the capitalist state and "Billary's" Democratic Party to defend abortion rights with federal marshals and "squeal rules." But Clinton and his top cop Janet Reno—the mass murderers of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas—carried out their crime on the pretext of opposing child abuse. "Saving the children" is the same pretext used by the murderous "right-to-life" terrorists who shot down Dr. David Gunn, Dr. John Britton and James Barrett in broad daylight. Laws against clinic blockades will inevitably be used against the left and labor movement to ban militant union pickets, building takeovers and sit-ins. We fight for mass mobilizations to defend the clinics by sweeping anti-abortion mobs off the streets. *Free abortion on demand!*



WV Photo

San Francisco, July 30: Spartacus Youth Club protested the "right-to-life" terrorist murder of Pensacola, Florida abortion doctor John Britton and his bodyguard James Barrett.

On the issues of "date rape" and pornography, the feminists are in bed with the religious right, fomenting state repression. Who needs "politically correct" *in loco parentis* sex cops on campus to regiment the most intimate personal relations? Gays and lesbians have been targeted by the "family values" witchhunt and have been stripped of their jobs and even their children by the capitalist state. We are known for our uncompromising defense of groups like NAMBLA, who have been victimized by the ultra-right as well as the "mainstream" gay movement which supports reactionary age-of-consent laws. As Marxists we oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed "norms," and hold that consensual sexual activity is nobody's business but that of the individuals involved. Our aim is to build a revolutionary party that is a genuine *tribune of the people*, and to fight for a society where there is no social constraint in sexual relations, and where, as Frederich Engels said, "there is no other motive left except mutual inclination."

Free, Quality Education for All! Education should be a right, not a privilege. Beset by rising tuition and racist attacks, blacks are fast becoming missing persons on American university campuses. Against the race and class bias of higher education, the SYCs fight for open admissions and free tuition. The universities are training grounds for the technical elite and the administrators for the capitalist class. We fight to break the capitalist state's hold on the universities by fighting for an end to military training, ROTC, and CIA recruitment. For student/teacher/worker control of the universities! Abolish the boards of trustees!

For Open Political Debate! A precondition of the Bolsheviks' victory in the October 1917 revolution was the hard political struggle they waged against the reformist and anti-revolutionary currents in the workers movement. The revolutionary party will be built through splits and fusions on the basis of political program. We Spartacists believe in open political debate on the left, because it is through the clash of opinion and the test in struggle of competing programs that consciousness is raised and political clarity achieved. In contrast with the straitjacket of lowest-common-denominator single-issue coalitions favored by our fake-left opponents, we initiate genuine united-front actions in which all participating organizations who agree with the central call of the action are encouraged to raise their own political viewpoints in their own name, in banners, leaflets, and from the speaker's podium. Our labor/black mobilizations against the KKK and Nazis are a model of the broad-based defense necessary to defend the working class and the oppressed where no participating tendency is censored. Any organization which can't tolerate political debate couldn't organize a society we'd like to live in.

Forge a Nationwide Socialist Youth Organization! Our differences with our fake-socialist opponents boil down to the question of reform versus revolution. Almost all of them present one or another brand of militant liberalism. "Socialists" who do not believe in the capacity of the working class to make a revolution invariably seek other forces and means by which to reform capitalism. Without the grounding of a revolutionary program, they endlessly capitulate to "public opinion" (i.e., bourgeois ideology) and end up on the wrong side of the class line. Such groups cross picket lines during strikes, push social-chauvinism in time of war, and foster illusions in the bosses' Democratic Party. They serve as the propagandists of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and they attempt to hide their political contradictions by suppression of debate and outright thuggery against other leftists. The working class and radical students don't need another party that adapts to the current backward consciousness of the working class or the petty bourgeoisie; they need a party that can instill revolutionary consciousness, a party that is willing to swim against the stream.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the organizationally independent and politically subordinate youth groups of the Spartacist League. The political program that we fight for is the program of the International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League. The youth clubs have their own organizational life, elect their own officers and take responsibility for implementing the revolutionary program in the youth arena. Our immediate task is to grow in numbers and capacity and reforge a nationwide socialist youth group. Our ongoing work is reflected in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *Workers Vanguard*. *Join us!* ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

De Klerk "government of national unity," the "new" South Africa will tend to polarize along racial and ethnic lines.

The Danger of Racial and Tribal Warfare

Many whites believed that the "power sharing" deal with the ANC would lead to a lower level of black social struggle and an easing of racial tension. A commonly voiced sentiment was: "With Mandela as president, my children will no longer have to live in a state of siege ever fearful of a black insurrection and random racial violence." But there can be no racial amity in South Africa as long as such vast and stark inequalities separate white and black. The ordinary workings of capitalism will tend to maintain or even increase the impoverishment of the black masses. Only a workers government could utilize the valuable technical skills of those whites willing to live under black majority rule while working to overcome the economic gulf separating them from the mass of black toilers.

Far from reducing the level of black social struggle, the displacement of the openly white-supremacist regime by the ANC-led "government of national unity" is already intensifying it in all ways—big strikes and plant occupations, land seizures in the countryside and squatter movements in the cities, clashes with the hated police force. South African whites will react to a breakdown of "law and order" with panic, fear and rage. Many, especially English speakers, will doubtless choose to emigrate to Britain, North America, Australia, etc. But the ranks of the Afrikaner diehards will also swell, raising the prospect of a fascistic white revolt.

Along with fighting between white right-wing paramilitary forces and ANC supporters, there could well be communalist violence between black Africans on the one side and coloureds and Indians on the other. In the classic divide-and-rule manner, the white-supremacist regime deliberately favored the coloureds and Indians. In the 1980s these two groups were given a vote in impotent "parliaments," while black Africans were still officially relegated to being "citizens" of the "tribal homelands" (bantustans). In the late 1980s, the government was spending R2,500 annually per capita for education for whites, R1,900 for Indians, R1,000 for coloureds and less than R500 for blacks.

Nonetheless, despite these relative advantages, the coloured and Indian communities viewed themselves as oppressed victims of the apartheid system and generally appeared to support the program of "non-racial democracy" promised by the ANC. But the actual prospect of a black nationalist government, however liberal its ideological stance, opened up clearly visible fissures within the nonwhite population. A letter to the Western Cape newspaper *Rapport Metro* in early 1993 expressed the changing concerns of the coloured community:

> "I believe I am right when I say that the ANC's first priority lies with its own people—the blacks.... Where do uneducated brown people fit in? We must think carefully where our future welfare lies before election day dawns."
>
> —quoted in *African Communist*, 2nd Quarter 1993

When election day dawned, a majority of the coloureds in the Western Cape, where they constitute slightly over half the population, felt sufficiently apprehensive about their future in the "new" South Africa to vote for the National Party. Similarly, on the eve of the elections a majority of Indian voters in Natal were reportedly supporting De Klerk's Nats (*New York Times*, 22 April).

Since the Mandela/De Klerk "government of national unity" cannot and will not begin to satisfy the desperate need for housing by black Africans—millions of whom live in backyard shacks and shantytowns made of cardboard and plastic—their anger and frustration could easily turn against the better-off coloured and Indian communities.

Der Spiegel

Black workers at Volkswagen (above) and six other auto makers in South Africa produce cars for protected market of affluent whites.

As the black African masses find that they continue to live in poverty and degradation despite the promises of "non-racial democracy" and "national unity," some ANC leaders will doubtless resort to nationalist demagogy and even tribalist appeals. Even if Mandela and his lieutenants continue to claim to stand for "non-racialism," the whole situation points to increasing tribal/ethnic tensions and clashes. While the ANC currently draws support from all sections of the nonwhite population as well as liberal and leftist whites, its strongest base of support is among the Xhosas (South Africa's second-largest tribe) of the Eastern Cape. Xhosas are prevalent in the ANC leadership, with Mandela himself being the son of a minor Xhosa chieftain from the Transkei. The ANC has long had friendly relations with Transkei bantustan chief Kaiser Matanzima, in violent contrast to KwaZulu Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Right-wing whites depict the murderous conflict between Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and the ANC in purely tribal terms, as Zulu vs. Xhosa. ANC apologists and most leftists argue that Inkatha is simply an artificial creature of the apartheid regime, and they point to the ANC's sizable following in Zululand despite terrorist attacks by Buthelezi's *impis* (fighting squads). The reality is more complex. Certainly, without the massive financial support and encouragement of the Afrikaner Nationalist regime—especially senior military and police cadre—Inkatha would be far weaker than it is. However, Buthelezi has been able to exploit the fears of traditional-minded Zulu villagers and backward Zulu workers that an ANC government would be a disguised form of Xhosa domination.

In the past some (though by no means all) elements in the white ruling circles promoted Zulu tribalism in order to undercut the ANC/SACP. However, South African along with American and British capital has made a major political investment in the Mandela presidency. Hence bourgeois opinion now regards Inkatha militants as troublemakers in the "new" South Africa (even though Buthelezi is for the moment a minister in the coalition government).

Symptomatically, the mine bosses recently fired 300 Zulu workers for clashing with ANC supporters. Significantly, the National Union of Mineworkers, whose former leader Ramaphosa is now ANC general secretary, *refused to oppose or protest* this political victimization of Zulu miners by the Randlords. Such policies can only convince Zulu workers that the ANC government is in fact anti-Zulu (despite its "non-racialist" protestations) and bring about the fracturing of the union movement along tribalist lines.

In recent years, fighting between Inkatha and the ANC has been extended from Natal to the townships of the Transvaal, where Zulu migrant workers living in hostels confront pro-ANC community "self-defence units" (SDUs) overwhelmingly composed of Xhosas, Tswanas and other non-Zulus. In the name of combatting Inkatha terrorist actions, these SDUs have tended to become carriers of anti-Zulu communalism. For example, in July the ANC premier of the PWV region (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging), Tokyo Sexwale, visited the township of Tokoza, near Johannesburg, which has been the site of bitter fighting. While Sexwale argued for the "peace process," one SDU commander declared: "If the ANC government does not want to destroy the hostels we will do it ourselves."

Nonetheless, most of the groups in South Africa taking a stance to the left of the ANC/SACP treat the SDUs as if they were some kind of workers militias or could easily become so. Thus the "Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC," which is aligned with the British-based Militant Labour tendency, states: "we have long campaigned for the creation of disciplined community self-defence units, bearing arms" (*Congress Militant*, July-August 1992). Workers Power likewise calls to: "Transform the local Self Defence Units into real workers' and people's militias" (*Workers Power*, April 1994).

Qina Msebenzi (April 1994), published by the "Comrades for a Workers Government," who are associated with the tiny London-based Workers International League, while talking of the need for factory-based defense units, calls to "remove the hostels." (*QM* initially called for a workers party, but supported the ANC in the elections.) In contrast, we call for ethnically integrated, union-based militias, as counterposed to the communalist SDUs. Four years ago, as thousands were being killed in the "Reef war" between Inkatha and ANC supporters, we wrote:

> "What is needed is the formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both the right-wing terrorists and the tormenters of bloody communalist war."
>
> —"South Africa and Permanent Revolution: Part I," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

Today, COSATU is the only mass institution in South Africa embracing members of all racial and ethnic groups on a class basis. Black unions have even made inroads into the white labor aristocracy with 3,500 whites among the members of the COSATU-affiliated transport union. Thus the unions can be a crucial bulwark against South Africa's sliding into a vortex of racial and tribal strife. But one cannot expect the reformist-led unions to play such a role spontaneously, especially given the still strong ANC loyalism among COSATU top and middle-level officials. Only a Leninist vanguard party, committed to an internationalist perspective, can effectively mobilize the workers movement against the forces of murderous nationalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

had the second-highest caloric intake in Latin America, an average diet of 3,100 calories a day, which has now been cut by more than half. This has been exacerbated by the regime's own measures, which have made Cuba increasingly a "two-class" society—those with dollars and those without—opening the way tn counterrevolution.

At the same time, in recent weeks huge numbers of Cuban working people have shown their readiness to defend their revolution. Half a million demonstrated in Havana in early August to protest the murder of a Cuban police officer by escaping *gusanos* (worms). This followed a militant intervention by thousands of workers who mobilized to sweep the streets of a mob of several hundred anti-communist rioters. We Trotskyists, who fight for revolutionary proletarian democracy based on workers councils (soviets) to replace the bureaucratic regime, stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Our defense of the socialized foundations of the Cuban deformed workers state is part and parcel of our fight for international socialist revolution.

While Clinton & Co. deliberately set out to tighten the screws on Cuba, their provocations could backfire. And the American bourgeoisie is by no means united on Cuban policy. Large sectors of the U.S. ruling class—ranging from the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* to the Army War College—are in favor of *lifting* the Cuban embargo, seeing economic penetration as a more effective means of promoting capitalist restoration. Meanwhile, Washington's NATO allies and its NAFTA junior partners are almost unanimously opposed to the current bellicose attempt to quarantine Cuba. A U.S. naval blockade would run up against the interests of Spain, Germany, France, Britain, as well as Canada and Mexico, who are all trading with and investing in Cuba.

Flailing around for foreign policy "credibility," the Clinton administration has embraced the right-wing emigré ultras, inviting Jorge Mas Canosa of the Cuban American National Foundation to the White House to help draw up its provocative new policy. Once already a Democratic president miscalculated that the Cuban people would rise up to greet a counterrevolutionary invasion—Kennedy's 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco. If today the imperialists and *gusano* scum, feeding off the drastic economic immiseration, should succeed in instigating a civil war, a direct military confrontation could galvanize large sectors of the Cuban working people to defend their social gains and independence. And a serious fight could intersect unrest next door in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as well as in nearby Mexico.

Our Trotskyist program for international proletarian revolution to defend Cuba is not "pie in the sky" but rather an urgent necessity that is concretely posed today. Down with U.S. war moves against Cuba! U.S. hands off Haiti! Yankee imperialism out of the Caribbean!

"Operation Distant Shore"

Clinton's "big stick" campaign against Cuba was preceded by sinister and bloody provocations in Havana and the neighboring coastal towns of Mariel and Cojímar. At least three passenger ferries and boats were seized by criminal elements with guns, grenades and knives during late July and early August. The hijackers threatened to throw passengers overboard and even kill babies if prevented from fleeing to Miami. When a 115-year-old wooden ferry sank under the weight of scores of people who had scrambled aboard, leading to 30 deaths, Cuban naval personnel and the crew saved 32 others. But the U.S. tried to portray this as a crime of communism. In response, speaking on Cuba's July 26 revolutionary holiday, Raúl Castro contrasted this tragic accident to the coldly planned U.S. government slaughter of the Branch Davidian religious group near Waco, Texas.

On August 5, a black policeman, Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, was killed near Havana's Malecón waterfront during a foiled hijacking. Several hundred rioters then began smashing windows and shouting anti-government slogans. Dock workers and members of the National Revolutionary Police quickly put a stop to this provocation, aided by 20-30,000 Havana residents who gathered after rumors spread of another ferry hijacking. As night fell, members of the "Rapid Response Brigades" of the Committees to Defend the Revolution, Communist Youth and CP members as well as the Blas Roca construction workers brigade filled the streets, keeping watch for provocateurs. Chants of "the streets belong to the revolutionaries!" echoed around the city, and over the next few days anti-imperialist slogans were painted on walls.

In the midst of the turmoil in central Havana, Castro himself showed up and was cheered by the workers. While insuring that order was restored, he announced that "We cannot continue to guard the coasts of the United States," and ordered Cuban police and border guards not to detain Cubans who wish to flee the island. Two days later, some 600,000 came out to the Plaza of the Revolution in the capital to honor the slain policeman Lamoth and to denounce the imperialist provocation. Crowds chanted slogans like "*Fidel, seguro, a los yanquis dales duro!*" (Fidel, sock it to the Yankees!). Then, in Lamoth's hometown of Guantánamo, 150,000 came out in another massive and spontaneous outpouring of support for the revolution and respect for a policeman who died defending his country.

Pablo Ibarra

A group of Cuban *balseros* (rafters) head to the sea at Cojímar.

Trabajadores

Fidel Castro joined workers who rallied to defense of Cuba against anti-government rioters, August 5.

On August 8, a Cuban navy officer, Captain Roberto Aguilar Reyes, was killed by counterrevolutionaries who seized a ship from a sugar-loading dock in the port of Mariel. Then, on August 14, the captain of the Maltese oil tanker *Jussara* docked in Mariel invited some 700 desperate people to climb aboard, promising to take them to Miami. Tug boats pinned the vessel to the dock and the passengers were coaxed off board with promises that there would be no reprisals. But this incident, like the others involving firearms, shows every sign of being planned in advance. Speaking to the crowds on August 5, Castro denounced the riots as "something that had been organized for a while and the government of the United States has a great responsibility in this."

Generating an anti-communist flight from Castro's Cuba has long been a policy of U.S. imperialism. But the sudden wave of armed boat seizures may be the implementation of a classified plan called "Operation Distant Shore," involving dozens of government agencies including the CIA, FBI, INS and Defense Department. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 June) revealed that "The U.S. government is putting the finishing touches on a secret plan to cope with a 'mass immigration emergency'" which "could follow a sudden or radical political transformation in Cuba." The article stated, "A clear impetus to complete the plan is the possibility that Cuba's Fidel Castro might not be around for much longer"!

Certainly, U.S. actions during July and much of August went according to the "Distant Shore" script. On August 12, Attorney General Reno vowed to prevent a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift (when 120,000 Cubans were brought to the U.S. in the yachts of Miami exiles). And on August 18, as the numbers being picked up by the Coast Guard were already in the hundreds a day, Washington announced it would henceforth interdict Cuban refugees at sea and intern them at Guantánamo. Those that make it to U.S. shores would no longer automatically receive political asylum (they are being held at the infamous Krome Avenue detention center in Miami), and civilians who bring them in would be prosecuted.

Clinton's August gambit has been an attempt to induce the Cuban people to revolt against Castro out of sheer desperation and hunger. With the collapse of the Soviet Union three years ago, the U.S. imperialists saw a green light for their ambitions to plunder the world unopposed. Cuba's economy, cut off from Soviet aid, was being choked under the U.S. embargo. The screws were further tightened by the 1992 Torricelli Act—barring trade with Cuba by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies—which was only passed because of Democratic presidential candidate Clinton's endorsement. Washington no douht hopes empty stomachs will accomplish what 35 years of anti-communist propaganda hasn't: set the stage for capitalist counterrevolution.

Altogether since early August more than 14,000 Cubans have taken to the sea in dangerous, makeshift rafts. These *balseros* gather on beaches on the outskirts of Havana, saying goodbye to relatives and friends while the cameras of foreign journalists flash. But out of a population of 11 million, they represent only a trickle, and many who are asked why they're leaving answer with a single word: *hambre* (hunger). The great majority of Cubans aren't "throwing themselves into the sea," as Washington would have us believe. Journalists report everyday normality in the streets of

McNamee/Reuters

U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay naval base.

Havana and the huge proletarian housing projects surrounding the city. In the countryside among the peasants who have gained most from the revolution, there is little desire to leave.

But military aggression and economic strangulation are not the imperialists' only cards. The counterrevolutionary danger is germinating within the Castro-Stalinist bureaucracy that sits atop the Cuban deformed workers state.

Undermining the Cuban Workers State From Within

On August 24, Castro gave a TV speech which was carried live on CNN. Lambasting imperialist lies about Cuba's treatment of refugees, the Cuban leader repeated his standing offer to enter into a "dialogue" with Washington. Two weeks earlier, in an interview in Bogotá, Castro was asked: "What would you be willing to concede in order to achieve a reconciliation with the United States?" He ruled out concessions affecting the sovereignty of the country: "We do not want to become a Puerto Rico." But, Castro added, "We would be prepared to sacrifice our particular political preferences, such as socialism, in favor of integration, peace and social justice" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 11 August). He already sought to buy imperialism's favor (and undermined Cuba's defense) by executing General Armando Ochoa in 1989 as part of a bid to join in Washington's hemispheric "war on drugs." Castro's talk today of "giving up socialism" is dead serious, and it intersects imperialist circles who think that the 35-year-old embargo has failed as a program for restoring capitalist rule.

Since the Cuban Revolution overthrew capitalism in 1960—expropriating the property of United Fruit Co., Standard Oil, Dole Pineapple, Citibank, Coca-Cola, sugar barons and the mafia as well as Cuban capitalists—the American ruling class has been obsessed with Cuba. They have tried and repeatedly failed to "take back" the island from its working people. Clinton himself has consistently catered to the most foam-flecked Cuban anti-communists, especially Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban American National Foundation. This millionaire *gusano*, the godfather of what Castro called the "fascist mafia in Miami," was welcomed at the White House a few days prior to Clinton's policy shift. But many in U.S. government think tanks—and not only the liberals—have been arguing for the last several years for a different approach: "cold" counterrevolution through "constructive engagement" with the Cuban Stalinists.

For starters, this would mean easing the severe trade embargo. This would enable Washington to flood Cuba with cheap goods, dollars and the kind of "humanitarian assistance" which paves the way for neocolonial control of the economy. Simultaneously, the imperialist "soft cops" would like to "constructively engage" Communist Party "reformers"—like Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the former USSR—who would grease the skids for a return of capitalism. Today there is a whole layer of these "new thinkers" within the Cuban bureaucracy, dubbed "yummies" (for young upwardly mobile Marxists) and personified by Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina and Economics Minister Carlos Lage.

The policy of counterrevolution through peaceful penetration is being pushed in a slew of official studies sponsored by the State Department (*Transition in Cuba: New Challenges for US Policy* [1993]), the Rand National Defense Research Institute (*Cuba Adrift in a Postcommunist World* [1992]) and the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College. The latter paper, *The United States and Cuba: From a Strategy of Conflict to Constructive Engagement* [1993] by Donald Schultz, argues that the Clinton administration should "distance itself from the Cuban American National Foundation"; repeal the Torricelli law, "or, if that is politically impossible, enforce it to the minimal extent possible"; and "promote person-to-person contacts," tourism, scientific and cultural exchanges, the establishment of press bureaus, etc.

These people are certainly no friends of the Cuban Revolution! Indeed, another advocate of easing the embargo in the interests of undermining Cuba from within was none other than Richard Nixon, in a book published shortly before his death this spring. Wayne Smith, former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, argues: "If we will not open a dialogue with the Cubans and ratchet up the pressures (against Castro), we will get to the point where there will be nothing left to do but impose a unilateral blockade which will result in a major international crisis, perhaps even an invasion. I can't imagine the administration is willing to go that far, and certainly the American people don't want to go that far." And because the blockade/invasion scenario is not feasible, he argues, another tack must be taken.

Defend Cuba Against Counterrevolution!

For the past three and a half decades, workers and peasants throughout Latin America looked with hope to Cuba as "the first free territory of America." This was despite Castro's endorsement of Allende's ill-fated "peaceful road" that led to the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile, and his telling the Nicaraguans not to become a "second Cuba" by expropriating the bourgeoisie. The very existence of the Cuban workers state, despite the narrowly nationalist policies of its bureaucratic leadership, remained an inspiration to those seeking to break capitalist-imperialist domination. Withstanding decades of attacks, invasion and assassination attempts, the Cuban planned economy advanced the living conditions of this small Caribbean island far beyond the hellish conditions faced by a majority of Latin American peoples.

Katz Pictures

Havana bicycle riders fill tires at closed gas station. Collapse of USSR choked off fuel supplies, now Cuban economy is strangled by U.S. embargo.

WV Photo

13 September 1991: Spartacist League demonstrates in solidarity with Cuba outside Cuban Mission to the UN in New York City after Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet backing.

Key to this was the vital support, both military and economic, from the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states. Cuba received 40 cents a pound for its sugar exports while the world market price was one-fifth that—below the cost of production. With Soviet-bloc aid, the Cuban people were able to construct a society where unemployment was eliminated, health care and education were free, and great strides against racism had been achieved. And a Soviet brigade was stationed on the island as a tripwire to ensure against a U.S. invasion.

Even today, amid rigid rationing and terrible privation, Cuba's medical system has produced an infant mortality rate that is the lowest in the Third World, lower than in New York City. But while the mass starvation which plagues the rest of Latin America has been avoided by what remains of the collectivized economy, the effects of malnutrition are spreading. The lack of oil and raw materials has put a brake on industry and agriculture, creating unemployment, electrical blackouts and a breakdown in transport. So under these conditions of economic crisis, in July of last year, Castro announced that dollars could be legally held and used for trade. We warned then that this was "playing with fire" and "can have a very powerful counterrevolutionary effect," in particular by inflaming racial divisions as very few black Cubans have access to dollars from Miami (see "Cuba in Peril," *WV* No. 585, 8 October 1993).

Over the last year, the "dollarization" of the Cuban economy has had a deep effect in sapping the masses' revolutionary will. An article in the *New York Times* (28 August) headlined, "Dollars Define Cuba's Haves and Have-Nots." The monthly salaries of Cuban workers of 100 to 300 pesos are now almost meaningless, since even basic items like cooking oil or rice are only available on the black market or in special hard-currency stores. This means that those few Cubans with access to dollars (relatives of Cuban exiles, workers in the tourist industry) are able to eat while others go hungry. Not surprisingly, the tourist hotels and "dollars only" stores were targets of the anti-government rioters on August 5. Yet the majority of Communist Party members have no access to dollars and thus are part of the "have-nots."

Since our inception, the Spartacist League has consistently and unconditionally defended Cuba from imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) declared "Defend the Cuban Revolution!" while explaining that Cuba was a deformed workers state, lacking organs of workers democracy and ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste. We Trotskyists fight for workers political revolution to place power in the hands of the revolutionary workers and peasants, who alone have an unqualified interest in maintaining the achievements of their revolution. This requires the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party which must be constructed in Cuba today.

The Castro regime has always followed the Stalinist line of "building socialism in one country." Rather than seeking to extend the gains of the revolution, Castro has sought to attain "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Ultimately, the price tag for this is counterrevolution, which Castro himself seems to realize with his offer to "sacrifice socialism." Like the imperialist theorists in the State Department, the Rand institution and the Army War College, though from a different vantage point, the *líder máximo* of the Cuban Revolution is talking of "peaceful" restoration of capitalism, while keeping certain gains such as the health and education system. Already the phone system has been sold to a Mexican consortium, the main nickel smelter to a Canadian company, the Spaniards and Germans are buying the hotels—and the Cuban masses are left holding an increasingly empty bag.

But while many in the bureaucracy may go along with this program, figuring they'll make out all right, one way or another, the *gusana* scum, the Mas Canosas, Alpha 66 terrorists and their CIA godfathers have a lot of bloody scores to settle. The generation that made the revolution is still in place, and the counterrevolutionaries' "enemies lists" have hundreds of thousands of names. Capitalist restoration will mean not only mass starvation but death squads. And for all the sugary lies spewed out by Radio Martí, millions of Cuban workers know that.

The Cuban Revolution cannot stand alone! Isolated it will perish. Defense of Cuba must above all be international, requiring proletarian revolutionary struggles from Brazil to Mexico to the "belly of the beast" itself. Protests and workers action are necessary to defy and cripple Clinton's war moves in the Caribbean against Haiti and Cuba. Revolutionaries in the U.S. have a special duty to defend Cuba against "our own" ruling class. This requires the leadership of a workers party built on the program of world socialist revolution to vanquish imperialism once and for all. This was the program of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, and it is continued by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) today. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

L.A. Unionists Demand: Freedom for Geronimo!

The following is based on a press release issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on August 29

On August 24, the California Board of Prison Terms denied parole for the thirteenth time to former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been in prison almost 24 years for a crime he did not commit. This year's hearing came in the context of major revelations of more evidence of Geronimo's innocence. Los Angeles FOX TV has aired nine special reports in an ongoing series since January, while the *Los Angeles Times*, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, *California Lawyer* and *Emerge* magazine have all recently spotlighted his case.

Last year investigator James McCloskey presented evidence to L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti that linked two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party to the 1968 murder for which Geronimo was framed. *Emerge*'s June cover story noted, "The evidence that should have been enough to free him has been around for years."

On June 27, federal judge Stanley Weigel issued a ruling against prison officials for retaliatory harassment of Geronimo. The ruling states that "for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years" has been exposed. D.A. Garcetti agreed to review Geronimo's case last year, but his office will not say when they will complete the review.

Fed up with waiting for Garcetti, Los Angeles Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals organized a protest at the D.A.'s office on August 23, the day before the parole hearing. Local 399 first vice president Doris Boyd said, "Garcetti agreed that he was going to review that evidence, and to this day he has not."

Boyd and Local 347 president Richard Price led 60 chanting people into Garcetti's office to present petitions signed by 500 union members which stated: "Brother Pratt has been in prison for twenty-three (23) years, for a crime he did not commit." After delivering their petitions, the unionists marched out chanting, "We'll be back!" Garcetti's stunned receptionist told the *Los Angeles Times* (24 August), "I've never seen anything like this in the seven years I've worked here."

"It is very significant that, for the first time, Los Angeles unions organized a demonstration on Geronimo's behalf," said Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West, one of Geronimo's attorneys, "because it will take the power of the working class to free Geronimo from this government frame-up." Four L.A. television stations, already there to cover O.J. Simpson's pre-trial hearing, aired stories on the largely Latino, integrated SEIU demonstration.

The union is widely known for its Justice for Janitors campaign, which has withstood brutal police attacks in its hard-fought drive to unionize low-paid workers in Los Angeles. Representing thousands of Latino, Filipino and other immigrant workers, the union's action on behalf of Pratt was an important counter to the rulers' attempts to set black and Latino workers at each others' throats.

A few weeks earlier, the 300,000-member SEIU Western Conference passed a resolution demanding that Geronimo "be released immediately," noting that "vast amounts of evidence support...his innocence." In the past two years, unions representing millions of workers have taken a stand in support of Geronimo, including the SEIU International, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Education Association, California Teachers Association, American Postal Workers Union, Central Labor Council of Alameda County, and many others.

There were other protests during the week of the parole hearing as well. On August 24, about 50 people led by the International Campaign to Free geronimo ji Jaga demonstrated outside Mule Creek Prison in California's Central Valley where he is incarcerated, but were pushed off prison grounds by police.

Two days earlier, lawyers for Geronimo held a well-attended press conference in L.A. Attorney Johnny Cochran, who led the defense team 25 years ago, said of Geronimo, "This man was convicted wrongfully, is innocent, the authorities know he is innocent, and yet no one in the system has had the courage, or the fortitude, or the integrity to say this man should be released." Attorney Stuart Hanlon noted bitterly, "The one case that has always proven to me the system doesn't work is Geronimo," adding, "we have enough evidence to reverse 10 or 20 cases."

At the parole hearing itself, officials refused to admit Geronimo's chosen attorney, former Black Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver, forcing her to sit in a separate room from her client where she viewed the hearing on video. It was a "sham proceeding," Cleaver said in disgust. She noted that officials come "with a script" every year because Geronimo's case is political, a result of the FBI's 1960s Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" black revolutionary groups. What's important, she concluded, is what happens *outside* parole board hearings.

Inside the hearing board members aggressively badgered their prisoner, charging he has a "criminal mentality"—to which Geronimo replied, "I think you have a criminal mentality." As a Black Panther, Geronimo said he was seeking "to free people who are in bondage" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 August).

Evidence of how Geronimo was framed by the LAPD and FBI for the 1968 Santa Monica murder includes:

- Wiretap logs "disappeared" which recorded Geronimo in Oakland, 400 miles from the shooting, two hours before the murder.
- The surviving victim's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo was suppressed at the trial.
- Julius Butler—the state's key witness against Geronimo—was an informant for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969, but denied this on the witness stand.
- Two police agents also infiltrated Geronimo's legal defense team.

Geronimo was personally targeted for "neutralization" in FBI COINTELPRO documents. Describing some of this, the June *Emerge* article commented that Geronimo's "case is like a spy novel."

Meanwhile, with parole denied and no word from D.A. Garcetti on his promised review of the case, Geronimo now faces another legal battle: the California Department of Corrections (CDC) has filed a notice of appeal of federal judge Weigel's June 27 decision in the prison harassment suit. In that ruling, Weigel cited a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution by prison officials against Geronimo for exercising his First Amendment rights, which are "critical to his longstanding effort to prove his innocence."

Weigel restrained the CDC from housing Geronimo in a two-man cell. PDC counsel West noted that "they know this aggravates his medical problems from his service as a highly decorated soldier in Vietnam." She added, "Geronimo remains in jail because of a political decision at high levels to ignore the evidence, to cover up their knowing frame-up of Geronimo, and to punish him for his politics. As long as they hold him in prison, they continue to subject him to retaliation, and we will fight it."

Freedom now for Geronimo! ■

WV Photo

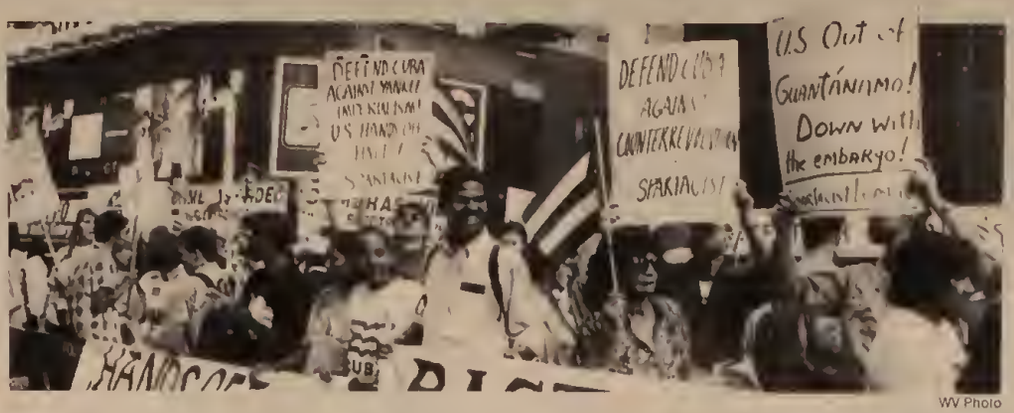
Los Angeles, August 23—Union protest outside D.A. Garcetti's office demands freedom for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), shown here at Mule Creek state prison.

Jonathan Eubanks

A Quarter Century Behind Bars: Black Panther Denied Parole Again

WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 606 16 September 1994



WV Photo

Yankee Imperialists Hands Off Haiti, Cuba!

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

SEPTEMBER 13—The Clinton administration's plans for an invasion of Haiti appear to he moving past the stage of threats to actual implementation, as the dispatch of military transport ships and readying of the 82nd Airborne make clear. While the "limited" invasion is pitched in terms of humanitarianism and "restoring democracy," in fact the U.S. military moves are a dire threat to the Haitian masses. The American imperialists want to stop the flow of "boat people" by ousting the bloody junta initially supported by Washington, and clamping a heavy-handed military rule on the country. No less important, an invasion of Haiti would serve as a club threatening more aggressive actions to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. We say: Yankee imperialists—hands off Haiti, Cuba!

Not content with the vicious U.S. embargo which is starving the Haitian masses, the invasion of Haiti is being pushed mainly by Democratic Party liberals, notably the Congressional Black Caucus. The declared aim is to reinstate Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a former radical populist priest ousted by the military in 1991. The White House claims a "drop dead date" by which Haiti's junta leaders must leave has not been decided by Clinton, but that the "window" for a landing is between mid-September and mid-October.

Under the invasion plan which involves about 20,000 troops, Army forces will predominate, including soldiers of the 82nd Airborne, with Marines on ships off Haiti and commandos conducting the initial assault. The 10th Mountain Division, a light infantry division from Fort Drum, New York is to be deployed to Haiti soon after to help "maintain order" and relieve the 82nd Airborne. The Pentagon announced the aircraft carrier *Dwight D Eisenhower* is being sent to Haiti to he used for helicopter operations, along with the carrier *America*. The plan also calls for AC-130 gunships, A-10 attack planes and fighters, which are clearly intended to terrorize the population.

AP

U.S. Marines train for Haiti invasion on Vieques, off Puerto Rico. Top: Spartacist contingent at September 8 NYC demonstration calls for defense of Cuban Revolution and Haiti against U.S. war moves in the Caribbean.

Giving the fig leaf of "international support," 17 countries have pledged 1,500 troops to "help Haiti return to democracy," Secretary of State Christopher announced September 12, as he loudly discussed military actions around Haiti and Cuba with top officials in Norfolk, Virginia. Washington has even asked Israel (!) to contribute police forces. Currently, the U.S. is training 266 Caribbean troops at Roosevelt Roads Naval Base in Puerto Rico, to be deployed within ten days of an invasion in a "non-combat role." And a police force of Haitians is reportedly being trained by the U.S. at the Guantánamo naval base.

The transformation of the Caribbean into a huge "multinational" military platform for U.S. imperialism is a direct threat to both the Haitian masses and the Cuban deformed workers state. The gains of the Cuban Revolution, although attenuated, remain a beacon to the impoverished workers and peasants of Latin America and the Caribbean. U.S. military out of Roosevelt Roads and Vieques and all of the Caribbean! U.S. out of Panama! Return Guantánamo to Cuba! Independence for Puerto Rico!

Back in 1990 when Republican George Bush was in the White House, the Democrats insisted that Congressional approval was necessary for the U.S. to attack Iraq. When Bush did "consult" Congress, a majority of Democrats voted for the Pentagon war machine to devastate Iraq for disturbing U.S. control over the Persian Gulf oil fields. This time, however, Clinton and his fellow Democrats are bent on avoiding a Congressional vote. An invasion of Haiti is not popular in the U.S. Opposition comes from both the Republican right, which sympathizes with the junta, and from many who are deeply skeptical of U.S. military adventures. For example, today's *New York Times* comes out against an invasion, clucking its tongue about the need for Congressional approval.

Meanwhile, the Haitian military is going about killing as usual. Since the ouster of Aristide three years ago, some 5,000 people have been killed by death squads, savagely shot or tortured to death. More than 10,000 have been arrested, the majority brutalized or tortured. On the night of August 28, the Rev. Jean-Marie Vincent, a priest who was a prominent associate of Aristide, was assassinated. Vincent was the head of "Tet Ansanm" ("Heads Together"), a peasant movement in the northwest region of the country which angered large landowners.

Today, the State Department is distributing press releases about human rights violations in Haiti—something they have downplayed for years in order to justify the U.S. policy of shipping refugees back to the bloody dictatorship. But a U.S. invasion would only further subjugate the Haitian people under the boot of its Yankee imperialist overlords. The last U.S. occupation of Haiti lasted 19 years, murdering thousands

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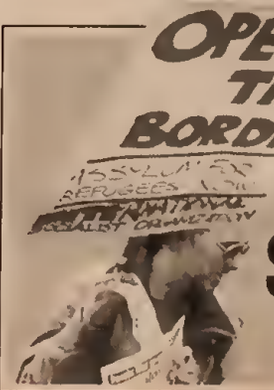

ISO: Gusano Socialists?

See Page 7

Alabama Rubber Workers Rock Scabs

For an Industry-Wide Strike!

ATLANTA—Over one thousand striking rubber workers and their supporters gathered outside Dunlop Tire's suburban Huntsville, Alabama plant in the early morning hours of September 6. After almost 12 weeks on strike, the 1,600 members of United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 915 learned of company plans to bring in hundreds of scabs. The strikers had just narrowly rejected a giveback contract offer which would have imposed 12-hour shifts and huge takebacks in medical care.

Just after 3 a.m., hundreds of pickets—men and women, black and white—massed at the plant gate to educate some scabs. For the next three hours scabs' cars were rocked as they tried to enter the plant. Altogether, more than 100 scab cars are due for a lot of body and glass work. At 6 a.m. the cops declared the mass picket an "unlawful assembly" and unleashed a barrage of CS tear gas, bracketing the workers in front and behind, cutting off their retreat. "They were not trying to disperse the crowd, they were trying to hurt people," one striker said.

The cops then waded in, clad in black uniforms with helmets and gas masks. They clubbed Sherry Thurmand, a 22-year seniority worker, as she sat on the ground. Four strikers were arrested for disorderly conduct, with "resisting arrest" thrown in to justify the beating that the cops dished out. Speaking with *Workers Vanguard*, strikers compared the cop attack to the LAPD beating of Rodney King in its wanton brutality. Drop the charges against the Huntsville strikers!

When the gas cleared, some of the scabs got the message and left town. But a local judge quickly gave Dunlop an injunction limiting pickets to six per gate—who must remain ten feet apart. The company is now producing tires with scores of scabs. On the heels of the injunction, the union tops came out of sessions with a federal mediator with another giveback contract. But on Saturday, September 10 strikers threw it back in their face by better than a two-to-one margin.

At an earlier strike rally on July 10, hundreds of workers came from all over Alabama to show their solidarity—auto workers, electricians, postal workers, miners, IAM and OCAW. These forces must be organized in action, with mass pickets to stop the scabs. Strikers must not allow the union tops to bargain away their militant picket line stand. An elected strike committee is urgently needed to take the steps necessary to win the strike. This includes dispatching teams to Toyota, Nissan and Honda plants to get workers to refuse to handle Dunlop tires!

For Sit-Down Strikes to Stop the Scabs! Bring Out the Whole URW!

The Dunlop plant is one of many shut down by scattered URW strikes. After contracts in the industry expired in April, the URW International tops made Goodyear workers vote twice to saddle them with a sellout, then forced the same terms onto Uniroyal-Goodrich workers. Now, with only some 10 percent of industry capacity struck, the bureaucracy is dividing rubber workers, making it easier for them to be conquered by the big international conglomerates that monopolize the industry.

Workers at six Bridgestone/Firestone plants struck on July 13. In Des Moines, Iowa and Decatur, Illinois, strikers are facing scabs, as the company imposes its "final offer." On August 25, unionists from the strikes at Caterpillar and Staley in Decatur joined striking rubber workers early in the morning. Five hundred workers marched on the Firestone plant after the company announced they were hiring 30 scabs.

But the 4,200 workers at the struck Firestone plants affect less than half of the firm's North American capacity. The largest, most modern tire plant in the country, the non-union Firestone plant in Wilson City, North Carolina, is producing 33,000 tires a day. A winning strike against the giant international tire companies must be linked to a struggle to organize the unorganized, especially across the South.

This will take the kind of sharp class struggle that the union bureaucracy fears like the plague. "Hot-cargoing" (truckers, auto workers refusing to handle scab tires), mass picket lines that defy injunctions, sit-down strikes to occupy the plants and *keep out* the scabs—that's what's needed to win. The URW pioneered the sit-down strike, at Goodyear in Akron in 1935. But these class-struggle tactics will never be used by the labor lieutenants of capital who are tied by a thousand strings to the capitalist Democratic Party. Democratic president Clinton just signed an order to break the strike of the Soo Line railroad workers—without a peep from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats.

Reject Protectionist Poison!

The crucial battle to organize the racist, open shop South must go hand in hand with the fight against the special oppression of black workers. Only through an all-sided struggle against racial oppression can the working class build the integrated class struggle that can defeat the bosses' attacks.

Yet the rubber strike has been marked by grotesque flag-waving attacks on the Japanese and Italian owners of Bridgestone/Firestone, Dunlop (Sumitomo) and Pirelli. The URW tops have organized picketing at the Japanese consulate in Chicago. At Labor Day in Decatur jingoist slogans of "World War II, Part II" and "Pearl Harbor" dominated the march. These are a deadly diversion by the labor bureaucracy, which is desperately seeking to divert workers' anger from the *American* bosses. This protectionist poison is *sucker bait*, designed to set workers from different nations at each others' throats while the capitalists drive up the rate of exploitation.

Rubber workers see the strike as part of a struggle to turn back the tide of givebacks and defeats for labor across the country. After the mass picket in Huntsville on September 6, one worker said, "This is America in microcosm. We've fought too hard, for too long, to give up."

What's urgently needed, from Huntsville to Decatur, is a combative leadership that will tell workers the hard truth and fight for a class-struggle workers party to lead the battle for a workers government, putting an end to the racist profit system with a planned economy. ■

WV photo

Huntsville, Alabama: Striking rubber workers rally July 10 against Dunlop bosses. URW tops try to ram through sellout contract against militant ranks.

British Imperialism in Ireland

TROTSKY

LENIN

World War I precipitated a rebellion in Ireland against British colonial rule—the 1916 Easter Uprising. On the eve of the uprising, one of its two principal leaders, the revolutionary socialist James Connolly, denounced the barbaric and perfidious role of British imperialism throughout the world and called for an Irish workers republic. After executing Connolly, James Larkin and their comrades, the British imperialists manipulated Orange and Green nationalism to partition Ireland and turn the resulting southern Irish bourgeois state into a neocolony. Today we fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles, opposing both British imperialist rule in Northern Ireland and the forcible inclusion of the distinct Northern Irish Protestant community in a unitary Irish state.

The power that for seven hundred years has waged bitter and unrelenting war upon the freedom of Ireland, and that still declares that the rights of Ireland must forever remain subordinate to the interests of the British Empire, hypocritically appealed to our young men to enlist under her banner and shed their blood "in the interests of freedom."

The power whose reign in Ireland has been one long carnival of corruption and debauchery of civic virtue, and which has rioted in the debasement and degradation of everything Irish men and women hold sacred, appealed to us in the name of religion to fight for her as the champion of christendom.

The power which holds in subjection more of the world's population than any other power on the globe, and holds them in subjection as slaves without any guarantee of freedom or power of self-government, this power that sets Catholic against Protestant, the Hindu against the Mohammedan, the yellow man against the brown, and keeps them quarrelling with each other whilst she robs and murders them all—this power appeals to Ireland to send her sons to fight under England's banner for the cause of the oppressed. The power whose rule in Ireland has made of Ireland a desert, and made the history of our race read like the records of a shambles, as she plans for the annihilation of another race appeals to our manhood to fight for her because of our sympathy for the suffering, and of our hatred of oppression....

We are out for Ireland for the Irish. But who are the Irish? Not the rack-renting, slum-owning landlord; not the sweating, profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressman—the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish upon who the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a free nation can be reared.

The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour. They cannot be dissevered. Ireland seeks freedom. Labour seeks that an Ireland free should be the sole mistress of her own destiny, supreme owner of all material things within and upon her soil. Labour seeks to make the free Irish nation the guardian of the interests of the people of Ireland, and to secure that end would vest in that free Irish nation all property rights as against the claims of the individual, with the end in view that the individual may be enriched by the nation, and not by the spoiling of his fellows.

—James Connolly, "The Irish Flag," *Workers Republic* (8 April 1916)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 606 **16 September 1994**

Owners' Cabal Provokes Baseball Strike

For over a month, major-league baseball players have stayed solid in their strike against the owners. Ever since the Major League Baseball Players Association walked out on August 12, newspaper editorial offices and TV studios have been churning out propaganda trying to whip up sports fans against "greedy players." That's pretty rich coming from the mouthpieces for franchise owners, who are one of the nastiest and most rapacious gangs of bosses around.

In a Labor Day commentary, the *New York Times* (5 September) noted that in the middle of a baseball walkout, with hockey players facing a lockout and basketball players trying to get rid of a salary cap, there is a rash of sports strikes at a time when most unions are taking it on the chin. And the media are badmouthing the strikers just as they went after the well-paid PATCO air traffic controllers when they struck against Reagan in 1981.

Much is made of the average player's salary of nearly $1.2 million, but the majority of players get barely a third of that during their brief (five-year) "career" in the "bigs." As for the owners' poor-mouthing, claiming rising player salaries are driving them to ruin, an economic report by the union exposes the multifarious ways management accountants cook the books. Baseball is coming off a banner year in attendance, in addition to the obscenely profitable television revenues.

It would be hard to find a more venal, corrupt, racist gang than the cabal that runs organized baseball. Take the Tribune Corporation, owner of the Chicago Cubs. These rabid union-haters broke the 1985-86 strike of *Chicago Tribune* newspaper unions by importing hundreds of scabs. They repeated these tactics against workers at the New York *Daily News* four years later. And now they want to do it to the Cubs.

Then there is the execrable Marge Schott, the Cincinnati Reds owner who counts Nazi swastikas among her Christmas decorations and is infamous for her racist hiring practices and revolting epithets against nearly every minority in the United States. Or take New York Yankees boss George Steinbrenner, owner of a non-union shipyard in Tampa, Florida who once told 1,500 unionists at a plant he was closing in Lorain, Ohio that "I don't know about you boys, but I'll be eating three meals a day." Steinbrenner was banished from baseball twice, once for illegal contributions to Nixon's Watergate CREEP fund, and again for dirty tricks against Yankee star Dave Winfield. True to form, King George tried to cut off payments to Winfield's foundation for poor kids.

Steinbrenner has become synonymous with that type of "Boss" whose overweening ignorance and arrogance makes him a sahoteur of "his" own enterprise. He is currently trying to ditch Yankee Stadium because of its location in the black and Hispanic Bronx, where his $14 average ticket prices are out of reach for poor and working people. His "community relations" director ignited a storm of outrage when he described black youth playing basketball next to the stadium as "like monkeys" who "hang on the rim." Steinbrenner wants the courts paved over as parking lots.

Then there's the boorish multi-media mogul Robert Edward (Ted) Turner III, the Atlanta Braves owner who called players union leader Marvin Miller a "gimpy bastard" and spewed anti-Semitic remarks at player agent Jerry Kapstein. This rogues' gallery also includes George W. Bush (son of the former president) of the Texas Rangers; Jerry McMorris of the Colorado Rockies, who owns the largest privately held trucking company in the country; and Florida sports mogul H. Wayne Huizenga, who amassed hundreds of millions as owner of Waste Management, Inc., the biggest garbage company in the world, and Blockbuster Video. The *average* net worth of the owners is between *$300 and $400 million.*

These robber barons have hired as their hard cop labor negotiator one Richard Ravitch. Liberal Democrat Ravitch was the boss of the New York Metropolitan Transit Authority who forced a giveback contract down the throats of TWU Local 100 after a bitter eleven-day strike in April 1980. As the baseball owners' hatchet man, Ravitch has insisted on imposing a "salary cap" which would limit the teams' total wages and drive down current player pay at least 20 percent.

One sportswriter cracked, "baseball players are hardly potential candidates for Karl Marx's reserve army of the unemployed." In fact, the union chiefs are posing as champions of the "right" to be bought and sold on the "free" market. What the baseball bosses really want is a return to the days of the reserve clause, when ball players were semi-slaves to be exchanged like bubble gum cards. The current strike, which has really stuck it to these aspiring slave-owners, is a good thing for the working class.

The sports media have presented the strike as a confrontation between two grasping parties both uncaring for the poor abused fan. But as John Helyar chronicles in his often insightful book *Lords of the Realm: The* Real *History of Baseball* (Villard, 1994), in this "all-American sport," aside from the few superstars most players were treated like dirt. An owner would "reserve" his entire roster, assuring his virtual lifetime control over players' services. As late as 1967, before the Players Association became a force in negotiations, the average salary was $19,000 and the minimum

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Koenigas/Newsday AP Sams/Sipa

Harry Benson Grinker/Contact Smith/Outline

Racists and robber barons: rogues' gallery of baseball team owners. Clockwise, from top left: George Steinbrenner (New York Yankees), Marge Schott (Cincinnati Reds), George W. Bush (Texas Rangers), H. Wayne Huizenga (Florida Marlins) and Ted Turner (Atlanta Braves).

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IRA Opts for Imperialist "Peace" Fraud

Jeremy Nicholl

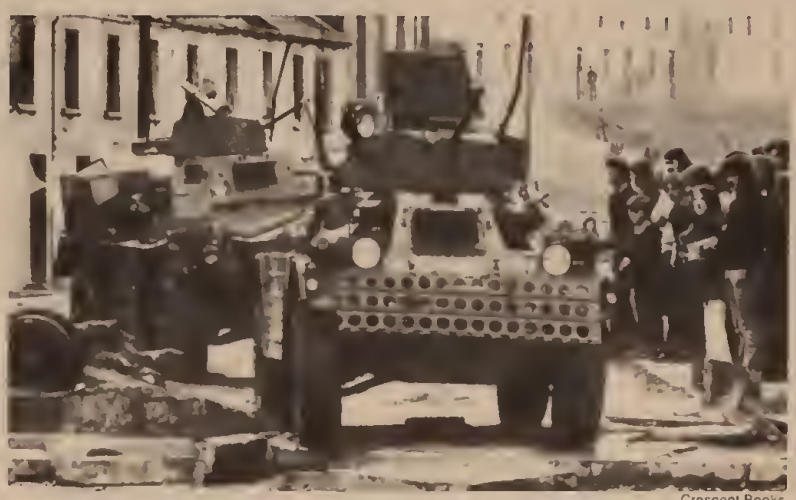
Northern Ireland in the "New World Order"

British Troops Out Now! Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class! For an Irish Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!

LONDON—On 31 August the Irish Republican Army (IRA) dramatically announced a "complete cessation of military operations," without conditions, declaring: "We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created." The declaration marks the latest stage in the quest by the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Féin, for a "negotiated settlement" with British imperialism, pursued through the "good offices" of the southern Irish clericalist state and underwritten by U.S. imperialist chief Bill Clinton.

Hoping to secure a place in the "New World Order" ordained by Washington following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the IRA/Sinn Féin are predictably claiming victory. Yet the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland have been offered *nothing* in exchange for the cease-fire. Sinn Féin does not even demand the withdrawal of British troops from the North, but appeals only for soldiers to be confined to barracks and the situation "demilitarised" by removing the notoriously Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) from Catholic areas.

The recent move was foreshadowed by the Anglo-Irish declaration between London and Dublin last December. As we warned then: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*WV* No. 589, 3 December 1993).



Crescent Books

Republican murals in West Belfast commemorate eight IRA men murdered by British SAS killer elite troops (top). British troop carriers rumble through Catholic area of Bogside, enforcing the bloody occupation of Northern Ireland.

The IRA declaration has provoked speculation on all sides that Britain might eventually withdraw from Northern Ireland entirely. The Irish nationalists look forward to this, while Protestant Loyalists are screaming about "sellout" and secret deals. It is true that Britain has long been looking for a way to gracefully disencumber itself of the Northern Ireland albatross, whose cost to the British exchequer [treasury] runs to some £4.5 billion ($7 billion) a year, enabling Northern Ireland to have a higher disposable income per capita than Britain. But Britain is not about to put an end to Protestant ascendancy, nor is withdrawal of the British army—which continues to ride roughshod through the Catholic ghettos—an imminent possibility.

Meanwhile, the viciously sectarian RUC and Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) are still in place, and the heavily armed fascistic Protestant Loyalist/Unionist paramilitaries, who have killed far more people than the IRA this year—mostly in random, indiscriminate attacks on the Catholic populace—have refused thus far to reciprocate the IRA's cease-fire. And there will be no alleviation of the grinding poverty that afflicts working people—Catholic and Protestant—in Northern Ireland, where unemployment is substantially higher than even in Britain.

As Sinn Féin organized cease-fire celebrations in Catholic areas, crowds waved the Irish tricolour, shouting "time to go" at the troops and painting the word "Garda" (southern Ireland's police force) on RUC stations. But up to one-third of the membership of the IRA reportedly opposed the cease-fire, and among much of the Catholic population there was scepticism and anxiety. As a woman from Ardoyne—a Catholic area of north Belfast where unemployment runs 47 percent—put it: "I want peace but nothing has changed around here. The Brits and the peelers [cops] are still on the streets, young lads are still being harassed. We're terrified of a loyalist attack" (*Irish Times*, 8 September).

Only hours before the cease-fire went into effect, a Loyalist gang dragged Belfast Catholic Sean McDermott from his bed and executed him. Shortly after the IRA declaration, John O'Hanlon was shot in cold blood outside a friend's house in Belfast. On 5 September the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) set off a large car bomb outside Sinn Féin's headquarters in Belfast, following up five days later with an assassination attempt against a Sinn Féin activist. Meanwhile, the British media and Tory and Labour politicians have whipped up a frenzy against "terrorism," which for them applies to the actions of the IRA but never to the blood-soaked British Army or the RUC, which regularly leaks "security files" on Republicans to Loyalist death squads.

We are for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. But unlike the Green nationalists and their cheerleaders on the British and Irish left, we Marxists recognise that the Protestant community is not simply an extension of British imperialist rule. Northern Ireland is an example of *interpenetrated peoples*. The Protestant majority are deeply hostile to—and a significant number of Northern Catholics are wary of—the nationalist project of reunifying the North with the even more poverty-stricken and virulently anti-woman southern clerical state, where divorce as well as abortion is illegal.

Only workers rule, forged through the revolutionary unity of the working class, Catholic and Protestant, can bring about a just and democratic solution. In the

Reuters

Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams (left) shakes hands with Irish Republic prime minister Albert Reynolds and John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic Labour Party, over IRA's unconditional cease-fire.

Pacemaker

Fascistic Protestant UDA Loyalists continue to gun down Catholics despite IRA cease-fire.

context of an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles, the Protestants may yet be voluntarily incorporated into a common Irish nation, which they would at present vehemently reject, they may develop a more distinct national identity; or they may find a democratic accommodation with the Catholics outside the framework of strictly national solutions.

Imperialist-Brokered "Peace" Deals

Sinn Féin leaders consciously look to the example of recent imperialist-brokered deals in South Africa and the Middle East. It would be fatal for working people to have illusions in such "settlements." In South Africa the newly installed Mandela/De Klerk regime has already moved to break strikes of black workers and squelch the expectations of the impoverished black masses. The Palestinian PLO now has its own cops to keep down the Palestinian masses in Gaza and Jericho. And while conditions in Northern Ireland are not identical, Ruari O Bradaigh, the leader of the dissident nationalist group Republican Sinn Féin, has warned that behind Gerry Adams' call for "new policing arrangements" is a veiled appeal for recruiting Republican militants to serve in a "police service to be run in parallel with the RUC" to do "England's dirty work in Ireland" (*Irish News*, 6 September).

The imperialist-brokered "solutions" in the Middle East and South Africa are at bottom a product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The existence of the Soviet Union provided a certain room for manoeuvre for petty-bourgeois nationalists. But with its demise, the ANC and PLO increasingly turned hat in hand to beg crumbs from Washington. Similarly, Sinn Féin appeals to U.S. imperialist chief Clinton, falsely portraying him as an ally of the oppressed Northern Catholics.

Washington has been a prime mover in the Northern Ireland "peace process." Last February Clinton granted Adams an unprecedented visa for a 48-hour visit to New York over the opposition of the British government. Now Adams has been granted another visa for a longer trip to the U.S. later this month. Following the IRA cease-fire, Clinton made a point of inviting Irish deputy prime minister Dick Spring to his vacation resort and promising a "peace dividend" of increased U.S. aid to the southern republic and Northern Ireland. Vice President Gore visited Ireland to confer with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds.

Numerous commentators have noted wryly that the IRA's cease-fire announcement neatly dovetails with the U.S. political calendar. Some 44 million Americans claim Irish descent, and with mid-term elections imminent, Clinton and other Democratic Party politicians, like Ted Kennedy, are desperate to shore up their flagging popularity. But while Clinton made a show of offering a visa to IRA veteran Joe Cahill—for the purpose of persuading American IRA supporters to back the cease-fire—much less publicised are his efforts to maintain contact with the Protestant Loyalists. Thus, five months ago Gore held secret talks with James Molyneaux, the leader of the largest Protestant party, the Ulster Unionists (UUP), and next month a UUP delegation is expected in Washington.

While Molyneaux backs British Conservative prime minister John Major, Protestant fundamentalist demagogue Ian Paisley has denounced the possibility of any negotiations with the IRA as a "sellout." Major does not lightly dismiss Paisley's threats that disgruntled hardline Protestants are capable of unleashing a "civil war." The British imperialists do not always see eye to eye with the fractious Loyalists, but for now they have no intention of abandoning their old allies.

Labour Lackeys of British Imperialism

The IRA's cease-fire came 25 years to the month after British troops were dispatched to Northern Ireland by a Labour Party government. And when Labour "left" Tony Benn invited Gerry Adams—in violation of a government ban on the Sinn Féin leader visiting Britain—to address a meeting at the upcoming Labour Party conference, newly anointed party leader Tony Blair went into an anti-Republican frenzy. Nor is the Irish Labour Party in Dublin any less hostile to the interests of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. Labour Party head Dick Spring—a strong backer of conciliating the Paisleyite bigots—initially threatened to quit the coalition government over the prospect of official talks with Sinn Féin, while not batting an eyelash as the government implemented plans to slash two-thirds of the TEAM Aer Lingus maintenance workers.

Popperfoto

UPI

Irish socialists James Connolly (above) and James Larkin. Connolly was executed for leading 1916 Easter Uprising.

Taking their cue from their reformist big brothers, fake-left outfits like Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party or Peter Taaffe's Militant Labour capitulate to British imperialism. When the British Labour government sent in the troops in 1969, *Socialist Worker* hailed this as providing a welcome "breathing space." Today Eamonn McCann, a prominent spokesman for the Irish Socialist Workers Movement, exults: "Two cheers for the ceasefire. The third can wait until we can see more clearly where we're headed" (*Hot Press*, 21 September).

Militant Labour, which spent decades ensconced in the Labour Party, to this day refuses to call for the withdrawal of imperialist troops from the North. A recent statement in its Northern Irish press despicably seeks to blame the IRA for the crimes of British imperialism, claiming that the IRA provided the state with an "excuse to introduce an array of repressive legislation and repressive methods" (*Militant Labour*, September 1994). We recall Lenin's statement that for English socialists not to oppose British imperialist rule in Ireland would be "the worst sort of opportunism, a neglect of their duties as democrats and socialists, and a concession to *English* reaction and the *English* bourgeoisie" ("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," February-May 1914).

Such despicable softness on British imperialism in the workers movement only reinforces the attractions of Green nationalism. Many working-class Catholic youth join the IRA because they mistakenly see it as the only force opposing the British army. Yet the IRA's "armed struggle" was never really aimed at—or capable of—driving the massive British imperialist military presence out of Northern Ireland, but rather at pressuring Britain to the conference table. When the IRA does strike a blow at the imperialist oppressor, we defend it against state repression and we call for the immediate release of Republican prisoners. However, a central component of the IRA's nationalist strategy involved reprehensible indiscriminate terror against Northern Protestants, as well as against civilian targets in Britain, aimed at exacerbating the communal divide between Catholics and Protestants and at galvanising the oppressed Catholic minority behind the banner of Green nationalism.

We call for the formation of integrated workers militias to combat both imperialist/Loyalist rampage and sectarian terror from any quarter. But forging such militias is integrally linked to the construction of a revolutionary proletarian leadership that has the confidence of both Protestant and Catholic workers. The prevalence of sectarianism in the North is not the proof of some unbridgeable religious divide, but is fostered by the desperate and hellish conditions of capitalist existence. While the Catholics are an oppressed minority, the situation of working-class Protestants is little better. In the Protestant Shankill

continued on page 11

Ernest Mandel to Debate Spartacist League in NYC

Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- **Ernest Mandel**
  Spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International
- **Joseph Seymour**
  Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S., International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

11 November 1994

Time and place to be announced
For more information call: (212) 732-7860

New York City

On Friday, 11 November 1994, in New York City, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), will host a debate between the ICL and Ernest Mandel, internationally known spokesman for the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). Readers of *Workers Vanguard* will recall that back in February 1993, at a public seminar held in New York, comrade Mandel repeatedly declared, in response to our interventions from the floor, that if we organized a meeting, he would come and debate us (see *WV* No. 571, 12 March 1993, and *WV* No. 576, 21 May 1993). We immediately accepted his offer, but for unavoidable reasons comrade Mandel was unable to come to the U.S. before now.

The radical public is cordially invited to participate in this event; in addition to equal-time presentations by Mandel and our spokesman, comrade Joseph Seymour, there will be ample time for speakers from the floor. Up for discussion, along with the central issues confronting revolutionary Marxists today, will be the contrasting political records of our international tendency and Mandel's. In the 1960s and '70s, the USec under Mandel's leadership was loudest cheerleaders for Third World Stalinism, and anything else that moved—from "student power" to Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution." More recently they slavishly tail social democracy. The USec hailed every counterrevolutionary force in the former deformed and degenerated workers states, from Polish Solidarność to the Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers," and called to "fight at Yeltsin's side" in his counterrevolutionary seizure of power in August 1991.

Since 1964, when the Spartacist tendency was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (then associated with the United Secretariat), the ICL has upheld revolutionary Trotskyism on the key programmatic issues. In Chile, France and, more recently, South Africa, we have stood for proletarian opposition to class-collaborationist "popular fronts." From Afghanistan and Poland to the Soviet Union and Cuba, we have fought for unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies as the only real means to defend these states against counterrevolution.

In 1989-90, during the crucial months of nascent political revolution in East Germany, the International Communist League mobilized its modest forces to the utmost to fight tooth and nail against the capitalist reunification carried out by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Meanwhile, the USec was split between those (the Matti tendency) who celebrated counterrevolution in Germany and those like Mandel who wrung their hands while doing nothing to stop it.

Among those in the U.S. who describe themselves as in solidarity with Mandel's USec are Socialist Action, a section of the Solidarity organization, the Trotskyist League and other supporters of the International Trotskyist Opposition, as well as numerous other individuals who were formerly members of the Socialist Workers Party.

These days, USec leader Ernest Mandel likes to polemicize against "labels" saying: "socialists, communists, it doesn't make any difference." Come see for yourself in this debate between the revolutionary Trotskyist politics of the ICL and the impressionistic tailism of Mandel's United Secretariat.

Haiti, Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

and ending with the installation of the terror regime of the U.S.-trained *Garde*. The 1915 invasion touched off a five-year revolt by Haitian peasants, which was drowned in blood by the U.S. military. This time as well, the U.S.' "multinational" invaders will be charged with preventing an outpouring of the plebeian masses, who take Aristide's promise of freedom for good coin and itch to mete out justice against Cedras' military butchers, as well as against the Tontons Macoutes and "attachés," auxiliaries of the murderous police. It is to prevent such an uprising that the imperialists are sending in an occupation force.

Aristide has come out as clearly as he dares in supporting a U.S. invasion (to call for it openly is banned by the Haitian constitution). Tailing after Aristide are a host of American rad-libs who overtly call for a U.S.-led occupation, and a bunch of fake-lefts who give *political support* to Aristide, who in turn pressures the White House to invade. Aristide's *Lavalas* movement, which ties Haitian workers and peasants to a handful of bourgeois liberals (and Clinton), is a "popular front," which once again is leading to bloody defeat for the oppressed.

The small working class which once existed in Haiti, primarily in the "free trade zones," has now largely been dissolved as an effect of the imperialist sanctions. The bulk of Haitian workers are in the diaspora. It is in the cities of the Eastern seaboard—from Montreal to Boston, New York City, Washington, D.C. and Miami—that proletarian revolutionaries must seek to intersect the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers. We seek to win them to an internationalist program fighting for a workers and peasants government in Haiti as part of a revolutionary perspective for the Caribbean and Latin America.

Above all, we call upon the workers movement and all opponents of imperialism in the U.S. and Canada to mobilize in class struggle to defend Haiti and its terribly oppressed people against a Yankee invasion.

Cuba in Peril

The invasion of Haiti poses a direct peril to the Cuban Revolution. The recent jockeying between Washington and Havana over the *balseros* ("raft people") led last week to an agreement whereby the U.S. would allow in a minimum of 20,000 Cuban émigrés a year while Castro promised to cut off the wave of refugees. While there is much speculation of a secret agreement to talk later about easing the embargo, for now the net result has been to tighten the squeeze on the beleaguered island, with the cut-off of dollar remittances from the exiles, and sealing the escape valve for a layer of unemployed disaffected youth. The opening for legal immigration affects mainly older people with ties to the Miami *gusano* community.

Bohemia

Construction workers take to the streets of Havana to disperse pro-imperialist mob.

Clinton's immediate concern has been to prevent a wave of boat people from Cuba and Haiti washing up on Miami Beach, which would spike the re-election chances of his ally, Democratic Florida governor Lawton Chiles. More fundamentally, the White House flip-flop over the émigrés reflects a dispute within the American ruling class over the best way to provoke counterrevolution in Cuba—through support to the hardline *gusanos* or by easing the embargo to facilitate a "peaceful penetration" of the island with dollars and cheap goods.

Newsday

Cuban *balseros* in U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay.

As the *New York Times* put it, to stave off disaster in the *balsero* crisis, the Administration had to conduct a "self-coup" against its own policies of provoking illegal emigration and fomenting economic and political chaos on the island. This policy reversal created havoc among U.S. propaganda and spy agencies. "It's almost as if the West has asked Erich Honecker to stop Germans from crossing over the Berlin Wall," said Frank Calzon, a spokesman for "Freedom House," the CIA "human rights" front group (*New York Times*, 10 September).

The end result has been the cynical manipulation of thousands of desperate Cubans, many driven to risk their lives by the hunger induced by the American embargo of all necessary imports. In particular, the lack of fuel and feed, formerly imported from the Soviet bloc, has crippled Cuban agriculture, which was highly modern and mechanized. Now it has been forced back into self-sufficiency. Unemployed city dwellers are growing root crops and other vegetables in the countryside.

The U.S. embargo is literally killing Cubans. This is the conclusion of a study by a group of U.S. physicians who came back from Cuba this summer. The study, to be published in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, reports that patients are dying of pneumonia because basic drugs like penicillin are unavailable. "People are needlessly dying," said one Cuban doctor (*Newsday*, 6 September).

A European Union study reported in April that the daily calorie intake in Cuba has dropped from 3,100, the second-highest in Latin America, to 1,750. And the ration card currently provides even less of daily needs, an estimated 900 calories a day. Thus, one-half of the meager daily diet must come from purchases on the black market. This has a tremendously demoralizing effect on the population.

The Cuban Stalinists for more than three decades sought to build "socialism" on one Caribbean island, based on Soviet sugar purchases and oil supplies on favorable terms. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban bureaucracy has increasingly become a transmission belt for the pressure of imperialist penetration. For example, Castro's decree a year ago legalizing the holding of dollars quickly opened the door to the dollarization of the economy. A recent *Economist* (3 September) report noted how the hunger and misery of Havana's slums has disproportionately affected Cuba's black population:

> "The desperate regime's legalisation of the dollar last July has set off an even more desperate quest for it on the streets. From beggars and street children to boys who rush unsolicited to wash car windscreens, all of the signs of the underclass so common in capitalist cities are there in Havana."

The article notes that while blacks have received more positions in government and state enterprises, and their lives are vastly different since the revolution, "the underclass is disproportionately black" and "there are signs that this tension may turn into an open racial rift." This strikingly confirms our warnings of a year ago (see "Cuba in Peril," *WV* No. 585, 8 October 1993).

Now the Clinton administration has reportedly told Cuban negotiators that the 30-year trade embargo could be eased if Havana released its "political prisoners" and furthered "political liberalization." Shortly after, Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina met in Madrid with representatives of Miami exile groups including Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, a founder of Alpha 66, one of the main *gusano* terrorist groups.

Thus there is a danger of the gutting of the fundamental bases of the workers state, emanating from the very top levels of the bureaucracy, which would like to ensure itself a "soft landing" through "peaceful counterrevolution." Castro recently declared that only Cuba's health and educational systems are non-negotiable. The main obstacle to a deal between Washington and the Cuban bureaucracy is that U.S. imperialism has deep and intimate ties to the Cuban *gusanos* who long to wreak a bloody vengeance on any and every supporter of the revolution, even the most moderate.

In the face of the U.S. imperialist siege, Cuban workers and collective farmers desperately need their own organs of class rule—councils of workers power—to defend the revolution and to oust the Castro bureaucracy, establishing a government based on workers democracy. Fundamentally, Cuba—reeling under the double hammer blows of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the intensified U.S. economic warfare—cannot hold out alone. Militant protest against the imperialist onslaught against Cuba, as part of a struggle for socialist revolution throughout Latin America and in the United States, is critical for defense of the Cuban Revolution. ■

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ISO: Gusano Socialists?

WV Photo

ISO echoes counterrevolutionary call for mass exodus from Cuba.

We have for years insisted that the so-called "Third Camp," which during the Cold War claimed to be for "Neither Washington nor Moscow," was in fact the camp of pro-imperialist counterrevolution. In the last several days, this has been confirmed in the starkest way. We are referring to the despicable line on Cuba taken by the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S and the International Socialists (I.S.) in Canada.

At a September 8 demonstration in San Francisco called to "Stop the War Against Cuba," a group showed up carrying signs calling on the U.S. to "Open the Border—Asylum for Refugees Now." Was this a provocation by counterrevolutionary exiles, known as *gusanos* (worms) in Cuba, secking to bleed the Cuban Revolution? No, the placard was signed by the ISO. Not a mention of defending the Cuban Revolution against Yankee imperialism—which they don't.

Then in Canada, our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste noticed that the I.S. in Vancouver had organized a tiny "anti-fascist" demo timed to compete with a September 10 Cuba solidarity rally. When TL comrades challenged them, "Do you defend Cuba against American imperialism?" the I.S.ers refused to say. When the September issue of their paper, *Socialist Worker*, came out, you could see why.

The paper has two articles on Cuba, vilely retailing the lies of the imperialist media and the U.S. government. One piece, "Let Them ALL In," claimed that Cuban "refugees" are "desperate for a taste of freedom." So for the I.S. social-democrats, racist U.S. imperialism and the *gusano* heaven of Miami's Little Havana—that notorious center of drug trafficking, mafia activities and fascistic terror—represent "freedom."

Even more scandalously, the second piece in *Socialist Worker*, "Behind the Crisis in Cuba," actually *hails* a counterrevolutionary riot on the Havana waterfront on August 5 by would-be hijackers and black market criminals. According to the I.S.:

> "Demonstrations estimated to be over 10,000 erupted in Havana days before the recent exodus to the US began from Cuban shores.... [P]olice and rapid response teams were unable to stop the resistance....
>
> "Cuban workers and peasants have begun to break the hold of a repressive regime. Cuba today has nothing to do with socialism. But the promise of real socialism, socialism from below, has been re-kindled
>
> "Solidarity with Cuban refugees is a critical step in ensuring that that flame continues to burn."

In referring to the anti-communist outburst as a heroic "resistance," the I.S. echoes every imperialist agency and *gusano* mouthpiece. And they make crystal clear that their supposed humanitarian "concern" for Cuban refugees is a political ploy to keep the "flame" of counterrevolution burning.

This lying account comes straight from Washington. The mob in Havana is "estimated to be over 10,000." Estimated by whom? Reporters from Agence France Presse said "more than 200" marched down the street chanting "freedom" and throwing rocks at store and hotel windows. Cuban government spokesmen put their number at 700. The *only* source claiming several thousand or more anti-Castro protesters is...the *U.S. State Department*.

There *were* more than 10,000 people in the streets of Havana on August 5, but as we reported in our last issue, these were workers and residents of central Havana who rushed to the scene to disperse the rioters (see "Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba," *WV* No. 605, 2 September). And the counterrevolutionaries were swept away not by the police, but by a spontaneous outpouring followed up by construction worker brigades and the "rapid response teams" of the unions, party organizations and neighborhood Committees to Defend the Revolution, armed only with wooden clubs and steel pipes. Significantly, the photos show that black Cubans were prominent in the front lines defending the revolution.

The *gusano* scum were dispersed by a mass mobilization of those who understood that the fate of the revolution is at stake. And this was followed up two days later by a mammoth commemorative rally of 700,000 in honor of the black policeman who was killed by the would-be hijackers on August 5. There have since been demonstrations of tens of thousands in Mariel, Camagüey, Guantánamo, and on repeated occasions in Havana.

As for the I.S.' talk of "socialism from below," what they would like is a Labourite gloss on capitalist exploitation, but the actual content of their "democratic" counterrevolution is a witches' cauldron of crazed nationalist hatreds. Just look at Romania, where "freedom" unleashed an orgy of terror against Gypsies, Jews and Hungarians. Their favorite example of "anti-Stalinism" is the counterrevolutionary nationalist Solidarność led by Lech Walesa. Solidarność was inspired by Wojtyla the Pope and financed by the Vatican Bank and the CIA, mostly through the AFL-CIO and a host of West European social-democratic conduits.

This is the I.S.' idea of "socialism from below": counterrevolution in all its ugly manifestations. And the victory of Walesa & Co. has led to the immiseration of the Polish working masses. Cuban working people are holding on against terrible odds, suffering from lack of food and medicines as a result of the imperialist embargo. And the smarmy I.S. social democrats spit on them.

Castro's Cuba is not "socialist," but rather a deformed workers state in which a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste sits atop the collectivized economy and deprives the working class of direct political power. As we did in Poland, we fight in Cuba for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermines the defense of the revolution. As we wrote last issue:

> "We Trotskyists, who fight for revolutionary proletarian democracy based on workers councils (soviets) to replace the bureaucratic regime, stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Our defense of the socialized foundations of the Cuban deformed workers state is part and parcel of our fight for international socialist revolution."

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

After Castro's 1959 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator Batista and the expropriation of foreign and Cuban capitalists the following year, the Yankee imperialists provided a safe haven (and staging base) for the counterrevolutionary scum fleeing the social revolution. For more than 30 years, Washington has kept its borders open to "Cuban refugees," who were accorded privileged treatment and automatic asylum denied any other national group. In contrast, Haitian refugees who make it to Florida have long been locked up and returned to the brutal military dictatorship propped up by the U.S.

In mid-August, facing a wave of *balseros* ("raft people") made desperate by the U.S.' starvation embargo and encouraged to head into the Florida Straits by Washington's Radio/TV Martí, Clinton cut off the automatic right of asylum for Cubans. This was applauded by the most rabid counterrevolutionaries around the Cuban American National Foundation headed by Jorge Mas Canosa, who want to stoke up internal tensions in Cuba. But many other Miami exiles oppose this, including Republican Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (a prominent defender of the *gusano* terrorist who blew up a Cubana airliner), and Republican Congressman Lincoln Díaz-Balart (who incites assaults on the pro-Havana Antonio Maceo Brigade). The ISO, along with these right-wing Republicans, wants to return to the pre-August 18 U.S. policy, which is to "destabilize" Cuba by encouraging a mass exodus. No less than the policy of Mas Canosa and Clinton, this is a line of fostering counterrevolution.

This should come as no surprise from the likes of the ISO: their British mentor Tony Cliff in the early 1950s refused to defend Stalinist-ruled North Korea against the war by "democratic" U.S. imperialism. The Cliffites have similarly scabbed on the Cuban Revolution from Day One, calling Cuba a "state-capitalist" regime not qualitatively different from impoverished Haiti. And when Boris Yeltsin staged a countercoup in August 1991 in Moscow, unleashing the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state and destruction of the remaining gains of the 1917 October Revolution, Cliff & Co. hailed this counterrevolution as a "New Russian Revolution"!

The Cliffites share a common, scummy heritage with Max Shachtman, the renegade from Trotskyism whose politics gave rise to the earlier incarnation of the International Socialists in the U.S. In April 1961, Shachtman *supported* Democratic president Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba. Left Shachtmanite Hal Draper denounced his former mentor as a "State Department socialist," and the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League refused to let Shachtman speak at their meeting. Cliff's I.S./ISO have long been State Department "socialists." Now, with this further example of their counterrevolutionary appetites, they can aptly be called "*gusano* socialists."

Bohemia

Counterrevolutionary scum riot in Havana, August 5, hailed by ISO.

The Stalinophobic I.S./ISO fundamentally identify with capitalist imperialism. In making common cause with the bourgeoisie against Stalinism in the name of "democracy," they end up in league with every known brand of fascism and nationalist bigotry, because that's what counterrevolution produces. Their alliance with Miami *gusanos* was prefigured by their fulsome support to Yeltsin's coup, which has called forth a zoo of anti-Semitic blackshirts, from Pamyat to Zhirinovsky. This is the real content of the ISO's "socialism from below."

The Spartacist contingent at the SF protest took the side of Cuban workers and peasants against the U.S. drive for counterrevolution. Our signs declared: "Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution! Down With the Imperialist Embargo!" "Stalinist Bureaucracy Undermines Cuban Deformed Workers State—For Workers Political Revolution!" and "Defense of Cuba Begins at Home! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism!" ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

fraction of the country's productive wealth and financial capital.

The ANC is beginning to pursue the same path. In the past two years the number of senior black managers in South Africa's corporations has doubled. The SACP's *African Communist* (2nd Quarter 1994) reports, "hundreds of ANC cadres" are "now being promoted, with varying degrees of sincerity, by the private sector in the name of affirmative action." The Congress alliance now contains both union officials leading strikes and corporate executives and senior police officials trying to break these strikes. And that kind of contradiction cannot last long. Indeed, a few weeks ago Mandela described the ANC as "in tatters." And the Communist Party will tend to split between its petty-bourgeois nationalist elements and others tied to the workers movement.

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

Even before the installation of the Mandela/De Klerk/Slovo "Government of National Unity," class tensions were already straining the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance." The spring 1993 congress of the Metalworkers union adopted resolutions calling for the nationalization of industry without compensation and for a "working class party." According to Moses Mayekiso, then president of NUMSA, the delegates were "mainly supporters of the SACP." Nonetheless, these union activists manifestly believed that the Communist Party was not representing the interests of the working class. (For a discussion of this debate on a workers party, see "South Africa: Mandela/De Klerk's Neo-Apartheid Fraud," *WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993.)

The cause of a union-supported workers party was actively taken up by Neville Alexander's Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) which formed the Workers List Party to run in the April elections. We gave critical electoral support to the Workers List, pointing out that it "does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC" (*WV* No. 599, 29 April).

But what kind of workers party? Mayekiso and WOSA want a party that would in its political substance, though not in strict organizational form, be similar to the British Labour Party—a broad social-democratic party acting centrally as the political agent of the trade-union movement. More immediately, they and others look to the Brazilian Workers Party (PT), whose leader, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, is a leading candidate in the upcoming presidential elections. As it did already in 1989, the PT is campaigning in a "popular front" together with various bourgeois forces, thus negating the possibility for political independence of the working class and tying it to its class enemy. But even in the absence of such an explicit class-collaborationist alliance, a workers party built on a program of reforming capitalism cannot answer the needs of the working masses, neither in Brazil nor elsewhere.

Paratus

ANC/SACP former guerrilla leaders Joe Modise (on right), now defense minister, and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils (center), share a laugh with their new "comrade-in-arms," South African army commander Georg Meiring.

In South Africa, Mayekiso, a member of the Communist Party central committee, envisages liquidating the SACP into a broader political formation "together with left sections of the ANC as well as other left forces like WOSA and many independent socialists and social democrats" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, July/August 1993). WOSA hopes that "all pro-worker, pro-democracy and pro-socialism forces will converge in order to establish an independent mass party of the workers" (*Workers List Party National Conference*, March 1994). Mayekiso/WOSA are advocating a present-day South African version of Karl Kautsky's old concept of "the party of the whole class." Such a party would range from the most moderate social democrats to self-declared Marxist-Leninists, their main common denominator being defense of the economic interests of the unionized labor force within the framework of neo-apartheid capitalism.

While the industrial working class in South Africa numbers in the millions, it is dwarfed by the large numbers of urban poor and a sizable (non-unionized) agricultural proletariat. Among the key struggles against the Mandela/De Klerk regime in which a revolutionary workers party would intervene will be township revolts over issues such as housing and police brutality, or forming ethnically integrated workers defense guards linking the slums to the factories. A revolutionary workers party, building on a core of the industrial proletariat, would also incorporate significant plebeian sectors of township youth. But a party based on the unions would be structurally too narrow to encompass such layers and lead such struggles. Rather it could become a vehicle for protecting the sectoral interests of industrial workers who are relatively privileged compared to the impoverished township and rural masses.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin emphasized that a revolutionary socialist aims to be not a trade-union official but a "tribune of the people":

> "[H]e is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement,' that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions. He is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice his obligation to be *ahead of all* in raising, accentuating, and solving *every* general democratic question." [emphasis in original]

Lenin's injunction has special force in South Africa, where the oppression of the black African people by the white ruling class dominates economic, social and political life.

The resolution passed in favor of a "working class party" at the 1993 Metalworkers' congress was not simply a spontaneous response of the union ranks to the ever more openly pro-capitalist stance of the ANC/SACP leadership. NUMSA has long been the stronghold in the black union movement of the so-called "workerist" current, which represents an amalgam of semi-syndicalist and left social-democratic politics. Since its inception in the late 1970s, this tendency has included a definite dose of anti-Communism in its ideological mix. One of the early "workerist" leaders, Joe Foster, argued for trade-union independence of the ANC/SACP by pointing to Polish Solidarność as a positive model of such independence. In reality, Solidarność was not a trade union at all but rather a multi-class counterrevolutionary movement actively supported and financed by Western imperialism to undermine the Soviet bloc.

Despite occasional expressions of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, the union-based "workerist" current was generally to the left of the SACP, which in the name of the "national democratic revolution" openly *opposed socialism and workers power* as an immediate goal. Nonetheless, the SACP benefited mightily from broad sympathy among the black masses for the idea of communism and socialist revolution. Capitalism in South Africa is deeply identified with the white racist police state, with the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, Robben Island prison and the hellish conditions in the gold mines and on the desolate bantustans. During the township revolt of the mid-1980s, the young "comrades" held up the red flag with the hammer and sickle as a symbol of defiance against the rulers of the apartheid state. Of course, in the South African context the term "communism" has taken on a nationalist-populist coloration—the division of the wealth owned by the whites among the black masses.

As the Kremlin bureaucracy was collapsing under Gorbachev, Stalinist parties around the world scrapped any pretension to Leninism and presented themselves as born-again social democrats. But in South Africa communism evokes a far more positive response than the wishy-washy formula of "democratic socialism." So while Slovo & Co. condemned Stalin and "Stalinism," they did not formally repudiate Leninism. The party's premier organ continues to be called the *African Communist*. Red flags still abound at SACP rallies where speakers are cheered for declaring solidarity with Castro's Cuba against American imperialism.

While Slovo & Co. are cynically exploiting the black toilers' enthusiasm for red revolution, many SACP cadre take their party's Leninist pretensions as good coin, pretensions which so glaringly contradict their leaders' groveling before the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange. The *African Communist* (4th Quarter 1993) contains a resignation statement from Theo Molaba, the Cape Town branch secretary, protesting "the abandonment of a PROLETARIAN ATTITUDE towards armed struggle, negotiations, the alliance and the role of the party." "What has happened to the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT," he asks. That the party's leading organ saw fit to publish this statement indicates that Molaba is not an isolated left dissident but represents a significant current of opinion in the SACP. A note appended to the resignation reported it was subsequently withdrawn but this does not change the force of Molaba's political indictment:

> "To me, the last CC [Central Committee] report was an occasion, not a cause for my resignation. It was so liberal, so moral, so completely devoid of class analysis and working class perspectives. In essence it was insulting. This report to me represented a pattern which has evolved since our unbanning—i.e., a gradual but definite process of moving away from the revolutionary proletarian perspective."

However, the abject class collaborationism which so disgusts Molaba is not something that suddenly developed since the SACP was legalized in 1990. What he sees as the abandonment of a revolutionary proletarian perspective is the *logical culmination* of the Stalinist program of two-stage revolution—the illusory aim of achieving a democratic, socially progressive *capitalist* society through an "alliance" between the working class and the "patriotic" bourgeoisie. Moreover, in the mouths of Slovo & Co. even the slogan of a "national democratic revolution" was fraudulent. The real aim of the South African Stalinists has long been a "power sharing" deal with the rulers of the apartheid state.

Recall that in 1986 the ANC leadership—which included Slovo, Chris Hani, Modise and the other SACP tops—not only met publicly with "liberal" white capitalists like Tony Bloom and Gavin Relly but also opened up *secret negotiations* with the Botha regime! We wrote at the time:

> "There is, in reality, *no contradiction* between what [then ANC president] Tambo tells Tony Bloom or Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, and what he broadcasts over Radio Freedom. The ANC's policy of 'making the townships

John Seymour

Bantustan hellholes are home to 7 million black Africans, mainly women and children.

Muhammad/NY Times

The Star
Johannesburg
25 May 1994

Black Sash says council lacks proper policy regarding squatters

Shack demolition slammed

HOMELESS people left in the open after armed officials demolish illegal shacks in Jack Mincer Square

BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Late-night demolition of squatter shacks in Jack Mincer Square this week has been strongly condemned by the Black Sash which accused the Johannesburg City Council of lacking a proper policy to deal with the problem.

Scores of squatters were forced to sleep in the open on the coldest night of the year after the council flattened illegal shacks in the city's central low-rent district on Monday.

Yesterday, groups of squatters were guarding their belongings on the square. None knew where to turn. All were fearful of future council action.

John Makwena said armed officials arrived without warning at about 11 pm. They told us to wake up, get out and remove our belongings. Then they ripped down the plastic, wood and steel and threw it on to trucks.

They told us to ask Mandela for houses. Then we were left to sleep in the park or go to Park Station, he said.

Freddie Thamm said: They came with guns and gave us 10 minutes to remove our things. They said the new Government told them to smash our shacks.

Acting town clerk Dr Emile Horak said the move was in line with the Illegal Squatting Act after an influx was noted on May 19 and ahead of reports that a large-scale land invasion was planned on the site.

Despite earlier claims to head of security Hugo Terreblanche that attempts would be made to accommodate the squatters in a transit camp since it was not council policy to merely send in the bulldozers, Horak said the provisional authorities had been unable to provide facilities for a temporary site.

The Black Sash found the evictions unacceptable and asked why the council had not involved the Red Cross.

Homeless this family face the cold without shelter after their shack was demolished

Affluent whites enjoy lawn bowling at racially exclusive country club while millions of blacks live in shantytowns. Now SACP/ANC ministers are evicting black squatters from their homes.

ungovernable' is designed to *pressure*, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Tambo & Co. are saying to the masters of apartheid capitalism that only by coming to terms with us can you restore social peace in South Africa." [emphasis in original]

—"Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" *WV* No. 395, 17 January 1986

This is exactly what Mandela and Slovo are now trying to do—setting the police on striking workers and on squatters in the townships.

There now exists a broad and increasing base of support to form a revolutionary workers party in South Africa through political regroupment. COSATU militants and officials are outraged at the sight of police attacking striking black workers at the Pick 'n Pay supermarket chain. Communist Party cadre are shocked at the spectacle of their leaders hobnobbing with the Anglo American bosses as they conspire to make South Africa more profitable for multinational sweatshops. But the strong impulse for a party to the left of the SACP must not take the direction of social-democratic economism or quasi-Stalinist black nationalism.

What is needed is a Bolshevik workers party capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. This is the heart of Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. Only such a party can overcome the terrible poverty of the millions of black Africans living in the countryside while militantly defending the unionized, industrial working class. Only such a party can bring about a rapid improvement in the living standards of the black toilers while upholding the democratic rights of the coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians and of those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working masses.

For the *Socialist* Reconstruction of South Africa

What would the program of such a revolutionary workers party be? It must center on seizing power from the fabulously wealthy capitalist conglomerates who are the true masters of neo-apartheid South Africa. It must fight for the *expropriation without compensation of industry, mines, banks, and the capitalist class as a whole.* To carry this out requires the formation of a *black-centered workers government* based on *workers councils* that incorporate the vast numbers of urban and rural poor. These councils can grow out of powerful struggles by the black workers movement, going beyond simple trade-union demands to pose *factory occupations* and *workers control* of industry. Such examples of dual power at the plant level will be necessary to combat the attempts by the apartheid bosses to squelch labor militancy, even sabotaging production rather than give in to the demands of "their" wage slaves. Likewise it will be necessary to organize ethnically integrated *workers militias* linking the factory to the township in fighting off repression and violence instigated by the capitalist rulers and their dogs of war.

But the revolutionary program for a socialist reconstruction of South Africa is not limited to demands for and actions by the industrial and mining proletariat. In a struggle that has been driven by the battle against the brutal institutionalized racial discrimination and degradation of apartheid, democratic issues will also play a fundamental role in mobilizing the oppressed masses.

Thus women often took the lead in the struggle against the pass laws and in township struggles against repression. Historically, as in Algeria, nationalist movements have sent women back to the home after the fighting stopped. But, as did the Bolsheviks in the Russian October Revolution, Trotskyists in South Africa today must champion full equality for women. This includes fighting for *equal pay for equal work* and the *full integration of women in the workforce*, as well as demanding *free, safe abortion on demand* and *an end to tribalist patriarchal practices oppressive to women such as polygamy.* These are highly controversial issues. For years, the ANC has waffled on these issues, fearing to antagonize traditional rulers, although even Buthelezi's Zulu-tribalist Inkatha supported legalizing abortion. It wasn't until the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) was approved early this year that the ANC finally came out for women's right to choose, under threats of a women's boycott of the election, and even then this wasn't mentioned in its election platform.

The housing question is a burning issue in South Africa today. *One out of every four blacks* lives in so-called "informal housing"—backyard shacks, garages and shantytowns constructed of cardboard and plastic. The figure is much higher in the major urban areas. Almost 70 percent of all black Africans in Durban have no houses, almost half in the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region. In the past, government moves to level squatter settlements produced major battles with the black masses. This was a key element in the 1984-86 township revolt, which also gave rise to the biggest and longest rent strike in history. For good measure, black township dwellers also stopped paying property taxes, electricity bills, garbage collection fees, etc.

Significantly, the hot seat of housing minister in the "government of national unity" was given to the principal leader of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo, for it is here, along with the labor front, that the sharpest conflicts between the ANC leaders and their mass base are going to take place. The ANC and SACP cadre who a decade ago led the township revolt have now become the chief rent collectors for the Jo'burg banks. But theirs is not a happy lot. One of them, Soweto Civic Association head Isaac Mogase, complained:

> "It was all very well when we told people not to pay. Back then, people raised their fists and said, 'Viva the struggle, viva!' But when you turn around and tell people who have been living rent-free for years that now it's time to pay, you sort of put your head on the chopping block."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 29 July

Even more so than the issue of rent collection, the squatter camps are a source of hard confrontation between the "government of national unity" and the impoverished black toilers. Believing that Mandela's election opened a new era of freedom and equality, blacks have been constructing "informal housing" at a furious pace extending far beyond the boundaries of the segregated townships. Shantytowns have even appeared in downtown Johannesburg, once the exclusive province of white businessmen.

In words identical to Botha and De Klerk, Slovo proclaims that the government "is committed to respect constitutional rights in land against any unlawful infringement and unlawful occupation. Squatting cannot be condoned" (*New York Times*, 6 July). And acting exactly like Botha and De Klerk, Slovo has set the police on "unlawful occupations." Black squatters have responded to these words and actions by the Communist housing minister of the "new" South Africa just like they did to his white-supremacist predecessors—with defiance and courage. "Slovo and the police must go to hell," exclaimed an embattled squatter in Cato Manor near Durban. "We are staying here. This is our place."

Of course, militant defense of their shantytowns, while admirable, is no solution to the desperate need for housing for the black African populace. A spokesman for Canana, a settlement near Johannesburg, stated: "If the Government wants to remove us from here, they must build houses where there are services where poor people are satisfied." But the government of Mandela/De Klerk/Slovo—committed to defending the property of the white ruling class—is *not* going to do that, whatever the empty promises it makes. What is needed is to *nationalize all urban land* while launching a *massive program of racially and ethnically integrated residential construction.*

The land question in rural South Africa is also explosive. Despite the substantial urbanization in recent decades, ten million black Africans—40 percent of the total population—remain in the countryside. Three million are farm laborers and their families. The other seven million—mainly women and children—are those still trapped in the barren bantustans, scratching out an existence in subsistence agriculture while depending for survival on remittances from family members working in the mines and factories.

As for South African commercial agriculture, the *Wall Street Journal* (4 May)—not given to painting the exploitation of labor anywhere in stark colors—described it in these terms:

> "In a feudal-like system of farm labor, labor tenants in South Africa are black family groups who live on land officially owned by white farmers. In exchange for the right to grow crops and raise livestock on a small portion of the land,

continued on page 10

UPI

Mozambican migrant laborers are hired to work in South African gold mines. ANC government has now deployed army to stop "illegal" immigrants. We demand full citizenship rights for migrant workers.

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

the family members provide the farmer their labor, in the fields or as household help."

Fearing land seizures by their black laborers and/or expropriation by an ANC government, since 1990 white farmers have been systematically evicting tenants from the land.

However, the ANC leaders in this respect as in all others have been extremely "moderate," i.e., defending the interests of the white exploiters against the black toilers. To begin with, land redistribution is to be limited to those blacks who can document that their families were driven from their land by the post-1948 apartheid regime. Moreover, this land will not be expropriated but purchased by the government at a price acceptable to their current white owners. Thus the main beneficiaries of the ANC's "land reform" scheme will be white farmers charging inflated prices for their property so the Mandela government can make a token show of "land reclamation"!

Moreover, South Africa's commercial farms are highly mechanized and capital-intensive. Almost no blacks have the money to operate such farms competitively even if they were given the land for free. The first recipients of land reclamation were members of the Mfengo tribe who this spring got back title to 15,000 acres of what are now dairy farms in the Eastern Cape purchased by the government for $10 million. But the Mfengo have no money to buy herds, tractors, milking machines or fodder. They therefore have to sell or lease some of the land back to the white farmers or mortgage it to the banks.

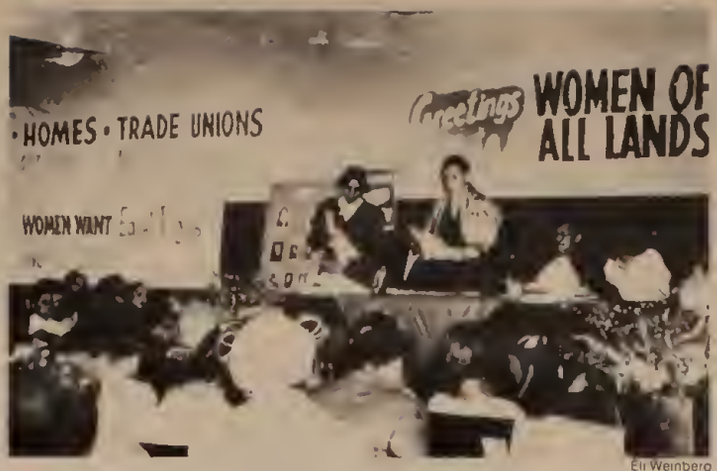
In South Africa today there are 67,000 white farmers and over 1 million black farm laborers. These large commercial white-owned farms must be expropriated. What then? There is no economic rationale in South Africa and little popular sentiment to create a class of black agricultural smallholders. A workers government would establish cooperative and state farms, which alone can provide a decent life not only for the blacks who currently work there but for the millions more living on the desolate bantustans, as well as supplying the food and other agricultural produce needed by the urban population.

For a Proletarian Internationalist Perspective

The British imperialists and the Afrikaner Nationalist regime sought to artificially retribalize the black African population while playing off the divisions between black Africans, coloureds and Indians. Hence opposition to tribal and ethnic consciousness and loyalty came to be seen as a central element in the struggle against white-supremacist rule. The call for a "unitary" South Africa in the name of "nation building" became a doctrine, even a dogma, espoused by all wings of black nationalism and the left. However, whereas in the past the Afrikaner regime insisted that the various peoples of South Africa were separate nations in order to justify apartheid, today the white bourgeoisie uses the rhetoric of "national unity" to perpetuate its exploitation of black African, coloured and Indian toilers.

It is entirely possible that under proletarian class rule a South African nation will evolve through widespread intermarriage and the development of a common culture and language or languages. However, "nation building" is in no sense the supreme goal of the socialist revolution, nor will national integration be confined to the peoples now living within the borders of the South African state.

The ANC/De Klerk "Government of National Unity" has now deployed the "South African National Defence Force" to the borders to stop the influx of "illegal immigrants" from neighboring countries. Indeed, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, now minister of home affairs, told parliament that foreigners are taking jobs from South Africans. This shows the reactionary face of South African nationalism, which is here directed against neighboring black African peoples.



Eli Weinberg

Federation of South African Women in Johannesburg, 1954. Black women played leading role in the struggle against apartheid.

Anglo American and the other Randlords economically dominate all of southern Africa. A large percentage of the gold miners on the Witwatersrand—the key value-producing proletariat in the region—comes from *outside* the borders of South Africa, mainly from Lesotho and Mozambique. All such workers and their families should have access to *full citizenship rights in South Africa*. Clearly, a democratic, egalitarian and rational solution to such questions can be worked out only in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa.

The boundaries of almost all African states, including South Africa, are arbitrary and have no national legitimacy. Hence the artificiality of any "nation building" project within the confines of the 1910 Union of South Africa. Central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is the understanding that in the colonial and semicolonial countries the historic tasks achieved by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in West Europe and North America can be achieved only through proletarian revolution. Such revolutions do not aim at the forced assimilation of diverse peoples into a unitary "nation," but rather to secure the democratic rights of all nations and national groups.

A democratic solution to the national question in southern Africa should take as a model the Bolshevik program for Central Asia. Just as the Western imperialist powers subjugated and colonized *prenational* peoples in southern Africa (e.g., the Zulus, Shona, Ovimbundu), so the Russian tsarist autocracy subjugated and colonized prenational peoples in Central Asia (e.g., Bashkirs, Tatars, Kazakhs). In his 1913 "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin called for "self-governing and autonomous regions" to be "determined by the local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc.," *not* the internal administrative divisions of the tsarist empire. Lenin pointed out that regional autonomy did not contradict the Marxists' upholding of the need for a centralized state.

These principles became the basis for the formation of the Soviet workers state. The Bolsheviks did not proclaim as their aim the forging of one single Soviet nation, melding together Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Azeris. While encouraging the intermingling and unity of all Soviet peoples, they formed a federated state with constituent national republics and autonomous regions. Lenin and Trotsky understood it was necessary to demonstrate to the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs and Tatars, for example, that the Russian-centered Soviet workers state was not a new and disguised form of the Russian empire, that the unity of Soviet peoples did not mean forced Russification.

To be sure, the national question in pre-1917 Russia was posed differently than in South Africa. The minority peoples of the tsarist empire were oppressed by a despotic government based on the numerically dominant nationality, the Russians. In South Africa, the black African majority has been oppressed and fragmented by the white, European-derived minority. However, socially backward Zulu villagers, still steeped in tribal tradition, might experience forced assimilation into a "unitary" South African nation ruled by the ANC as a form of ethnic oppression at the hands of a Xhosa political elite.

A socialist federation of southern Africa should be modeled on the early, pre-Stalinist Soviet federation. In such a framework, the Ovimbundu in Angola and Namibia, the Ndebele in Zimbabwe, Zulus in Natal and all other peoples who so desire should have the right of regional autonomy. There is a fundamental difference between the enforced tribalization imposed by the apartheid state and the voluntary exercise of limited political autonomy by distinct peoples in the areas they inhabit. Such limits would include, among other things, guarantees for the democratic rights of the minorities living in these regions. Thus, a Zulu autonomous region in Natal would not be permitted to expel or discriminate against Indians or Xhosa-speakers.

Our support for the right of regional autonomy in a *future South African workers state* in no way implies support for reactionary Zulu separatism in Natal today. *In the present context*, we would oppose a move to secession by Inkatha, which would undoubtedly be allied with a revolt of right-wing whites to form a bitter-end apartheid *volkstaat*. But things can change, and quickly. As previously noted, the dominant elements of the South African bourgeoisie and their Western imperialist partners are already turning against Inkatha in favor of the ANC.

More generally, South Africa is not exempt from the Leninist principle that overcoming national, racial and religious divisions among the toiling masses demands that the communist vanguard fight for the democratic rights and national equality of all peoples. This is relevant not just for backward rural regions but in order to forge solid inter-ethnic *working-class unity* in the urban areas where there is a tremendous intermingling, not just of Zulu and Xhosa, but also minority peoples such as the Tswana, and the relatively more privileged coloured and Indian populations whose democratic rights must also be defended.

Especially given the vast material inequalities between black and white, a productive, just and egalitarian society cannot be constructed within the narrow framework of South Africa or even southern Africa besieged by world imperialism. In conditions of enforced poverty, the struggle for the means of survival will quickly become very brutal and divisive. Moreover, a black-centered workers government in South Africa would from the outset face not only all-out economic warfare but the threat of military attack on an even greater scale than the U.S. devastation of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. It would not take a fascist like Adolf Hitler to nuke South Africa, killing millions of black people: it's not hard to envision a nasty, racist "democratic" imperialist like Winston Churchill doing it.

The bourgeois order in South Africa, long based on direct white-supremacist rule, has entered a deepgoing crisis at a time when the cause of proletarian socialism has suffered a world-historic defeat—the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, sapped for decades by Stalinism. Indeed, this was a crucial development underlying the ANC/SACP's abject capitulation to the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange.

The consolidation, or simply the survival, of a socialist revolution in South Africa *requires* its international extension. This was the core of the Bolsheviks' program. But the world situation today is very different from that facing the Russian October Revolution of 1917—precipitated by the mass slaughter of the first imperialist world war—which set off revolutionary struggles throughout Europe, centrally Germany. A proletarian revolution in South Africa today would confront relatively strengthened and emboldened Western imperialist powers determined to obliterate any obstacles to their proclaimed "new world order."

For the moment South Africa is a weakened link in the chain of the world capitalist system binding the neocolonies of the Third World to the imperialist states of North America, West Europe and Japan. It is necessary to mobilize the forces of the proletariat to *break* that chain at its weakest links, and then fight like hell to take the battle to the imperialist centers, seeking allies against the vicious enemy of all the oppressed—international capital. Thus, the fight to build a South African Bolshevik Party is inseparable from the struggle we in the International Communist League are waging to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International.

A socialist revolution in South Africa would find *strategically powerful allies within the imperialist centers*. In particular, it would have an enormously radicalizing impact on blacks in the United States, who have strongly identified with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. And it would reverberate in particular among the non-white masses throughout the Western Hemisphere (notably the millions of black people in Brazil), West Indians and South Asians in Britain, and North Africans and black Africans in West Europe.

The struggle for a socialist federation of southern Africa linked to international proletarian revolution is the road to the social and economic emancipation of the continent, which requires a massive transfer of resources from the former colonial metropolitan powers, which have looted Africa, Asia and Latin America for centuries. Use of the industrial and mineral wealth of a revolutionary South Africa will not be limited to south of the Limpopo River, but must be used to enable the impoverished masses of all of Africa to escape famine and destitution. This road is far from easy, the vicissitudes of the struggle cannot be predicted, but it is the only road to the future of justice and equality that the South African masses are fighting for. ■

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 5)

area of Belfast, unemployment ranges to 50 percent. Significantly, the Loyalist paras recruit heavily from unemployed and lumpenised youth whose fathers once worked in now decimated shipyards and engineering plants.

The Loyalist stranglehold over the Protestant workers will only be reinforced by liberal bourgeois "solutions" that promise to spread the endemic poverty more evenly. In a situation of increasing economic desperation, fighting over a shrinking slice of pie only stokes up the fires of sectarianism. Thus, while we fight relentlessly against all forms of anti-Catholic discrimination, we demand jobs for all through work sharing on full pay, which can only be realised through a struggle which smashes the capitalist order. Contrary to nationalist lies, the working masses have at times been able to achieve unity in struggle, such as the Belfast shipyard and engineering strike of 1919 and the unemployment battles of the 1930s. Recently, Protestant workers in key plants have struck in outrage over the murder of Catholic workmates by Loyalist thugs. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, such class unity cannot he other than transient.

In Northern Ireland the 600,000 Catholics and 900,000 Protestants coexist in a common territory, while across the border there is an overwhelming majority of Catholics. Any attempt to forcibly incorporate the large and relatively well-armed Protestants into the Irish clerical state could only precipitate a wholesale communal conflict. While Irish Republicans usually present their struggle as fundamentally directed against British imperialism, the more hardheaded IRA nationalists acknowledge that the Protestant Loyalists are the ultimate obstacle to their programme of reunification with the South. As one Belfast IRA commander told an American journalist:

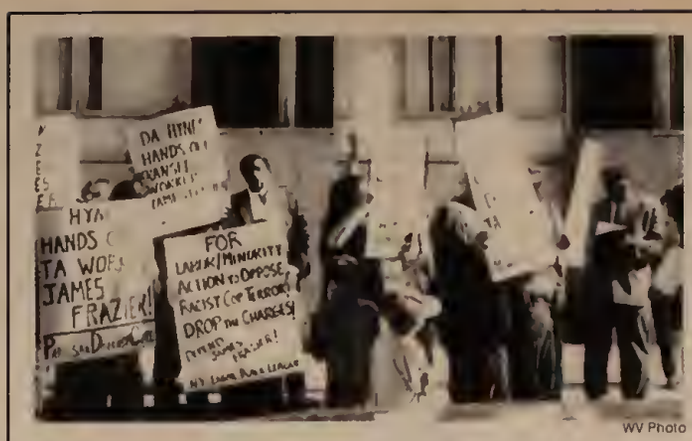
> "This is not about peace. This is about getting the referees off the playing field, about finding a way for the British to leave with some semblance of dignity. The real war has always been between us and the Loyalists. That has not changed, and that's what we're getting ready for."
>
> —*New York Times*, 2 September

The bloody logic of this nationalist line is currently being played out in the former Yugoslavia.

The current IRA cease-fire settles nothing in Northern Ireland. The "troubles" will not end short of a workers revolution which wrests power from the blood-drenched British bourgeoisie and its lackeys in Dublin and Belfast. What is critically necessary is the forging of Leninist parties on both sides of the Irish Sea, rooted in the proletariat of all the peoples of these isles. ■

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain demands "British Troops Out" at London demonstration in 1980. Chauvinist Labour Party tops support bloody occupation of Northern Ireland.



WV Photo

Supporters of New York City transit worker James Frazier (far right)—framed up on phony gun possession charges and fired from his job after surviving a racist cop shooting last October—continue to mobilize in his defense. Over 30 transit workers, socialists and other militants came out to Brooklyn Criminal Court September 9 for the conclusion of the evidentiary hearing, where the cops who nearly killed Frazier testified. The next court date is October 28.

Baseball...

(continued from page 3)

salary was a mere $6,000.

But in 1969 the first challenge to the lords' domain came from the courageous black athlete Curtis Flood. Flood was a fleet centerfielder and a sparkplug for the 1964 world champion St. Louis Cardinals. As David Halberstam points out in his recent book *October 1964*, the '64 Cards changed the face of baseball with its younger, smarter, faster and more powerful black and Latin ball players, winning the mantle from the New York Yankees, one of the last franchises to be integrated.

After helping St. Louis to two more pennants and another World Series ring, Flood felt he had the right to refuse to be sold "down river" to Philadelphia. He wrote the baseball commissioner, "I do not think I am a piece of property to be bought and sold irrespective of my wishes." For this and his later court suit against baseball, Flood was basically blacklisted, playing only 13 games with the hapless Washington Senators. But his stand, a players strike in 1972 and the threat of another in 1973 forced the first changes in the reserve system.

Baseball is big business, and like all sports in America, it is a racist business. Look at what the Mets and the New York media did to star pitcher Dwight Gooden after he pitched them to victory in the 1986 World Series. Smeared in the press, suspended and forced to undergo drug "rehabilitation," Gooden was savaged because he was too "uppity" to he a pliable "role model." With their high visibility, black athletes in all sports have been frequent victims of the anti-drug witchhunt, part of the government's program to regiment all workers and youth.

The owners have always acted as if they were a law unto themselves—because they are. Baseball is the one industry specifically exempted from antitrust laws. As Ted Turner said in a moment of candor at an owners' meeting, "Gentlemen, we have the only legal monopoly in the country and we're fucking it up."

Yankee great Don Mattingly, for whom a strike-postponed season would perhaps deny the only chance at post-season play in his illustrious career, has said he would rather retire than knuckle under to the owners. The players should use their clout to form a common union to bring up living standards for all who toil for the Lords of Baseball, from shabbily treated minor-leaguers to the umpires, ushers and vendors. And they could strike a blow for humanity by defending the incredibly oppressed Haitian women who stitch baseballs for a dime an hour. Victory to the players strike! ■

Spartacist League Forum

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

Black Workers Strikes Shake Mandela/De Klerk "Power Sharing" Deal

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board
SL Central Committee

For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.
Dwinelle Hall, Room 155
UC Berkeley

BERKELEY

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism

CUBA IN PERIL

- U.S./Canada Hands Off Cuba!
- Bureaucratic Castro Regime at a Dead End—Defend Cuba Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

Guest Speaker: Peter Stevens, member Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459

For more information: (416) 593-4138

Saturday, October 1, 7:30 p.m.
Bloor St. United Church
300 Bloor St. West
(at Huron, between Spadina and St. George subways)

TORONTO

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Speaker: Brian Manning, Spartacist League

Wednesday, Sept. 28, 8 p.m.
Howard University
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room

Tuesday, October 4, 7 p.m.
University of the District of Columbia
Building 44, Room A03

For more information: (202) 872-8240

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, October 1 and Monday, October 3

For more information: (404) 521-9338

ATLANTA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Introduction to Revolutionary Marxism

Second class: Imperialism: The Death Agony of Capitalism

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: September 28

University of Illinois
Illini Union, Room 211

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA For more information: (217) 352-3359

WORKERS VANGUARD

Program for Black Proletarian Power

Der Spiegel photos

1987 strike at Mercedes-Benz (left). Black South African workers have built one of the most combative trade-union movements in the world, but union/SACP tops shackle working class to ANC rulers.

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

A wave of strikes has shaken South Africa since the "Government of National Unity" headed by Nelson Mandela was installed following the April 27 election. The walkout by the Metalworkers union (NUMSA) beginning in early August against six major auto manufacturers (including Mercedes, VW and Nissan) cost the companies $700 million. The 25,000 strikers went back on September 5 after the government ordered a cut in import duties on cars, a clear threat to their jobs. At the same time, strikes continued in the gold mines, where mine guards used stun grenades and tear gas against workers who were occupying the shafts.

Now the government is threatening to order in the army to break a militant shutdown by truckers, who have used their rigs to block the main Johannesburg-Durban highway. The Weekly Mail *(26 August) described the blockade as "a remarkable sign of worker solidarity, cutting across racial lines as black, white, Indian and coloured workers vented their frustrations jointly." The unprecedented outpouring of labor militancy threatens the bloc between the now bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress and the powerful black union movement.*

This is the concluding section in a series, of which parts 1, 2 and 3 were published in WV *Nos. 603, 604 and 605 (8 July, 5 August and 2 September). Readers may obtain the previous installments by sending US$1.25 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116*

All Stalinist parties in colonial and semicolonial countries have pursued political blocs with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist parties in the name of the "anti-imperialist national front" or the "national democratic revolution" or some such formula. Such nationalist popular fronts are invariably short-lived and usually end with the nationalists turning on and butchering their erstwhile Communist allies—China in the 1920s, Iraq in the early 1960s, Indonesia in the mid-'60s.

PART FOUR

South Africa, however, appears to be an exception to this historical rule. The bloc between the reformist Stalinist Communist Party (SACP) and African National Congress has not only lasted 60 years but has resulted in an intermingling of cadre. Policy differences have usually found SACPers on both sides of the issue rather than pitting Communists against non-Communists in the so-called Congress alliance. Today, leading ANC/SACPers hold key posts in the Mandela government—e.g., Joe Modise as defense minister, Sydney Mufamadi as police minister, Joe Slovo as housing minister.

What accounts for the longevity and solidity of the ANC/SACP bloc? The explanation lies in the total absence of a black African property-owning class, which would form the crucial social base for anti-communist nationalism. The whites own not only all the mines, factories and banks but also all the farmland. There are no middling black African landlords exploiting black peasants, no wealthy black moneylenders and traders. Even small shopkeepers are predominantly Indian. There is no black African class which has a vested interest in the existing distribution of wealth and property in South Africa. For decades, the prospect of blacks becoming members of the board of the Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate or even owning a local bank or supermarket appeared just as remote, if not more so, than the dictatorship of the proletariat. The totalitarian nature of white-supremacist rule in South Africa created conditions for a black national liberation movement which encompassed within its ranks aspiring corporate executives, would-be military bonapartists, reformist trade-union officials and militants who really wanted red revolution and proletarian state power.

Afrapix

Black metal workers raise communist red flag as symbol of defiance against apartheid capitalism.

Now, however, the ANC's participation in governmental office provides the crucial opportunity and mechanism to develop a black African bourgeois layer with a direct material interest in exploiting their "own" people. This perspective was clearly stated by the president of the National African Chambers of Commerce, Archie Nkonyeni: "We can use the same method as the Afrikaners, utilising the state to help nurture business" (London *Financial Times*, 18 July). When Verwoerd's Nationalist Party displaced the British imperialists in 1948, almost all of South Africa's mines, factories and banks were owned by English-speaking capitalists, including many in London and New York. Over the next four decades the Nats used their control of the state apparatus to promote an Afrikaner bourgeoisie, which now owns a sizable

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 607

30 September 1994

Clinton's Colonial Occupation Threatens Cuba, Haitian Masses

U.S. OUT OF HAITI!

AP

Aristide Invites Imperialist Invasion

SEPTEMBER 27—For the second time this century, the U.S. has occupied impoverished black Haiti. On September 19, U.S. Marines landed in Port-au-Prince to the cheers of desperately oppressed slum-dwellers hoping for the return of exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and for protection against the murderous Haitian military and paramilitary *attachés*. In a deal worked out by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter with military strongman Raoul Cédras, leader of the junta that overthrew Aristide in 1991, the Haitian "army" offered no resistance to the Marine landing. "Operation Uphold Democracy" had begun with "permissive entry" into Haiti. U.S. imperialist chief Clinton's standing in the polls rose for the first time in memory.

But just one day later, the cruel reality of Clinton's occupation was shown in televised images of Haitian soldiers pummeling scores of people chanting pro-Aristide slogans as U.S. soldiers, under orders not to intervene, looked on. Afterward the body of a dead 43-year-old house painter, Benykel Dede, lay in the street, the first victim of the new U.S. colonial rule. There was a strong negative reaction in the American population, a majority of which already opposed a U.S. invasion. Even many of the U.S. troops were disgusted. In his nationally televised September 15 speech to drum up support for the invasion, Clinton had denounced Cédras' "reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests." A week later, Cédras was praised for "cooperative behavior" with occupation forces. "Restoring democracy" was just a fig leaf for racist U.S. imperialism's real agenda, which is to restore *order*, and clamp down on Haitian emigration to the U.S.

But what Washington wants is a *stable and pliable* neocolonial regime. To get that they may be willing to sacrifice a few of the top killers, while they proceed to rebuild the police forces. And the White House has to worry about the "home front." With Clinton's ratings in danger, the Pentagon quickly issued new rules of engagement, allowing U.S. occupation forces to intervene to control the Haitian police. But in the volatile situation in Haiti, as soon as the first steps were taken to rein in the hated military rulers and their death squads, with the slightest crack in the wall of repression, the impoverished masses surged into the breach, thirsting for justice.

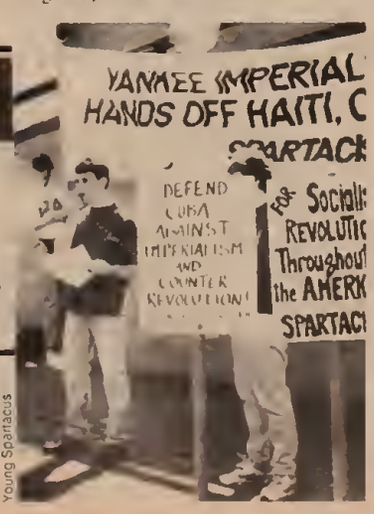
On the evening of September 25, U.S. Marines fired at soldiers holed up in a police barracks in Cap Haitien, surrounded by anti-Cédras demonstrators. Eight of those inside the police station were killed. The next morning, residents of the city ransacked the police building and paraded through the streets with seized weapons. (Hundreds of the guns were later handed over to the U.S. forces.) During the last two days, in towns throughout Haiti, soldiers are reportedly abandoning the streets to jubilant supporters of Aristide. As the junta's authority collapses, Marines are beginning to assume a police role, for instance taking over police headquarters in Port-au-Prince on September 26. It will not be long before the new authorities, the U.S. occupation forces, are firing on the crowds.

Yet their most powerful "crowd control" weapon is the mass support for the exiled president, who gave his approval to the U.S. occupation, even though the deal with Cédras was designed to tie Aristide's hands. Standing on the steps of the Pentagon with U.S. war secretary Perry and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili, Aristide received a 21-gun salute and said "thank you"—four times—to the U.S. rulers. The scene inevitably recalled the installation of Panamanian "president" Endara during the December 1989 U.S. invasion, when he was sworn in at an American air force base. The Haitian president may not be

continued on page 12

Romero/NY Times

Port-au-Prince, September 20: Haitian murdered by junta's police while U.S. troops looked on.



Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus

SEE PAGES 6-9

SYC Protests Against U.S. Invasion of Haiti

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free UMWA Militant Jerry Dale Lowe!

On September 6, United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in prison, framed on charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County in the summer of 1993. Lowe was singled out by the authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. Coal miners, the UMWA and the entire labor movement must demand freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

The scab who was killed was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was never charged under state laws, for murder or anything else. So in order to make an example out of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a lone local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the eight Logan County miners accepted plea-bargains and received $500 fines with 120 days of jail time.

The feds had the fix in from the beginning. Running the show is Clinton's U.S. Attorney for Charleston, West Virginia, Rebecca Betts, who was recruited to the "Justice" Department from the law firm of King, Betts & Allen, *which represents Arch Mineral*. Turning a blind eye to Arch Mineral's armed goons from Elite Security, who daily attacked UMWA pickets with tear gas and bullets, Assistant U.S. Attorney John Parr triumphantly hailed Lowe's June 24 conviction, saying that the government was going after "violence on the labor strike lines" (*Charleston Gazette*, 25 June) by railroading him to a long prison stretch.

Charleston Gazette

Jerry Dale Lowe

Shackled by the UMWA tops' capitulation to the bosses' laws, the miners union has gone down to defeat after defeat in the past 20 years. Where the once mighty UMWA once brought coal production to a standstill and faced down government troops brandishing rifles and bayonets, the union misleaders now give lectures on picket line etiquette, i.e., standing idly by as the company terrorizes pickets. As Trumka & Co. bow down in fear of the almighty RICO, the old Wobbly tradition "an injury to one is an injury to all" that guided this union for generations has been replaced by the bureaucrats' principle "an injury to one is no skin off my nose."

Hiding behind the anti-labor Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), Trumka refused to mount an official union defense of the strikers. This backstabbing follows the union misleaders' betrayal of four Kentucky miners framed up during the A.T. Massey strike ten years ago; these union men remain in prison for up to 40 years. In the 1993 strike, the contract specifically excluded miners facing federal charges from an amnesty, abandoning the eight Arch miners. But that didn't stop Arch Mineral, which employed the gun thugs, from filing a RICO suit against the union for "strike violence." As part of the strike settlement the company dropped its RICO suit against the UMWA, but the government's labor board, the NLRB, which is seeking up to $5 million in damages and fines from the union for "illegal" picketing activities, has refused to drop its charges against the UMWA.

As UMWA Local 5958 safety committee chairman and as a picket line militant, Jerry Dale Lowe fought to protect his union brothers. His victimization without a fight by the UMWA imperils the union that his family has lived and fought for. It is the elementary duty of all of labor to fight for his freedom. Free Jerry Dale Lowe and all the Arch 8 miners!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the defense of the Arch 8 and has sent a protest to the U.S. Attorney demanding that all charges be dropped. Lowe has asked that donations to his legal defense be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Avenue S.E., Charleston, WV 25304, earmarked for "Ruffner miners."

Labor Defense of Class-War Prisoners!

TROTSKY

LENIN

As the capitalists pursue their union-busting offensive, labor militants are increasingly being thrown into prison for defending their strike picket lines. In fighting for class-struggle defense of victimized strikers, the Partisan Defense Committee bases itself on the practices of the early International Labor Defense (ILD) led by veteran Communist James P. Cannon, who subsequently founded the American Trotskyist movement. Writing of the heroic 1926 strike in Passaic, New Jersey, where thousands of immigrant textile workers striking under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party faced tremendous repression, Cannon argued for a united-front defense based on the mobilization of the labor movement.

The Passaic strike teaches over again in a most impressive manner an old lesson well known to experienced militants. That lesson is the part played by the state authority in conflicts between workers and bosses. The experiences at Passaic are also demonstrating the absolute necessity for a permanently organized and always ready non-partisan labor defense organization which we had in mind when we founded the ILD last June. The ILD has played its part in Passaic and will play a yet bigger one before the fight is over.

Any worker who has learned the ABC of the class struggle can tell you that the state authorities—the courts, police, etc.—side with the bosses in time of struggle. This is a settled and correct theory which has been confirmed a thousand times in practice. But it is not often that they do it so brazenly and ferociously and in such open defiance of their own laws as they have done it in Passaic.

The picket line, the living symbol of the power of the strike and its greatest weapon, was the first target of the "impartial servants of the people." Streams of ice cold water were turned on the picketers one bitter winter day. Men, women and children were knocked down by policemen's clubs without even a pretext of legal justification. Tear gas bombs were thrown into crowds of strikers, and in the confusion and panic that followed they were ridden down by mounted police. Oh, some great lessons in "democratic government" were taught at Passaic!...

A great wave of protest spread through the labor movement and even the most conservative labor leaders were compelled to give expression to it. This powerful and many-sided support of the embattled strikers had its effect and the authorities were compelled to beat a retreat, at least for the time being.

—James P. Cannon, "The United Front at Passaic," *Labor Defender*, June 1926, reprinted in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (Prometheus Research Library, 1992)

U.S. Prisons: Racist Hellholes

On September 13, Clinton signed into law his draconian new crime bill, providing billions for more cops and more prisons, and the death penalty for 60 additional federal "crimes." As Democrats and Republicans fight over who can fill these jails more rapidly, state legislatures around the country are on the warpath to make the inhumane prisons even more unbearable. This has an unmistakable racist undertone against black and Hispanic prisoners, who are the majority of those in jail.

At the head of the pack is Mississippi, where a law enacted in August prohibits inmates from having a radio, television, stereo, or computer. Weightlifting equipment is banned, and beginning on January 1 inmates are to start wearing striped uniforms. The *New York Times* (17 September) reported that during the debate over the bill, "there was talk of restoring fear to prisons, of caning, of making prisoners 'smell like a prisoner,' of burning and frying, of returning executions to the county seat and of making Mississippi

Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- **Ernest Mandel**
  Spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International
- **Joseph Seymour**
  Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S., International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

11 November 1994

7:30 p.m. at P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Avenue)
For more information call: (212) 732-7860

New York City

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 607 **30 September 1994**

Workers League Scabs on Defense of West Virginia Miner

With United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe now sentenced to nearly *eleven years* in federal prison on an anti-union frame-up, it is urgent for all supporters of labor to redouble their efforts in fighting for his freedom. That includes raising the large sums of money needed to carry out a legal appeal to overturn his conviction.

As part of our efforts to defend Jerry Dale Lowe and seven other Logan County, West Virginia strikers, *Workers Vanguard* has warned miners and other supporters of his cause to beware that "a dubious outfit called the Workers League has tried to stop money from going to Lowe's defense fund" (*WV* No. 603, 8 July).

Now this "Workers" League—which publishes its newspaper *without a printers' union label*—has confirmed its scabby role in the case of Jerry Dale Lowe. A smear piece in the WL's *International Workers Bulletin* (18 July) accuses us of being "accomplices" of the UMWA bureaucracy, because we call on our readers to send contributions to the place Jerry Dale Lowe wants them to go, the UMWA Region 11 Defense Fund. This, according to the Workers League, is "How the Spartacist League Aids the Frame-up of a Miner"!

The Workers League has written several articles on the outrageous frame-up of Jerry Dale Lowe. So why are they going out of their way to stop contributions being sent to his legal defense? An article in their 9 May *Bulletin* says that any money sent to the union defense fund would be used "for the purpose of further isolating the Logan County miners and ensuring their conviction." Yet that is where Lowe himself has asked that donations for his defense be sent. The Workers League offers no alternative for how to raise money for his defense and dismisses any attempt to mobilize the union to free this victimized striker.

Why? The *Bulletin* (4 July) writes that Lowe's case demonstrates the "transformation of the UMWA and the entire AFL-CIO into agencies of big business and the capitalist state." Union members who have seen their wages slashed, their working conditions destroyed, their jobs decimated and their strikes sold out, are increasingly and painfully aware that their union "leaders" operate as the labor lieutenants of the bosses in enforcing the capitalist status quo. But the Workers League openly declares that it *does not defend the UMWA or any other union* against the bosses and their government—because it equates the unions with the bosses and government. The WL tells workers to "break with this apparatus and build new organizations of struggle." But far from promoting class struggle, these appeals for workers to junk their unions neatly dovetail with those of the union-busting bosses.

The Spartacist League defends the unions as elementary defense organizations of the workers, while fighting to get rid of the pro-capitalist misleaders. Every strike brings home the fact that a new, class-struggle leadership is needed for labor to get off its knees and fight. But you can't win any labor battles by scabbing on defense of the unions.

The Workers League willfully *refuses to distinguish between the unions and the sellout bureaucrats*. So they attack us as "accomplices" of the bureaucracy and claim that we "promoted the lie that the UMWA bureaucracy was defending Lowe." Let's see who's lying. When Lowe and seven other miners were indicted last year, we denounced UMWA president Trumka for his statement that violence "has no place in the coal fields" and his pledge to aid the frame-up by giving "whatever support and assistance we can give in that investigation." At the same time we demanded

> "The Mine Workers union must mobilize its strength to defend these victimized union men. But that will take a sharp fight *inside* the UMWA against the leadership that has sold out union conditions, sold out union militants and presided over the decimation of a union that was once proud to be the shock troops of American labor."
>
> —*WV* No. 589, 3 December 1993

Who does fit the description of "accomplices" to the UMWA bureaucracy? When Arnold Miller and his "Miners for Democracy" invited the capitalist government's Labor Department to "clean out" the UMWA in the early '70s, a betrayal which led to decisively weakening the union, *nobody cheered louder than the Workers League*. The WL's *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) called on "all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate," hailing it as "a real alternative to the Boyle leadership" (see "Workers League vs. the Unions," *WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993). In contrast, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 17, March 1973) headlined: "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election." A few years later, miners were burning effigies of Miller in the 1978 coal strike, as the WL's "real alternative" knuckled under to strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions and tried to shove giveback contracts down the miners' throats.

And when it comes to financial shenanigans, why should anyone believe the Workers League? In 1991 the WL's phony "International Labor Defense Committee" launched a "Vorkuta Miners Relief Fund," supposedly to raise money for medical supplies for workers in northern Russian coal fields. (Curiously, the "Vorkuta miners" had well-documented links to the CIA through the notorious National Endowment for Democracy and the AFL-CIO, which had itself just set up a "relief fund" for Soviet miners.) In April 1992, the WL's affiliate in Australia declared that "more than $40,000 worth" of supplies had been sent to Vorkuta. Yet one month later, the WL's paper admitted that they never delivered anything to the miners. The supplies ended up instead with a doctor in the Ukraine... or so their story goes (see "Workers League's 'Vorkuta' Fund," *WV* No. 563, 13 November 1992). The WL has given no public accounting of donations to its "relief fund."

Whether failing the pro-capitalist union misleaders or undermining defense of unions in the face of capitalist assault, the political bandits of the Workers League are always up to something dirty. The WL's undermining of Jerry Dale Lowe's defense is one more treacherous example. And the next time these fake-socialists pop up, ask them where is the union label on their *IWB* rag. ■

'the capital of capital punishment,' as Gov. Kirk Fordice, a Republican, put it." This is an echo of the White Citizens Councils, yearning for the days of the chain gang and contract prison labor to keep black people "in their place."

A Mississippi state representative, Charles Smith, complains of a "life of luxury" in the prisons, saying "we want to make prisons a place you don't want to go to"! Eighteen of the Mississippi prisons Smith & Co. find too luxurious were cited by the U.S. Justice Department last year for their despicable conditions—four of them were shut down. In some jails plumbing sent human waste back into the cells, shower stalls were crawling with roaches and insects, maggots were found around toilets and wash basins, rodent and roach droppings in stored food. The Justice Department study was triggered by the deaths of 47 inmates, characterized as "suicides" by Klan-infested prison authorities.

While the Mississippi prisons are a throwback to conditions in the Jim Crow South, a number of states are assiduously trying to design high-tech hellholes. At the Security Housing Unit in California's Pelican Bay prison, described by Assistant Warden Harlan Rippertoe as "a prison for the '90s," over 1,400 prisoners are kept in 8'-by-10' cells 24 hours a day, with an optional 90 minutes alone in an exercise cage, and given three five-minute showers per week.

The capitalist rulers of this country know very well that filling the prisons has nothing to do with fighting crime spawned by the unemployment and poverty rooted in the capitalist system. In the 1980s the prison population grew by 168 percent, with no change in the crime rate. The U.S. is already the world's biggest jailer, housing 1.3 million men and women in its dungeons. Only Russia, where the poverty and desperation brought by capitalist counterrevolution have spurred an enormous increase in crime and the formation of organized crime syndicates, has a higher rate of incarceration.

Perlman/AP

"Face to face" contact through mirrors: prison seeks to dehumanize inmates. More than 1.3 million people are behind bars in U.S. today.

In the U.S., with the decaying economy unable to provide jobs, the capitalist rulers have written off a whole generation of black youth. There is a direct relation between the fact that unemployment rates for young black men now top *50 percent* and that some *25 percent* of them are in prison or on parole. And as wages are driven down, welfare mothers thrown out on the street and inner-city schools turned into virtual jails, the ruling class wants to make its prisons even more vicious in order to keep pace.

While the capitalist rulers draft their blueprints for ever bigger and more terrifying prison hells, we remember the declaration of the courageous inmates of New York state's Attica prison on 9 September 1971. "We are *men*! We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." Four days later, 29 of them lay dead, cut down in a hail of bullets. Today, the authorities are preparing new Attica massacres. The real criminals of Attica, the racist authorities whose hands dripped with blood, were never brought to justice. That requires a revolutionary workers government.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Toronto: Defend the Left Against Fascist Attacks!

TORONTO—On September 24, a gang of two dozen Nazi skinheads launched a bloody attack on leftists distributing literature on a street corner in the east end of Toronto. In an assault that was clearly planned in advance, fascist thugs brandishing Confederate flags swooped down on supporters of the International Socialists (I.S., co-thinkers of the American ISO) who were selling newspapers and leafletting at the corner of Pape and Danforth in the heart of the city's Greek community. One I.S. supporter was slashed with a knife. Another had to be hospitalized after a Nazi kicked him in the head.

The past two years have seen a surge of fascist atrocities in Canada, including murders of gay men and nighttime assaults on South Asians and other immigrants. In June 1993, skinheads coming from a Nazi "concert" in Toronto jumped a Tamil father of three in an alley behind the restaurant where he worked, beating him so badly he was left partially paralyzed. Now the fascists have staged an orchestrated attack on leftists in broad daylight in a heavily immigrant area where socialist literature is traditionally distributed.

The Nazi rampage must be stopped! United labor/left/minority action is needed to defend socialist newspaper sales and meetings from fascist assault. Militant protest action centered on Toronto's integrated union movement—auto, city, postal, hospital workers and more—can show that Toronto is a labor and minority city with *no room for Nazis*. A mobilization of labor power is key to sweeping the Nazi race-terrorists off the Danforth and other immigrant neighborhoods and back to their rat holes.

This fascist assault is an attack on every socialist, every immigrant, militant worker and opponent of racist terror. The I.S. has called a protest demonstration for Saturday, October 1, planning to march through the east end to the site of the skinhead attack. The Trotskyist League of Canada calls for united defense of the left, minorities and the workers movement to drive off the fascists. Mobilize the power of labor! Stop Nazi terror!

Algeria

Military Seeks Deal with Islamic Fundamentalists

Merillon/Turpin/Gamma-Liaison

DPA

Algerian army "ninjas" terrorize public transport riders, fundamentalists target unveiled women for assassination. Wall slogan reads, "Islamic state coming soon!"

Women, Leftists, Workers in Peril

The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik, *No. 130 (September-October 1994), published by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

SEPTEMBER 25—After two and a half years of increasingly open civil war, the military regime in Algeria has entered into negotiations with the leadership of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) with the aim of forming a coalition government. The Islamic fundamentalists are advancing rapidly toward their goal of setting up a theocratic state in which women must wear the veil, leftists are branded as apostates and shot down mercilessly, and medieval obscurantism would reign supreme. The army-backed High State Council (HCE) sought to squelch the fundamentalists by canceling the second round of parliamentary elections in January 1992, in the face of an impending FIS sweep, and imposing a state of emergency. The FIS tops and thousands of their followers were thrown in jail and desert concentration camps. But government terror is only pushing even greater sections of the population to embrace the Islamic reactionaries.

On September 13, the government headed by retired general Lamine Zeroual freed three fundamentalist leaders and transferred historic FIS chiefs Abassi Madani and Ali Belhaj from jail in the city of Blida to a government residence. While the fundamentalist chiefs are not participating in the latest attempts by the regime at "dialogue" with the opposition, negotiations are clearly taking place behind closed doors. One of the armed Islamic groups close to the FIS has floated the possibility of a three-month truce. But the carnage continues as fundamentalists gun down leftists, trade unionists and secular political leaders, while the military forces carry out nighttime raids in the urban slums where the "holy warriors" hold sway.

As the country lurches into the "Islamic night," to use the expression of historian Mohamed Harbi, Algeria is like a bird fixated before a snake, watching the spectacle of its own ruin. The number of victims is now running at between 200 and 300 per week; 10,000 people are officially estimated to have been killed. Algeria seems to spend its time in the macabre counting and recounting of the victims.

There have been assassinations of women who do not wear the veil, attacks on villages in the Berber region of Kabylia, holdups by the dozen, and scores of foreigners murdered by the fundamentalist groups. Over 40 educators have been killed, and some 500 schools have been bombed and burned since June by the "bearded ones," along with numerous factories, farms, schools and government offices, while airports, trains and buses have been attacked and destroyed. Scores of doctors, writers, professors, trade unionists, journalists, foreign workers and unveiled women have been slain by the fundamentalists' guns and knives.

Meanwhile, the police, army and paramilitary death squads linked to the regime take daily revenge through mass arrests, torture of prisoners, and summary executions of suspected fundamentalist supporters or their families. Masked "ninjas" in uniform ride through the streets sowing terror. Villages and impoverished urban areas are sealed off and combed, even bombed with napalm. Residents often wake to find the mutilated bodies of the night's victims displayed in the streets. There is no longer a family which does not shudder, every day, for the lives of its own. Tens of thousands of Algerians have quit the country lately for France, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia and elsewhere.

Fundamentalist Cutthroats and Army Torturers

As throughout North Africa, the precarious bonapartist regime in Algeria, unable to confront the profound economic crisis which is crushing the mass of the population, is utterly incapable of stemming the rise of the fundamentalists through government repression. How can fundamentalism be fought on the military level when it is being nourished on the economic and social level by the growing despair?

Despite savage repression, the fundamentalist insurgency has the upper hand in increasingly large areas of the country. In Blida, the fundamentalists have enforced the veil, ransacked bars and beauty parlors, banned the sale of cigarettes and newspapers, and imposed the separation of men and women in schools and on public transportation. In many villages and urban slums, the police and army barricade themselves in their barracks after dusk, leaving the fundamentalists as the "*daoulat allil*" ("night power").

The looming threat of a medieval Islamic state in Algeria is a deadly danger for labor, women and oppressed minorities. Despite conditions which are so dangerous that many people normally are afraid to leave their homes, tens—sometimes hundreds—of thousands of people have repeatedly come out in Algiers and especially in Kabylia to demonstrate against the fundamentalist threat. Yet the feminist groups, trade unions and political parties which have initiated these mobilizations have invariably turned toward the armed forces as their "savior," seeking to pressure a wing of the officer corps to pursue the fight against the fundamentalists.

On March 22, mass demonstrations "against terrorism and negotiations" were called by women's organizations with the support of the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), a bourgeois party centered in Kabylia, and Ettabaddi (Challenge), a rump of the former Communist Party. Some 50,000 people, many of them young women refusing to wear the veil, marched in the capital—and thousands more marched in other cities—behind banners reading "To Negotiate with the FIS Is to Negotiate the Army's Surrender!" A one-day general strike called by the UGTA trade-union federation completely shut down the capital. The march organizers declared their intention to organize self-defense groups and called on the military to give them arms.

The UGTA trade-union bureaucracy, like the miserable, fractured Stalinists of the since-dissolved PAGS and virtually the entire left, positively embraced the army in 1992 when it canceled the elections and suppressed the FIS, and they still do. This is the same army which, in October 1988, massacred hundreds of youth in Algiers and other cities who revolted in protest against the hated regime. Since the heroic Algerian people defeated French colonial rule and achieved independence from France under the National Liberation Front (FLN), the Algerian bourgeois state has tried to regiment the population under its bonapartist rule. We have repeatedly warned that the policy of turning to the army to fight the fundamentalists is *suicidal* for the working class and all the oppressed of Algeria.

It would be naive to pretend to ignore the possibility of an agreement between the Algerian army and the fundamentalists. As we wrote following the first test of strength between the FIS and the regime in 1991:

> "The army, or a section of it, could very well apply all or part of the FIS's reactionary program. The forces of repression could very well not limit themselves to imprisoning leaders and activists of the FIS and, in particular, turn against the working class."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 112, July-August 1991

This spring, Zeroual replaced many hardline "*éradicateurs*" in the regime with "*conciliateurs*," supporters of a "political solution" with the FIS, sacking Prime Minister Redha Malek and Interior Minister Selim Saadi, as well as the heads of the national police, the air force, and five military regions. The regime wants the FIS to declare a cease-fire, but

Madani reportedly has demanded that a commission be set up to govern the country and prepare new elections, with an immediate referendum for an Islamic state. But it is uncertain that the FIS leaders could control the insurgents, even if they come to an understanding with the regime. Among the various armed fundamentalist bands—the MIA, AIS and GIA—there is a whole layer that will never lay down arms until they have "exterminated the infidel."

The GIA (Armed Islamic Group) includes many veterans of the U.S.-backed *jihad* (holy war) in Afghanistan against the Soviet Army, where the fundamentalists tortured schoolteachers to death for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read. These *afghanis*, who were trained and armed by the CIA as part of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, are today the most bloodthirsty warriors fighting to impose medieval obscurantism. The fundamentalist armed bands have singled out journalists for kidnapping and assassination. Since May, at least 15 journalists have been slaughtered. Last month, the GIA threatened to kill any students or teachers who did not immediately stop attending school and declared that any school which did not shut down would be "burned or blown up."

Army roundup during "anti-terrorist" street sweep in Algiers.

Der Spiegel

Algeria in the "New World Disorder"

The dramatic situation which the country is enduring is the fruit of a century of pillage and direct colonial oppression, followed by three decades of neocolonial exploitation. The military-backed regime serves as the lackeys for the IMF bloodsuckers and the international banks. In April, the IMF and the major imperialist powers imposed an even deeper austerity plan on Algeria which includes cutting the state budget, slashing salaries, and eliminating price supports on food and other basic necessities. Yet it is precisely the desperation of large sections of the population, crushed in the vise of imperialist exploitation, that is driving them into the arms of the FIS, whose demagogy seems to offer a "radical" solution to the crisis.

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, imperialism wants to impose draconian dictates on the neocolonial countries, many of which, like Algeria, were able to achieve a (limited) breathing space by playing off the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the imperialists. Proclaiming a "New World Order," Washington threatens to ride roughshod over anyone it pleases, as was shown in the "Desert Slaughter" of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the Gulf War. But the U.S. is worried that the mounting force of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria could produce a regime hostile to its interests. So while France has taken a hard line against the FIS, the Clinton administration has met with FIS representatives and is pushing for a coalition. A 17 January report to the CIA contained assurances that the FIS would guarantee oil and gas contracts with the U.S. (*Afrique-Asie*, June 1994).

In fact, there is not-so-veiled competition between U.S. and French imperialism over Algeria. At the G-7 meeting of imperialist powers in Naples in early July, the U.S. (over objections from the French) got a call for dialogue with the fundamentalists in Algeria inserted in the final communiqué. Earlier, in a June 7 TV interview together with French president Mitterrand, Clinton called on the Algiers regime "to broaden its base" and "reach out to dissident groups who are not involved in terrorism." But Washington has ties not only with the "moderates." Djaafar El Afghani, the leader of the hardline GIA who was killed in Algiers in February, fought for years in Afghanistan with the CIA's favorite *mujahedin* leader Masud. Burned by American experience in Iran, the White House and State Department stupidly think they can get out of being the "Great Satan" this time around by conciliating the FIS.

Meanwhile, the French government of "socialist" president Mitterrand, conservative prime minister Balladur and his sinister interior minister Pasqua has been fanning the flames of racist hysteria. Immediately upon coming to power in 1993, the new cabinet declared a policy of "zero immigration," particularly from North Africa. Pasqua has organized a vast campaign of identity controls in Paris and other cities, in which riot police stop and humiliate dark-skinned people by the thousands in subways, train stations and on the street. Many have been rounded up and imprisoned or expelled from the country. When French youth revolted against a subminimum wage this spring, the government responded by deporting two students of Algerian descent. They were eventually forced to retreat by integrated youth mobilizations.

In fact, there is a large "immigrant" component of the French industrial proletariat strategically placed in key sectors such as auto. And it will take internationalist class struggle by workers on both sides of the Mediterranean to break the influence of the fundamentalists over the dispossessed plebeian masses, whose hopelessness is a product of untrammeled imperialist oppression. But to achieve this, the working class must break the bonds of class collaboration which tie it, through its treacherous misleaders, to the capitalist rulers. To carry out this fight, it is necessary to forge Trotskyist parties in France and Algeria as sections of a world party of socialist revolution.

Algerian Women Mobilize Against Fundamentalist Reaction

The Algerian revolution brought independence to the country, but it did not free the worker and peasant masses from exploitation and social oppression. The weak Algerian bourgeoisie cannot achieve the elementary democratic tasks of past bourgeois revolutions. This is shown most strikingly by the condition of women, who are chained to the Islamic yoke. Women have been a significant force in the mobilizations in the streets against the fundamentalists, despite the mortal danger of being spotted by fundamentalist zealots and singled out for retribution. On International Women's Day (March 8), more than one thousand women chanting "No dialogue with the killers!" courageously marched in Algiers in opposition to "political dialogue" with the fundamentalists.

The most chilling assassinations have been those committed against young women, who have become a prime target in the reactionary war between the fundamentalists and the government security forces. Early this year, death threats against women who did not wear the veil (*hejab*) were posted in mosques, and letters threatening retribution were sent to school administrators and teachers, who read them in class. The threats were quickly put into practice. In just over a month, three women, including a 17-year-old high-school student, were gunned down for not wearing the veil. But ever since demobilizing women fighters following independence, the FLN-army regime has trampled on women's rights.

Already under FLN presidents Houari Boumedienne (1965-78) and Chadli Bendjdid (1979-92), certain *walis* (prefects) prohibited alcohol, miniskirts and long hair for men. The government campaign in the 1970s and '80s to impose the Family Code (legislated in 1984), which is inspired by Koranic law and relegates women to the status of permanent minors, and its "Arabic only" campaign eliminating the use of French in education, provided an enormous impetus to the Islamic fundamentalists.

The question of the oppression of women is strategic and explosive in Algeria. At bottom, the military regime and the fundamentalist opposition share the same Islamic conceptions. The liberation of women can only take place with a deepgoing social transformation through working-class revolution. We Trotskyists fight for abolition of the Family Code and complete separation of mosque and state. As the Algerian comrades of the Tendance Plateforme Trotskyste, left oppositional militants subsequently expelled by the PST (Socialist Workers Party), wrote in their tendency document (March 1992):

> "The fight for the liberation of women, which will be accomplished by the revolution, will have as its basis the fight against all forms of sexual discrimination! Against the veil! Equal pay for equal work! Free and accessible abortion for all women, including minors! For 24-hour childcare centers!"

This Marxist perspective was ridiculed by the callow French poseur Damien Elliott of the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth), who called the program of free abortion on demand and 24-hour day care "ultraleftist imbecility" (his attack and a reply are reprinted in our bulletin series, *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 7, October 1992). In fact, Elliott is expressing imperialist disdain for women of Third World countries. Not only are these elementary demands for women's rights perfectly understood by large numbers of emancipated women, even the bourgeois press (*Horizons* and *Le Matin* in particular) was campaigning for abortion in Algeria. And even under imperialist-dominated capitalist rule in Tunisia, a Muslim country, abortion is legal and free!

Genuine, all-sided liberation of women requires a program for quality health care for all, for social services laying the basis for replacing the family and for full participation of women in social labor. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Defend the Rights of Berber-Speaking People

Another key component of the mobilizations against the Islamic fundamentalists has been the Berber-speaking population, largely concentrated in Kabylia, who have traditionally opposed Islamic fundamentalism. Berbers have been a particular target of the regime's reactionary "forced Arabization" program to impose Arabic in education and the state administration—a chauvinist attack on non-Arabic speakers and a rallying pole for the Islamic fundamentalists. They also risk being a prime target if the fundamentalists come to power.

It is not accidental, then, that the largest anti-fundamentalist demonstrations have been held in Kabylia. Hundreds of thousands of people marched on January 17 against Islamic terror and for official recognition of the Berber language (Tamazight) in a demonstration called by the RCD in Tizi-Ouzou, which was also shut down by a one-day general strike. Protesters chanted, "Down with fundamentalism—Down with the regime that produced it!" This was followed one week later by another day of strikes and protest demonstrations, called to coincide with the opening of the regime's ill-fated conference.

On April 20, thousands of Berbers marched through central Algiers and tens of thousands throughout Kabylia to mark the anniversary of the massive 1980 popular uprising in Kabylia known as the "Berber springtime." The demonstrations were called by the RCD and the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), a bourgeois Kabyle-based party which split from the FLN in the early 1960s. These parties

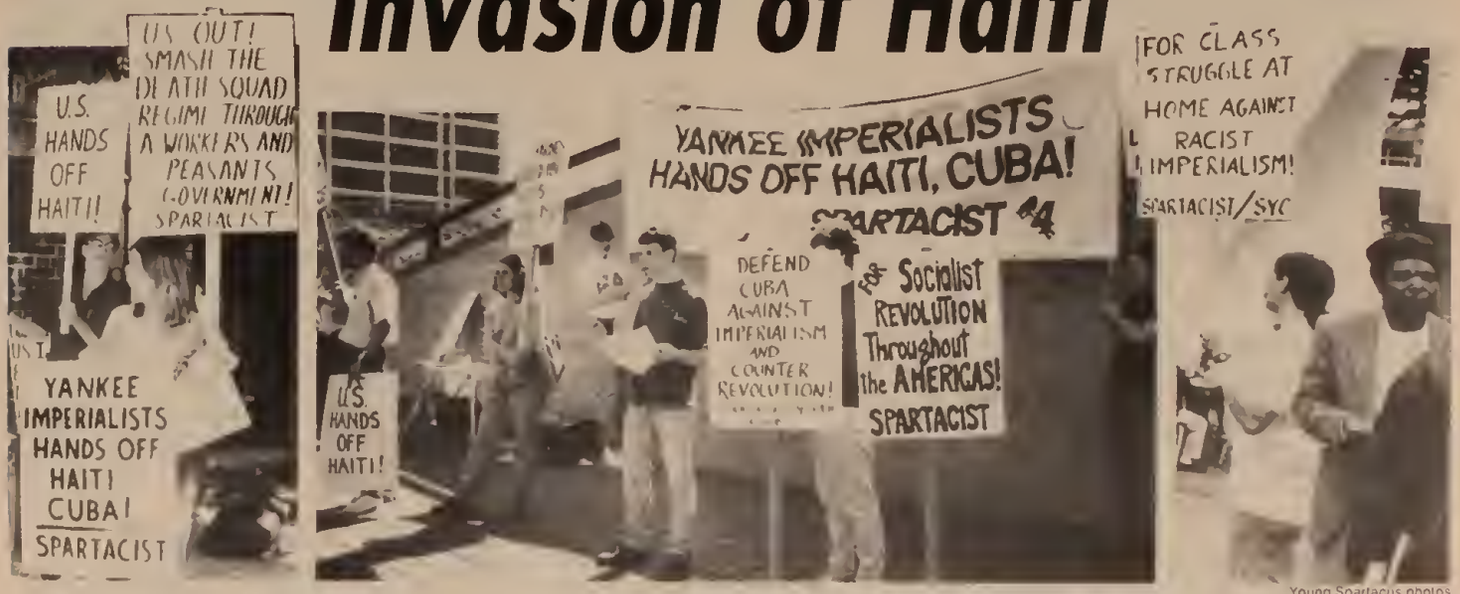
continued on page 10

Senna/AFP

FIS supporters during attempted power grab, June 1991. Fundamentalist zealots attack unveiled women, leftists, unionists, Berbers and foreigners.

Young Spartacus

SYC Protests Against U.S. Invasion of Haiti



Young Spartacus photos

Spartacus Youth Club speak-outs at Howard University (left), City College of New York (center) and SF State.

The day after Clinton launched the U.S. colonial invasion of Haiti, Spartacus Youth Clubs across the country sprang into action, organizing campus speak-outs to demand, "U.S. Troops Out of Haiti! Defend Cuba!" On campuses from New York and Washington, D.C. to Illinois, the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, students and campus workers gathered to protest, and to discuss the socialist fight against imperialist wars and racism.

At Los Angeles Community College on September 21, dozens of students, including members of the Student Organization of Latinos, gathered as SYC members denounced the invasion of Haiti. SYCers raised signs demanding "Imperialist Fleet Out of the Caribbean!" and "Defend Cuba Against U.S. Imperialism!" Focusing on the historic role of the Democratic Party and the racist anti-immigrant campaign, currently running full-blast in California, SYC member John Barnard called for full citizenship rights for immigrants and noted:

> "By appearing to defend working people, the Democrats actually play an important role in being able to mobilize the population for imperialist war. All the major American imperialist wars of this century were initiated by Democrats: World War I, World War II and Vietnam. Domestically, the Democrats, like [Senator] Dianne Feinstein and [gubernatorial candidate] Kathleen Brown, are actually leading the anti-immigrant charge along with Republican Wilson. Just as imperialist war abroad is reflected in racism at home, anti-imperialism means class struggle at home."

The campus administration, shocked that anyone would speak out against Clinton's "humanitarian" invasion, sent its cops to shut down the protest. But a crowd of outraged students went with SYC members to the student activities office to protest this outrageous censorship.

In the Bay Area, Spartacists joined demonstrations in San Francisco and at UC Berkeley, and the SYC initiated a speak-out at SF State. SYC speaker Keith Hill exposed the U.S. ruling class' brutal record of war crimes against dark-skinned peoples internationally:

> "The U.S. imperialists are not bothered a bit by the fact that Cédras brutally slaughtered thousands of Haitian dissidents. After all, who are they to talk? This is the same vicious ruling class that dropped two A-bombs on Japanese civilians, slaughtered two million Vietnamese workers and peasants, and has propped up death squads everywhere from El Salvador to Iran."

Outside the Student Union at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, SYC members held a lunchtime speak-out, bullhorning against the invasion. Recalling the last U.S. occupation of Haiti—which lasted 19 years!—Champaign SYCers also stressed the importance of defending Cuba against the new U.S. war moves. This is an escalation of Washington's 30-year campaign to strangle Cuba, the only workers state (albeit bureaucratically deformed) in the Western Hemisphere. A couple members of the International Socialist Organization were observed skulking around the protest. One ISOer hid behind a statue and listened in, but refused to join with the SYC in denouncing Clinton's invasion. The ISO supported imperialist sanctions against Haiti and refuses to defend Cuba against U.S. imperialism (see "ISO: Gusano Socialists?" WV No. 606, 16 September).

In New York, a Spartacist contingent participated in a Times Square protest the day after the U.S. invasion. SL speaker Ray Bishop addressed the rally, emphasizing the important link between opposition to U.S. troops in Haiti and defense of the Cuban Revolution. Noting that the ISO cheered on counterrevolutionaries in Cuba, he said: "We defend the Cuban workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The working class has to take it up as its fight here, in Haiti and in Cuba. We are with the people who came out to put down the scum who wanted to overthrow the Cuban Revolution on August 5. ISO, which side are you on?"

Under a banner reading "Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off Haiti, Cuba!" the SYC held a speak-out at the City College of New York in Harlem. SL spokesman Leo Meyers blasted U.S. imperialism's bloody role in training and installing dictators like Cédras to enforce the merciless exploitation of Haitian workers. He called for internationalist solidarity between American and Haitian workers to bring down capitalism in the "belly of the imperialist beast." Our speak-out drew the line between the reformists who have hailed Aristide since his election, and the Spartacists who denounce Aristide's support for the U.S. invasion.

At Howard University in Washington, D.C., the SYC speak-out in front of the Administration Building received front-page coverage in the *Hilltop*. The article quoted SL speaker Brian Manning: "Howard students ought to be in the forefront against U.S. imperialism. It's time for black people and workers to take a stand against imperialism."

SYC members in Boston and Atlanta also initiated protests and joined in anti-invasion demonstrations. Pointing to U.S. imperialism's history of suppression of workers and peasants in Central America, a student supporter of the Los Angeles SYC declared, "What is necessary is a workers revolution that truly answers to the needs of all people who have been oppressed and marginalized for too long." ■

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

THE HILLTOP —23 September 1994

Spartacists protest Haitian injustices

By Crystal D. Davis
Hilltop Staff Writer

Just two days after United States and Haitian leaders reached an agreement to halt a U.S. invasion of Haiti, members of the Spartacist League and Howard University's Spartacus Youth Club protested outside the Mordecai Wyatt Johnson Administration Building Tuesday, urging students to help end a "brutal U.S. regime" in Haiti.

"Howard students ought to be in the forefront against U.S. imperialism," Spartacist League representative Brian Manning said. "It's time for black people and workers to take a stand against imperialism."

In his speech to passing students, Manning asserted that the U.S. is unconcerned with restoring democracy in Haiti, but interested in continuing Haitian oppression.

"They call it a humanitarian effort," he cried through a bullhorn. "[But] if the U.S. was so concerned, they wouldn't be starving Haitians with their embargo."

Manning charged that Haitians were already being brutally exploited by the U.S., and compared the Haitian crisis to previous U.S. situations in Panama, Vietnam, Iraq, Somalia, and more recently, Cuba.

"The U.S. military puts butchers into office," he argued. "[Raoul] Cedras was brought and paid for by U.S. training camps in Fort Bragg, North Carolina."

Manning also blamed democracy and "bloody, racist capitalism" for Haiti's miserable condition. He reiterated continuously that democracy was for the rich, and hell was for everyone else.

"Capitalism means war," he concluded simply. "From Los Angeles to Haiti, the U.S. rule has killed Blacks. Look what happened to Rodney King."

The fact that the U.S. has called off an invasion of Haiti has not changed the protestors' stance.

"They still deployed 15,0000 troops to Haiti," William Green argued, President of the Howard Spartacus Youth Club. "That's provocative use."

Kevin Taylor, a freshman from Jamaica, was one of several students to take a flier, and pick up the Workers Vanguard, a Spartacist paper.

"I have some communist views," Taylor admitted. "I'm disappointed, though, that Blacks don't care about the Caribbean."

Sophomore Virgil Southerland, however, took a different standpoint.

"Blacks don't run the government," the computer science major pointed out. "Therefore we have no control over the government. The government is going to do what it wants."

The Howard Spartacus Youth Club, consisting of only a handful of members, is a socialist reform chapter of the Spartacist League, which has chapters all over at major universities including New York University, Columbia University, and the University of California-Berkeley. The Club and its league representatives planned to participate in a protest in front of the White House later that same afternoon.

"We want more students to raise their voices in protest," League member Cesar Lozano said. "[And] we intend to make our voices heard."

Howard University *Hilltop* ran front-page coverage of Spartacist protest two days after the U.S. invasion.

"Youth Against Racism in Europe" Summer Camp

Mud, Thought Police and the Ghost of Willy Brandt

Throughout Europe a new generation of youth has taken to the streets to fight the ominous rise of Nazi terror, particularly in Germany. Some have joined Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE), seeking a program to really stop the fascists. This summer the YRE—led by Militant Labour in Britain and its co-thinkers internationally, including the Voran (Forward) group in Germany and Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (JCR) in France—held a camp for anti-fascist youth August 13-20 in Reinwarzhofen, Bavaria. Spartacist youth activists from Germany, Ireland, Italy and France attended, intervening to win young militants to our Trotskyist perspective.

The Militant and YRE claim that the bosses' cops are a potential anti-fascist "ally" of the working class. Our Marxist opposition to this suicidal position, and attempts to suppress our arguments with thuggery, sharply polarized the camp. The social democrats of Militant exposed themselves as aspiring political police for the bourgeoisie in the workers movement. One of our comrades reported an incident heavy with symbolism. During a storm on the night of August 17, a sign reading "No pasarán" that Militant had put up in the main camp square blew away. The camp's real name then came to light on the sign underneath: this was the "Willy Brandt" campground, named after the former Social Democratic chancellor of West Germany.

The following account is adapted from an article in the Spartakist-Jugend *youth pages in* Spartakist *No. 114 (September-October 1994), newspaper of our German section.*

Der Spiegel

YRE campground was named for Willy Brandt, the former Social Democratic chancellor of imperialist West Germany.

About 1,400 youth from all over Europe came to the camp to discuss how to stop the Nazis and racists. So you can be sure we Spartacists went to take part in hot political debate. We wanted to present our perspective of mobilizing the working class with its strategically important immigrant component, which together with anti-racist youth has the power to stop the fascist murderers. Militant/Voran/YRE place their faith in the bourgeois state, its cops and laws, and their politics are diametrically counterposed to a Marxist strategy. Indeed, they showed their social-democratic perspective in every aspect of this weird camp, from beginning to end.

The camp took place the same week the fascists announced provocations in numerous cities to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's right-hand man. Wunsiedel, where fascists have staged mobilizations every year, was only 70 kilometers from the camp. Reinwarzhofen itself was a Nazi stronghold until 1945. In the area there is a Mengele estate, belonging to the brother of the notorious Nazi "doctor" who murdered thousands in the Auschwitz death camp. In the woods near the tents, youth found implements used by Nazis for "training." Thus an attack on the camp was a real possibility. Many youth took the camp slogan "stop Nazis and racists" literally.

In fact, Nazis did attack the camp on the anniversary of Hess' death—and that is just what Militant/Voran were not prepared for. At a security meeting two days earlier, anti-fascists reported small groups of Nazis sneaking around the camp, and were told by the head of security, "don't panic, people—*the Nazis are not going to attack us.*" One Voran leader even said that "in Germany" fascists had "never attacked an anti-fascist meeting as big as this." Voran/YRE's dismissive attitude toward fascist attacks is of a piece with their support for the "chains of light" in Germany in early 1993—impotent, pacifist candlelight vigils against fascism. Their participation in these vigils was counterposed to our call for united-front action to defend an immigrant hostel in Berlin from threatened Nazi rampages on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's takeover.

The YRE leadership had planned to hold the "biggest and best-organized anti-fa camp in Europe." But as in Goethe's "Sorcerer's Apprentice," Voran could hardly master the spirits it called up. Why? Because the fight against fascism cannot be separated from the fight against the capitalist system which itself breeds the fascist menace. Thus the debates at this camp necessarily focused on the question of reform or revolution.

We of the International Communist League issued a pamphlet, *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, in English and French, as well as an excerpted German version in a Spartakist packet. The pamphlet includes the text of a slanderous piece by the French JCR aimed at the ICL and also the centrist Workers Power group, together with our polemical response. The JCR article reveals their blatant anti-Marxist position on the cops, who in their eyes are "workers in uniform." The JCR even supports the hated French CRS riot police! In 1961 the CRS was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of Algerian workers in Paris. During the May 1968 general strike, "CRS = SS" was the slogan of embattled workers and students.

Intervening at a camp meeting on "The State and Fascism," a member of our French section emphasized: "For militants who want to fight fascism, our stance on the police and thus on the capitalist state is key. But Militant/Voran would like to 'win over' the cops since they are 'workers in uniform' who should be brought into the workers movement." Our comrade underlined that the cops are *the fist of capital against the workers.*

Trotsky's analysis that "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next*, 1932) was countered vehemently by Militant/Voran with examples of "*Realpolitik*": how sensible the Czech YRE is to work with private cops, and how the Belgian YRE is proud of putting its faith in cop protection against the fascist Flemish Bloc. In London, they argued, it was right to appeal to the local council to close down the fascist BNP headquarters (to which the translator piquantly queried, "Is that really our position?") The leader of a police attack squad was even allowed to use the YRE's megaphone at an anti-fascist mobilization in Coppenhrügge, Germany.

This surreal practice, or rather, suicidal policy, understandably frustrated camp participants who hadn't dreamed that the anti-Nazi camp was going to become a forum for fraternization with the cops. In contrast, our comrades described our work in the U.S. building the labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois, where the Ku Klux Klan had announced plans to march on January 16, the weekend of the Martin Luther King holiday. We highlighted the worker/immigrant mobilization in defense of a hostel in Berlin on January 30 of last year, a mobilization which showed the potential of powerful working-class action.

Revolutionary Trotskyists understand, as do many immigrants and youth, that the cops are the paid goons of the capitalist rulers. In contrast, Voran/YRE support "unionization" of the same cops who club down anti-fascist youth. The camp—which included youth who had

continued on page 8

Workers Hammer

Independent

London, 16 October 1993: Riot police block anti-racists from marching on fascist BNP office. While Militant Labour appealed to the local government to close down the fascists, Spartacist League/Britain contingent called to mobilize power of unions and minorities.

"Youth Against Racism"...

(continued from page 7)

come from as far as Sweden and Spain—divided sharply over this question. Our sale of over 100 pamphlets, as well as subscriptions to *Spartakist*, *Workers Hammer*, *Espartaco* and *Le Bolchévik*, confirmed that camp participants were very interested in these issues. But instead of open, sharp debates, campers were subjected to encounters of a very peculiar sort.

From the outset the camp was beset by organizational chaos as far as food, finances and security went. Not surprisingly, hardly any youth initially volunteered for security duty. After all, what were they supposed to do? Their job was *not* to defend themselves against the Nazis but to discipline youth at the camp (no alcohol allowed until after 6 p.m., etc.).

Campers were also given a practical lesson in the role of the social democrats, whom Trotsky described as political police in the workers movement. It began on the second day when JCR leader Damien Elliott *struck* one of our French comrades because a young YRE member from France had the political curiosity to buy Spartacist literature. When the YRE woman loudly protested the attack, Elliott's goons dragged her away. Avoiding debate inside the workers movement by resorting to physical violence is an age-old practice of social-democratic and Stalinist "thought police," who resort to cowardly suppression of revolutionary criticism when they have no political answers.

In a grotesque attempt to muzzle the Spartacists, camp leaders then launched a slanderous "Big Lie" campaign against the *target* of the violent attack. The next morning we put out and distributed 500 copies of a leaflet titled, "What Is the JCR's Damien Elliott Afraid Of?" We said: "Don't let Damien Elliott get away with being the 'left' cop who will decide what *you* can read and who *you* can talk to!" A lot of people had seen the assault, and there were numerous protests against these gangster methods, including from the International Trotskyist Committee (ITC), whose American group is the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Members of the youth group of the (former West German) Communist Party also stepped forward in our defense. The Voran security team listened to the protest and did nothing. The camp leader even threatened to expel our French comrades!

June 1992 Berlin march against extending reactionary West German abortion law to former East Germany. Spartakists fought against capitalist reunification, while Voran hailed SPD, the Trojan horse of counterrevolution.

Increasingly, the threats to exclude us served to polarize the camp. Even some groups whose first instinct was to join the anti-Spartacist red-baiting—in order to paint themselves as a "reasonable" opposition to the Militant/Voran reformists—had to change their line. Thus on Sunday evening the centrists of Workers Power announced they would defend our rights—after their spokesman had taken the floor that very afternoon to say "the only sad thing at the camp...was the provocative role of the Spartacists"!

Many YRE supporters were appalled by Elliot's attack and made a point of visiting our literature table. They wanted to discuss our German-language leaflet, "Voran: Champions of *Anschluss*," which exposed Voran's support for the counterrevolutionary annexation of the East German workers state by West German capital in 1991. At the time, Voran stood with the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which acted as the Trojan horse for counterrevolution. Voran issued calls like "SPD go on the offensive" and "expropriate SED property." (The SED was the ruling Stalinist party in East Germany; it has since been transformed into the Party of Democratic Socialism, or PDS.) Voran supporters told us that their leadership had admitted internally that these positions were a "mistake."

Today, Voran/YRE not only call for a vote for the SPD but for the PDS as well. This is an apparent contradiction. After all, they have cheered on the SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt, acting as the grandchildren of Willy Brandt, whose *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) of détente paved the way for the Fourth Reich to annex East Germany. But since the PDS has committed itself to helping the SPD into office, it is now acceptable to Voran, which has tried since its founding to draw youth into the social democracy. Voran originally wanted to hold election rallies at the camp. But these bombastically announced meetings fizzled, like so many others.

The camp leadership's methods flowed directly from its politics. In addition to condoning physical attacks on the Spartacists, Voran tried to inoculate the youth against "theory." But when camp leaders tried to conduct a salvage operation, calling for more "practice-oriented" public meetings under the motto "how do I form a YRE group," the youth voted with their feet. They preferred to stay in their tents or go to the coffee shop in town. Instead, messages turned up in the toilets and at the information stands about meetings for youth interested in quitting the YRE.

For 21 years Voran was a loyal opposition inside the SPD; Militant played the same role in the British Labour Party for over four decades. But other, more left-talking groups at the camp were also incapable of presenting a revolutionary alternative. The ITC, for example, organized a camp meeting for blacks, Asians and other minorities, and obscenely excluded white anti-fascists. Our comrades alone protested this policy and underlined the ITC's lack of a proletarian orientation. We argued against their sectoralism, pointing out that the integrated power of the working class is necessary to sweep away the fascists.

Although the ITC presented a motion calling on Militant/YRE to reject all formulations calling for reforming the police, in the U.S. the RWL makes sure *in practice* that anti-fascists deliver themselves up to police "protection." For example, the RWL led demonstrators into a police pen and accepted metal-detector searches at a mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan in Columbus, Ohio on January 15. This was also a key question in Germany: on the first day of the camp, 200 anti-fascists in Rudolstadt were led into a police encirclement by leftists and a union security team. The ITC's German supporters even explained to our comrades that you "have to discuss" with Nazis!

Of course Voran/YRE are also deep in the campaign to "talk to Nazis/skinheads." The YRE says that "youthful fascists are victims of this society insofar as they are reacting to unemployment and the housing shortage" (*Voran*, December 1993-January 1994). This understanding attitude drove them to elect a "former" Nazi, who surrounds himself with characters in bomber jackets and jackboots, to their leading body in Monchengladbach. And they're *proud* of it!

By Wednesday night, heavy rain had reduced much of the campsite to a muddy swamp. Placards announcing a disco including Oi! "music" lured a layer of skinhead fans to the camp. Voran distributed hooded T-shirts so campers could tell the "good" skinheads from the others. But if you invite an Oi! "band," you had better be ready for vicious company. Oi! "music" was the battle cry of anti-Asian skinheads in Britain—it's just another version of the "*Sieg heil*" the Nazis yell. While many campers rightly wanted nothing to do with all this, self-styled "red" skinheads tried to distribute a leaflet titled "Skinhead yes—Fascist no."

A comrade from the Dublin Spartacist Group described how the mood at the camp helped to fuel a dangerous situation:

> "People were shaving off their hair in preparation for the concert. Undercover police were seen at the camp, as were fascists. But it was very difficult to tell who wasn't a fascist and who was. Some of these people looked really sinister. Late that afternoon, the English had a football match with the Germans. After the first chants of 'England, England!' you didn't want to hear the rest. Things got out of control. The football match was just before the Oi! concert, and this was going on at the same time as shots were fired."

What happened that night? Chaos reigned as semi-anarchist Autonome youth built barricades—against the instructions of the YRE security team, of course—in anticipation of Nazis storming the camp. Various reports were circulating: that ten fascists were driven out of the camp; that a fascist had been captured and freed by his "comrades." A 15-year-old told her father on the phone how she was jerked out of her tent at 4 a.m. and sent out against 50 presumed fascists in the woods at the camp's edge!

In the atmosphere of confusion, it's not surprising that the camp quickly emptied. The Voran/YRE debacle was prepared by their social-democratic politics of lulling youth into thinking the police can become an "ally" of the working class against fascism. The Trotskyist strategy of mobilizing the workers to stop the fascists is a necessary part of the political organization of the proletariat to defend its class interests and struggle for its own state power, sweeping the capitalist system and its repressive apparatus away. These are the burning questions for anti-fascist youth and class-conscious workers. The politics pushed by Militant/YRE at their camp are an obstacle on this road.

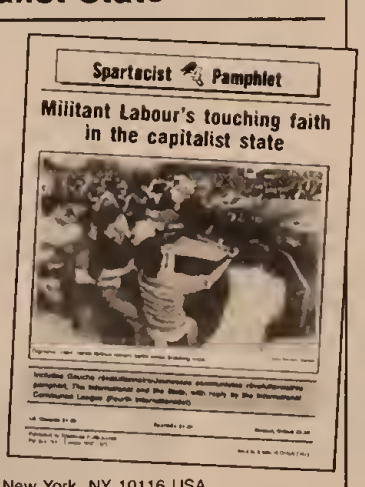
But the camp was good for one thing—through our intervention we built up the core of the Spartakist Youth in Germany. We are developing the future cadre of the Leninist-Trotskyist party which is necessary to lead the working class to power through international socialist revolution. Fight for the communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky! ■

Spartacist Pamphlet

Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

Includes the entire text of Gauche révolutionnaire/Jeunesses communistes révolutionnaires pamphlet, "The International and the State," with a reply by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).



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UC Berkeley Sets Up SWAT Team

No Campus Gestapo!

Chester King

UC Berkeley SWAT team carries out practice raid at the university's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

Their faces are covered with ski masks and frogman goggles to conceal their identities. They're dressed head-to-toe in black. They're armed with high-powered semi-automatic assault rifles. They may sound like the creatures of some paranoid Reaganite's "terrorism" fantasy, but these terrorists are for real...and they're employed by the University of California.

The campus administration has assembled and trained its very own SWAT team. This summer they could be found creeping around the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory at UC Berkeley in practice exercises. Now they're ready to strike.

Thirty years ago, Berkeley was the cradle of "New Left" campus protests that swept the country. Today it is described by the *San Francisco Chronicle* (6 July) as being "at the helm of the trend" in which "university police departments are becoming more specialized, expanding and strengthening their own police force instead of relying on city police for assistance."

This SWAT team is only one of the heavily armed and highly trained tactical squads that are appearing on college campuses across the country, including Ohio State University, the University of Illinois, and UC Davis. At Berkeley, this "Special Response Unit" supplements the existing campus police force, which already has at its disposal shotguns and 9mm pistols, tear gas and mace, canine units and motorcycle patrols, as well as a firing range, bomb squad and detective bureau. In addition to $10,000 in start-up costs, the university has budgeted an extra $2,000 a year for the new SWAT team, "mostly for ammunition."

What's behind this accumulation of firepower? The *Chronicle* opined that at "UC Berkeley, where the radical protests of the '60s have forever etched the reputation of lawlessness in people's minds, demonstrations nowadays are often muted and uneventful.... Nonetheless, UC police want to be ready. After all, it is Berkeley."

In 1964 the Free Speech Movement demanded the right for students to assemble and the right of political advocacy on campus, and for this it was met with massive cop repression. By the late '60s, amid a burgeoning civil rights movement and growing opposition to U.S. imperialism's savage war in Vietnam, the battle lines on campus were clearly drawn: a mass radicalization of students on one side, California governor Ronald Reagan's National Guardsmen on the other.

In 1969, during a vicious assault on students demonstrating in support of "People's Park," the cops killed James Rector. Then a protest on campus was bombed with nausea gas from a helicopter. Edwin Meese, then state attorney general, declared that "James Rector deserved to die."

Meese went on to direct the state's campaign to wipe out the Oakland-based Black Panther Party through racist victimization and murder. Former California Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still behind bars after 24 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit.

From the "New Left" to "New" Democrats

Three decades later, UC Berkeley was this year removed from a roster of "top 10 radical campuses." Indeed, many students who go to Berkeley expecting radical student activism are shocked at how docile and conservative the campus has become. Yesterday's "Yippies" have become today's pro-Democratic Party yuppies, voting for death-penalty Democrat Bill Clinton. Now they're marching in lockstep with the racist rulers' "war on crime." The baby-boomers who once bragged of a "People's Republic of Berkeley" are now selling Berkeley as a place for "business" not the "people," and especially not for black youth.

In the 1960s, students mobilized not only for the civil rights movement in the South but to break down racism at stores and hotels in the Bay Area. Nowadays, the *Daily Cal* student newspaper reads like a cop blotter, running "crime" scare stories with headlines like "Thrill-seeking Teen 'Rat Packs' Plague City, Students."

"Rat pack" is the all-purpose code word for a racist police crackdown against black teenagers on the streets of Berkeley. Telegraph Avenue, which runs from the south edge of campus into the heart of the largely black working-class city of Oakland, has long been an itchy spot for the city and university cops (whose jurisdictions overlap there). Since 1985, merchants have anxiously reported a drop in business, which they blamed on "gangs" of "hooligans" and "ruffians" from Oakland and Richmond. In response to this crime scare, the campus cops have conjured up a bogus "dramatic rise" in assaults on the Southside of UC Berkeley, spearheading a frenzied "Save Our Southside" campaign.

As UC Berkeley increasingly becomes an elite preserve open only to those who can afford tuition fees, which have risen by over 250 percent since 1989, the university administration has been one of the main forces behind the drive to "clean up" Telegraph Avenue. The administration got a particular jolt in April 1992 when black high school youth from Berkeley ignited campus protests against the racist acquittal of the L.A. cops who brutally beat Rodney King. This sparked a march of 400 protesters who blockaded the Bay Bridge and tied up trans-bay traffic for over three hours.

The California Board of Regents and their cops don't want these "outsiders" stirring up "their" students. And the ever-smaller number of blacks and Latinos who get admitted to UC Berkeley are largely treated as potential "criminals." Last September, cops used tear gas to bust up a Mexican Independence Day celebration sponsored by MEChA at International House. Earlier this month, the cops used full force to break up a crowd of youth hanging around outside a dance sponsored by an East Bay gospel group at the Unitas Campus Christian Ministry!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs understand that the cops are the armed fist of a racist capitalist ruling class, the enemies of the working class and oppressed—or anyone else they perceive as getting in their way. And the ruling class of this country wants university education to be a bastion of the "privileged" (white) elite—i.e., their sons and daughters. Black, Latino and working-class youth are kept out by budget cuts, tuition hikes and police billy clubs. Now they have added a SWAT team.

We say that education is a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. We demand open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students! Down with racist "law and order"! Disband the Berkeley SWAT team! Abolish the Board of Regents! For student/teacher/worker control of the universities! We understand that this is part of the broader fight for a socialist revolution to get rid of this whole rotten system which the cops "serve and protect." Join the SYC! ■

Defend Reiko Obata!

Teacher Fired for Trying to Show Zoot Suit

Gatley/L.A. Times

San Diego County teacher Reiko Obata lost her job after attempt to show *Zoot Suit*.

A teacher in San Diego County wanted to show the film *Zoot Suit* to her students last May as a way of "opening their eyes" to racism in the United States. Reiko Obata, a popular Japanese American teacher at Santana High, was seeking to counter racist remarks against Mexican Americans by students in her mainly white English classes. As a result, she was charged with being "insubordinate" and fired from her job.

In line with school policy, the teacher asked her students to bring permission slips from their parents to attend the video presentation. But when she sought approval from the principal, Obata was told she couldn't show the film because of its "excessively violent nature" and "off-color language." The principal suggested as an accurate depiction of "barrio life" and "gang living" the 1961 musical *West Side Story*!

Broad-shouldered, baggy-pants "zoot suits" were a style popular in the '40s, particularly with young Mexican Americans and blacks. In the same way that certain styles popularized by minority youth today are labeled "gang attire," the racist establishment linked the zoot suit to ghetto life and the underworld. The 1981 film *Zoot Suit*, set in Los Angeles in 1943, depicts the "Sleepy Lagoon" case in which a dozen Mexican American youth were framed up for murder. It shows the street clashes known as the Zoot Suit Riots, which were instigated by racist Navy sailors, and depicts the harsh realities of life for minorities in capitalist America.

In today's climate of anti-immigrant hysteria, showing a movie about anti-Mexican racism can get you fired. *Zoot Suit*'s star, Edward James Olmos, and its director, Luis Valdez, founder of the acclaimed Teatro Campesino, expressed support for Reiko Obata and applauded her stand against censorship. Over 200 students at Santana High signed a petition demanding the school reinstate their teacher. Beyond trying to destroy Obata's career, the Santana High administration is carrying out a policy of racist censorship. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Down with censorship! Reinstate Reiko Obata!

By the way, if you want to learn something about anti-Mexican racism in this country, you've got to see *Zoot Suit*. ■

Algeria...

(continued from page 5)

have used the banner of Berber rights to mobilize support for the military as a supposed bulwark against rising fundamentalism. The RCD is a stalking horse for the "*éradicateurs*" in the army. But today, FFS leader Ait Ahmed is desperately calling for "dialogue" with the FIS in the name of "national cohesion" (*Le Monde*, 27 January). In June, he even traveled to Washington to meet with Clinton administration officials to get their imprimatur.

We Trotskyists have intransigently opposed the regime's "forced Arabization" drive. We put forward the demand for full equality of *all* languages used in Algeria: Arabic, Berber and French. The Berber-based bourgeois parties like the RCD and FFS, as well as the leftists which tail them like the Pabloite Socialist Workers Party (PST), limit their demands to calls for Berber to be made an official language. As Marxists we uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of the Berbers, including for regional autonomy if they request it. The several regions of Algeria speaking dialects of Berber have not consolidated a nation, but if an Arab-chauvinist fundamentalist regime takes power, a Berber nation could well be crystallized under the tremendous pressure of savage repression.

As the reactionary Islamic guerrilla bands have attacked Kabyle villages, local self-defense units have sprung up in some places. However, even where they are not set up by the army, they are tolerated by it and the local authorities (some of the *wilayas* [prefectures] are headed by RCD chiefs). It will take a workers revolution led by an authentic Leninist party to liberate the oppressed nationalities and put an end to the recurrent bloody attacks on the Berber people (1963, 1980 and today).

Imperialism and Fundamentalist Reaction

The establishment of an Islamic state in Algeria would send a shock wave across North Africa, where the discredited neocolonial regimes face widespread discontent. It would certainly have a profound impact in Tunisia, where the powerful union movement has been shackled by the support to longtime Tunisian strongman Bourguiba by its misleaders, including the Stalinists. This allowed the Islamic demagogues to gain a powerful mass base following the bloody suppression of hunger riots in January 1984. The current president, Ben Ali, has brutally suppressed the main fundamentalist group, Ennahda, imprisoning hundreds and driving its main leader into exile. Ben Ali's heavy-handed regime has also cracked down on leftists.

Belghoul/Le Matin

50,000 people, including many unveiled women, demonstrated March 22 in Algiers denouncing Islamic guerrillas and opposing army negotiations with the FIS.

Even more so in Hassan II's Morocco, militant unionists and socialists have repeatedly been thrown into the monarchy's dungeons where torture is rife. In February, the king headed off a general strike by arresting 15 leaders of the CDT labor federation.

A fundamentalist victory in Algeria would embolden the Djamaa Islamiya (Islamic Group) in Egypt, which has waged a two-year campaign of assassinations against the brutal Mubarak regime. It would also strengthen the Islamic reactionaries in power in Sudan, who are waging a war against the non-Muslim peoples in southern Sudan, which over the past several decades has left an estimated one million dead and driven 400,000 refugees into exile. France has provided considerable support for the Sudanese Islamic junta against the southern guerrillas, just as it supported the genocidal Rwandan government against Tutsi-led rebels and the government of Chad against insurgents backed by Sudan and Libya. Meanwhile, the U.S. cloaks its imperialist interventions in "humanitarian" rhetoric under the aegis of the United Nations. We demand: Down with the French gendarmes of neocolonialism! U.S./UN out of Africa!

Meanwhile, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria has been seized upon by the Mitterrand/Balladur/Pasqua government to whip up anti-immigrant reaction in France, where workers of North African origin are a key component of the working class. Like all the countries of Europe, Mitterrand's France—both under a "socialist" cabinet and now a rightist government—has tightened racist barriers to immigration, making North African workers the scapegoats for capitalist unemployment. The French government's virulently racist policy can lead some sons and daughters of immigrants to seek in Islamic fundamentalism an illusory shield against indignity. Thus the struggle against the influence of Islamic fundamentalism is intimately linked to the fight against racist terror and segregation in Europe. We say: Stop racist identity controls! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!

The considerable class power of the Algerian proletariat has been driven home by the numerous strikes which have been carried out, despite the state of emergency and the expanding civil war, since last summer when Algiers dock workers completely closed down the capital's port for more than a week (see "Algeria in Turmoil," *WV* No. 588, 19 November 1993). Following a national strike of office workers, Algerian teachers waged a week-long strike last November. However, the UGTA union leadership, historically integrated into the corrupt, anti-working-class FLN apparatus, has sought to keep the strikes centered on purely economic issues instead of mobilizing a broad offensive against the regime and its IMF-imposed austerity policies.

Last December, a general strike of the 28,000 workers at the giant Rouiba industrial zone near Algiers against the firing of trade-union representatives and other workers at several plants was headed off at the last minute by the UGTA national leadership, arguing that a strike would be used by "the opportunists, for political aims" (*Liberté*, 5 December 1993). In other words, it might weaken the government while it carried out negotiations with FIS leaders! Now 500,000 public workers (including construction and water workers) are threatening to strike on September 27 protesting against five months of unpaid wages. To win such a battle, which directly confronts the IMF austerity policies, a class-struggle leadership must be built in struggle against both the government and the Islamic reactionaries, who are sworn enemies of labor.

The wretched Stalinist hacks in the leadership of Ettahaddi and the PADS (Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism) cynically obscure their responsibility for decades of active support for the FLN regime by their predecessor, the PAGS (Party of the Socialist Vanguard). During the Algerian War, the Stalinists were the main barrier to revolutionary working-class struggle by Algerian and French workers against French colonialism. The PAGS and its successors have always sought to distinguish between the "progressive" and reactionary "comprador" wings of the bourgeoisie, the former being identified with the army. Today, the decomposition products of Algerian Stalinism all look to military hardliners, but the PADS wants to compete with the FIS on the terrain of Islam.

The PADS newspaper, *Le Lien* (September 1994), argues that the fundamentalists who burn down schools are "criminals acting in the name of Islam," since for Islam "knowledge is sacred and the prophet taught its divine revelation with 'Iqra' (Read)," the first word in the Koran! In an appeal to "youth fooled by the FIS and terrorism," the PADS writes that in the 1988 revolt the PAGS "did not appear as an alternative" to the brutal Chadli regime, because it did not want to "disturb the few progressives who were in power." But the PADS appeal, "What Alternative?" (*Le Lien*, March 1994), calls for a "popular progressive movement" which will "join together with other patriotic and democratic forces within and outside the regime."

What this means was spelled out in a PADS declaration in April, in which "the formation of self-defense and vigilance committees" is described as "the best way to back the action of the patriotic forces of the Army engaged in wiping out the terrorist bands and to preserve the democratic process" (*Le Lien*, July 1994). As if the thinly disguised military dictatorship were some kind of democracy!

The Algerian groups falsely claiming the mantle of Lenin and Trotsky hardly constitute a revolutionary alternative to the miserable Stalinists. The forerunners of the PST, sympathizing section of the "United" Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel and Alain Krivine, subordinated themselves politically to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FLN during and after the Algerian War for independence. The USec gave the government of Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-65) their seal of approval, labeling this bonapartist bourgeois regime a "workers and peasants government." It even declared: "The Ben Bella-Boumedienne duo, with the forces each represents, was and remains the most advanced incarnation of all the Algerian leadership, of the line oriented toward socialism" (*Quatrième Internationale*, March 1963). But a couple of years later, Ben Bella was thrown out by the forces represented

Audureau/Le Parisien

French CRS riot police surround Paris district, singling out immigrant families for expulsion, August 1993. In 1961, CRS massacred hundreds of Algerian workers in Paris.

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Lambertistes

From the FIS to the IMF

Strange happenings on February 7 at 700 19th Street NW, Washington, D.C., the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The global bankers' cartel was visited by a delegation of 21 people organized by the "International Liaison Committee for a Workers International." This is the current self-designation of the tendency led by Pierre Lambert of the French Parti des Travailleurs (PT—Workers Party). In the U.S., this current is represented by the Socialist Organizer group of Alan Benjamin, one of several decomposition products of the Socialist Workers Party. For two hours, a representative of the IMF engaged in a surreal "close encounter of the third kind" with the Lambertiste delegation.

The host, Murray Seeger, presented a half-hour film highlighting the IMF's role in the "transition" to capitalism in Poland, showing how display cases in Polish shops are filled with meat. Seeger, for many years the press officer for Cold Warrior AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, slyly pointed out that the Polish president is a trade unionist. His interlocutors lamely responded that Walesa "*was* a unionist." Neither side said a word about the fact that the "transition" in Poland, as elsewhere in East Europe and the Soviet Union, was a *social counterrevolution* that has spelled untold misery for the working masses. And no wonder, for both the Lambertistes and the "AFL-CIA" *supported* Walesa's Solidarność in its counterrevolutionary bid for power in 1981.

The delegation members politely asked (being careful, they said, to avoid "creating an incident") about jailings of union militants in Bangladesh for protesting IMF plans, about the drastic cutting of real wages in Mexico—as if the imperialist purveyors of austerity plans were ignorant of the consequences of their starvation policies. In the discussion, the Algerian "delegate," Louisa Hanoune, complained that the IMF recipe for privatization of state enterprises meant shutting down numerous plants and "the people don't want this program applied." Seeger archly replied, "The IMF doesn't speak with peoples, but only with governments" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 16 February). Indeed, and what kind of "socialists" go around hobnobbing with the IMF, which is despised throughout East Europe and the Third World for immiserating the working masses in the service of imperialist profits?

For several decades, Lambert presented himself as a Trotskyist, in the French OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste), later renamed the PCI, and now submerged as the "Communist Internationalist Current" of the PT. After several decades of calling for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, on 19 June 1993 the Lambertistes "reproclaimed" themselves the Fourth International. But simultaneously, the Lambertiste-led PT has joined with a hodgepodge of social-democratic tendencies in the "International Entente of the Workers and Peoples," which they curiously render in English as the "International Liaison Committee for a Workers International."

The Organizer

Lambertiste delegation poses in front of IMF headquarters in Washington, D.C., 7 February 1994.

What is this curious creature with many names, and many political hues? Apparently with the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states of East Europe during 1990-92, Lambert & Co. decided that it was time to resuscitate a caricature of the First International of the pre-imperialist period, eradicating the gulf between labor reformism and proletarian revolution. The Lambertistes' "International Entente" explicitly models itself on the International Workingmen's Association founded in 1864, and claims to include "all the tendencies of the international workers movement" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 30 June 1993). But with their concentric circles of interlocking front groups, the Lambertistes want to extend their "entente cordiale" well beyond the workers movement, and to that purpose they called for an international day of action last November "against war, exploitation and privatizations."

The final demand was deliberately chosen in order to include representatives of the bourgeoisie in their little popular front. In Mexico, for example, the Lambertiste group called at its November meeting for a committee "against NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] and privatizations" aimed at enlisting the support of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, an openly capitalist party. And among the participants in the delegation to the International Monetary Fund on February 7 was one Jack Demóstenes Muñoz, a PRD deputy in the state congress of Chiapas. So while the Indian peasants of Chiapas were rising up in arms against the NAFTA rape of the Mexican working people, the Lambertistes were parading a Mexican bourgeois politician at the headquarters of the IMF.

Even as the class struggle is exploding and the masses seethe with rebellion, Lambert & Co. look to "lobbying" bourgeois and social-democratic parliamentarians. In France last November, while Lambert's PT filled the pages of its newspaper trumpeting its own "day of action" against privatizations, it virtually ignored the fact that the working class was electrified by several thousand Air France strikers massing on airport runways, halting planes and fighting police, to stop planned mass layoffs as part of privatizing the national airline!

One inconvenience these inveterate opportunists face is that the particular forces they tail after are often determined by the national terrain. Thus in France, Lambert's PT is notorious for taking the demand for secular education and turning this into the be-all and end-all of left politics, thus dovetailing with social democrats and bourgeois radicals of the popular front. ("Secularism" has also been used lately as a chauvinist bludgeon against Muslim schoolgirls wearing the headscarf, or *hejab*.) But in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise, Louisa Hanoune's PT is notorious for having joined with the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in a June 1991 insurrectionary "strike" against the military-backed Chadli regime. The PT called for "unity to finish off Chadli," met with FIS leader Abassi Madani (who praised the PT in a press conference), and explicitly refused to denounce the FIS' reactionary aims (*Informations Ouvrières*, 12 and 19 June 1991). This is not surprising coming from the Lambertistes, who in 1980 called for arming the Islamic anti-communist guerrillas in Afghanistan following the Soviet intervention.

Lambert & Co. imitate the Stalinists in trying to hide behind innocuous-sounding "democratic" façades. But ultimately what these politics of deception lead to is *counterrevolution*. Again, their focus on privatizations is telling. As Cold War II heated up during the 1980s, Lambert's Stalinophobic OCI/PCI/PT joined with Mitterrand, Reagan and the Polish pope Wojtyla in proclaiming "Solidarity with Solidarity" while the international Spartacist tendency warned, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution." The Lambertistes, in order to disguise their *refusal to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states* against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, instead pretended to "defend nationalized industry"—in the manner of many a good social democrat in a capitalist state.

When the crunch came with the botched coup by ex-Gorbachevites in Moscow in August 1991, Lambert's "International Entente" "placed itself in the vanguard of the struggle" by calling for "united struggle against the State Committee" (*Tribune Internationale*, September 1991)—that is, for *unity with Yeltsin*, the spearhead of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR.

The Lambertistes have nothing in common with Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, or for that matter with Marx's First International. From tailing the Islamic fundamentalist FIS in Algeria to "dialoging" with the IMF autocrats of austerity, these social democrats place themselves not in the vanguard of the working class but in the rearguard of the bourgeoisie and its reformist labor lieutenants. ■

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by Boumedienne—the Algerian army.

Today the PST centers its program on the suicidal illusion of pressuring the army-backed regime to institute "democracy." Last January, while the hated regime was trying to organize its "National Conference" to put together a coalition government with the fundamentalists, the PST published a declaration over the signature of its founding leader Salhi Chawki (*El-Khatwa*, January-February 1994). "To negotiate with the army, it is necessary to be a force," warns the PST. "We will struggle…to construct a force capable of imposing change."

The PST leaders dream of one day wheeling and dealing with the country's power brokers in the corridors of parliament. Their talk of "fighting to prepare the political conditions which will permit democracy" is divorced from the fight for workers revolution. Their 1991 election campaign and party offices were paid for with government subsidies. They sympathetically portrayed the short-lived "audacity" and "populism" of former prime minister Bélaïd in refusing to sign an accord with the IMF. Now they are calling for creating a "social movement against the local 'Yeltsins'," who are selling the country to imperialism. This is particularly cynical coming from a group which openly sided with Yeltsin in his counterrevolutionary bid for power that led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The PST's parliamentary cretinism (without a parliament!) is a recipe for continued class-collaborationist "unity" with bourgeois forces like the FIS. It is a criminal illusion to imagine that a stable parliamentary democracy can be set up in a country like Algeria, where the thin layer of rich capitalists and corrupt bureaucrats, backed up by the military, lord it over the impoverished masses in the service of imperialism. The proletariat must fight, through independent class struggle, for the fullest democratic rights. But this must be part of the struggle for proletarian power, rather than an illusory attempt to achieve "democracy" without overthrowing the capitalist state.

In Algeria the most appalling expressions of social backwardness coexist with a sizable proletariat in modern industries, financed by oil money. But bourgeois nationalism in power has manifestly been unable to break the stranglehold of imperialism, to carry out genuine economic development, or to achieve democratic gains for women and other oppressed people. This is a confirmation—in the negative—of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution, which encapsulates the lessons of the Russian October Revolution of 1917: in the colonial and neocolonial countries, only the working class led by a Bolshevik party can, despite its relative weakness numerically, lead all the oppressed in achieving democratic gains, by installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will necessarily take on socialist tasks as well.

The fight to forge an Algerian Trotskyist party requires the regroupment of cadre through intransigent struggle for Bolshevik internationalism. A socialist revolution in Algeria must necessarily extend to all of North Africa, and must be interlocked with the workers' struggle in the former colonial power, France. The perspective of revolutionary unity between French and Algerian workers is key to the future of both countries. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, is fighting to build a vanguard party of the multiethnic working class which will link the struggle for socialist revolution in Europe to the struggle across the Mediterranean. ■

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Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

the open puppet Endara was, but on fundamental issues he must do the bidding of his U.S. patrons.

Aristide, a popular priest who was the main spokesman for "liberation theology" in Haiti, was elected president in 1990 on the basis of his radical populism. But in order to get reinstalled by the U.S., he has now explicitly accepted the dictatorship of international finance capital. Washington is dictating the terms of restoring the Haitian economy which, backward as it was, ground to a halt under the U.S.-enforced starvation embargo. In August, Aristide agreed to a plan drawn up by the World Bank stipulating that he must "invite" the International Monetary Fund to Haiti when he returns to office. The plan calls for slashing the 45,000-member civil service in half, massive privatization of state-owned property in the name of fighting "corruption," and rewriting Haiti's business laws. This is the same proposal Aristide had rejected earlier and dubbed the "Plan Americain."

The American plan is to reinforce its domination of the Western Hemisphere, beginning in what Clinton calls "our neighborhood" (i.e., what jingoist U.S. leaders used to call "our backyard"). In justifying a U.S. invasion, Clinton brandished the racist nightmare of hoards of "boat people" hitting the beach in south Florida ("5 percent of their entire population...could be the next wave of refugees at our door"). Clinton also made clear that military action in Haiti was aimed at Cuba, claiming that these are "the only nations left in the Western Hemisphere where democratic government is denied"! Even the party of the Haitian death squads, the FRAPH, warned Aristide supporters fooled into believing the American forces would help them that they would "die like worms" because the U.S. is really "looking for a route into Cuba" (IPS, 22 September).

The U.S. occupation of Haiti poses pointblank the need to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution. Although bureaucratically deformed, the Cuban workers state produced tremendous gains for the population and for more than three decades has been an inspiration to the Latin American masses and a thorn in the side of Yankee imperialism. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the cutoff of Soviet trade and aid combined with an intensified U.S. embargo has caused terrible privations for the Cuban people. Now many in the U.S. ruling class see the opportunity for counterrevolution to "finish off" the "Cuban threat," whether by economic strangulation and military pressure or by flooding the besieged island with dollars to undermine the economy.

Crowley/NY Times

Ousted Haitian president Aristide (above, center) pledges support to colonial invasion at Pentagon ceremony, while junta chief General Cédras (far left) cordially greets U.S. imperialist forces.

AP

With the demise of the deformed workers states in East Europe, American rulers proclaimed a "New World Order." From the 1989 Panama invasion to the Desert Slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War to the "humanitarian" intervention in Somalia, they have assumed the role of global gendarmes in a "one superpower world." Amid increasing interimperialist rivalries, the U.S. wants to shore up control of its Latin American hinterland, through the "North American Free Trade Agreement" and the military buildup in the Caribbean. It is urgently necessary to *defeat* these imperialist marauders by mobilizing the power of internationalist class struggle throughout the hemisphere. In demonstrations and rallies around the U.S., the Spartacist League has demanded: *Yankee imperialists out of Haiti! Hands off Cuba!*

"Upholding Democracy," Pentagon-Style

The deal which led to the "permissive entry" of U.S. troops was worked out with Cédras by a delegation of former president Carter, Senator Sam Nunn and former U.S. military chief of staff Colin Powell as planes carrying the invasion force were already in the air. The piece of paper, which effectively tore up the previous Governor's Island agreement for the military leaders to get out, was signed by the junta's figurehead president Emile Jonassaint. Asked if Jonassaint had any authority to carry out the deal, one U.S. official remarked, "That's irrelevant. With 15,000 U.S. troops on the ground, we don't need anyone to guarantee the deal" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 September). Carter assured Cédras that he would not even have to leave Haiti, declaring "it's a serious violation of inherent human rights for a citizen to be forced into exile"! Carter was so impressed with this blood-soaked "man of honor" that he invited him to teach at his Sunday school in Georgia!

Under the pact, the structure of Haiti's brutal armed forces will be maintained. Haitian "constitutional" law will determine who replaces Cédras, chief of staff Bramby and police chief François, who runs the death squads known as the *attachés*. This means the new chiefs will be chosen from senior military officers, notorious butchers who all backed the coup against Aristide. The "new" police force will be chosen from the ranks of the military and trained by U.S. personnel, while the sadistic military leaders will be granted a blanket amnesty by the Haitian parliament. Refusing at first to voice approval for the agreement, Father Aristide succumbed to pressure from the White House, gave his blessing to the pact, and told his followers to be vigilant against "provocation."

The occupation forces are quickly moving to implement the plan. Clinton has already begun returning Haitian refugees from a concentration camp at the U.S. Navy's base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In classic colonial fashion, U.S. forces plan to ring the Haitian parliament, which has been summoned to meet by Aristide from his Washington exile to approve the amnesty deal. Pro-junta Haitian senators "elected" in 1993 "will not be allowed to attend," according to Embassy spokesman Stan Schrager, while exiled pro-Aristide congressmen will be flown in from the U.S.

The Haitian masses may not be so pliant about amnesty for the military thugs who have terrorized them for decades. So far the demonstrations have been aimed at pressuring the American forces. On September 24, hundreds marched toward the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, chanting "Handcuff Cédras" and "Jail for the Macoutes," referring to the Tontons Macoutes thugs of the Duvalier dictatorship (overthrown in 1986), many of whom then became *attachés* under the military junta. Once again, the protesters were violently dispersed by cops using tear gas, clubs and rifles, while U.S. troops watched. But the illusions in the "democratic" imperialist occupiers will not last.

Briefing reporters at the White House after these latest beatings of Aristide supporters, General Shalikashvili voiced "concern" that U.S. troops would be drawn into "Haitian-on-Haitian violence." This vile racist apology for the junta killers was dutifully repeated by television reporters. Warning against what is now, after the U.S. fiasco in Somalia, called "mission creep"—American troops being drawn into a "police role"—a senior officer remarked: "The only institution in Haiti that works is the military. Essentially civil order has always been maintained by a system of intimidation, and clearly the only way it was, is, you thumped people" (*New York Times*, 21 September). The Pentagon should know: Cédras and François as well as their potential replacements were trained in American military academies. And now U.S. troops will directly supervise—or carry out—the "thumping."

In gearing up to "uphold democracy" in Haiti, Navy ships replaced normal stocks of anti-armor weaponry with "crowd control" matériel such as gas masks, shields and clubs. An article in the *Nation* (3 October) quoted a U.S. intelligence officer, who said that the goal of the occupation should be "to do it right, which means people don't resist and people don't go up the hill" to the villas of the Haitian elite in the posh suburb of Pétionville. The article points out that ICITAP, the U.S. agency responsible for building a Haitian police force of 5,000, "was created in 1986 to provide training for the security forces of El Salvador and Guatemala." Moreover, the "new" Haitian police will have access to U.S. immigration authorities' lists of applicants for political asylum and other American intelligence about potential "troublemakers."

Some liberal commentators are now crying "betrayal" over the Carter-Clinton deal with Cédras and the U.S. military's "non-interference" against the regime's bloody repression. They buy the imperialist lie that American intervention could somehow support "democracy." But the history of U.S. depredations in Latin America and around the world shows, as Leninists have always said, that capitalist-imperialism necessarily means the violent suppression of its neocolonial subjects, whether directly or through local satraps.

For Class Struggle Against the U.S. Invaders!

Haiti's impoverished masses are in truly desperate straits. The U.S./UN embargo has decimated what existed of a working class. Textile plants in the "free trade zone" have closed, and production of baseballs (one of Haiti's major exports, along with blood plasma) has moved to Costa Rica. The poor are lucky to eat one meal a day. A recent casualty of the deadly embargo was the bassist for the internationally popular music group Boukmans Eksperyans, who died when he could not get an antibiotic to combat bacterial meningitis. Precisely because such conditions cry out for insurrection to root out the oppressors, the U.S. occupiers are prepared to put the Haitian people down in blood, again.

The last time the Marines landed in Haiti, in 1915, they stayed for 19 years and killed 15,000 Haitians. That was in the days when Democrat Woodrow Wilson called to "make the world safe for democracy"...and the profits of American capitalists. Clinton will "uphold democracy" just as ruthlessly. Revolutionaries call unconditionally for U.S. out of Haiti and warn that if and when Aristide returns to the Presidential Palace, he will be the figurehead for American neocolonial rule. In recent days, various reformist leftists in the U.S. have protested against occupation. Yet the Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist Organization have all given political support to Aristide, who in turn sanctioned first the imperialist embargo and now the "permissive" invasion.

A few groups on the U.S. and Haitian left are critical of Aristide, now that he has revealed his impotence and subservience to the White House. But they don't go beyond the perspective of a (bourgeois) "democratic" revolution, which is the same program that led them to support Aristide's popular front in the first place. The left-wing Haitian newspaper *Haiti-Progrès*, whose publisher Ben Dupuy was Aristide's ambassador without portfolio until resigning in 1993, became critical of Aristide after last year's Governor's Island accords—which called for amnesty for the junta killers—and has denounced the U.S. occupation. But in a recent series on Aristide's *Lavalas* (flood) movement, the paper says:

> "It's true that it will be difficult for the people to impose the return of its president in the short term, but this is no reason to adopt an ultra-left position of total rejection of President Aristide with whom the people largely continue to identify."
>
> —*Haiti-Progrès*, 31 August

The problem, the article says, is that Aris-

Correction

The introduction to the quote on "British Imperialism in Ireland" in our last issue (*WV* No. 606, 16 September) erroneously stated that Irish revolutionary James Larkin was executed along with James Connolly by the British following the 1916 Easter Uprising. In fact, Larkin was not in Ireland at the time of the uprising. Between 1914 and 1923, he was active as a revolutionary socialist in the U.S. labor movement. In June 1919, Larkin was elected to the national council of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, a key component of the future Communist Party. He was imprisoned in New York the following year for his participation in the publication of the Left Wing Manifesto in *Revolutionary Age*. On his release, Larkin was immediately deported back to Ireland. In 1924 he went to Moscow, before returning to a long career as a trade-union leader in Dublin, where he died in January 1948.

Wohlforth on Haiti Invasion: Give Colonialism a Chance

Pimping for Imperialism

Last year, the social-democratic magazine *In These Times* (26 July 1993) carried a call for U.S. military intervention in Bosnia. The title: "Give War a Chance." The author of this grotesque appeal was one Tim Wohlforth, the one-time leader of the Workers League who has now become the latest guru of the anti-communist "God That Failed" crowd. Now this "born again" apologist for racist U.S. imperialism has hit the road rallying support for Clinton's colonial invasion of Haiti.

On September 20, Wohlforth invaded cyberspace on the "peacenet" (!) computer bulletin board to hail the imperialist occupation of the tiny black republic as "progress: unclean, partial, but progress." "That's the best we can get in this world," he opined in a sadder-but-wiser tone, "but we must fight on within those parameters."

Five days later, Wohlforth addressed a Berkeley forum on "Intervention in the '90s" to again argue for imperialist occupation of the Caribbean island. "Until the American troops entered Haiti," he declaimed, "there was no opportunity, no possibility for development or change.... But once we (!!) went into Haiti, it opened up possibilities." Right, possibilities like colonial occupation and perhaps mass murder.

Wohlforth's speech was so flagrantly pro-imperialist that he stood way to the right of even the burned-out "left" types that made up most of his audience. Another of the speakers, Tahan Jones, a black former Marine who was imprisoned for refusing to serve in Bush's Gulf War slaughter, exposed the "humanitarian" justification for the U.S. intervention in Somalia, pointing to the massacres carried out by American troops.

Wohlforth is part of a layer of erstwhile antiwar activists of a generation ago who have become the "new interventionists" (see "Clinton's Little Drummer Persons: Rad-Libs for Imperialist Intervention," *WV* No. 604, 5 August). He intoned in Berkeley: "Some of us on the left believe that we need to build a constituency in the United States and internationally that favors humanitarian intervention when there is no other way...we can prevent the slaughter, the murder, the genocide of millions of defenseless people."

From Bosnia to Somalia to Rwanda, Northern Ireland and now Haiti, the "humanitarian" interventionists peddle the lie that the imperialists will "stop the bloodshed." This appeal is directed to the ruling class which A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtered millions in Korea and Indochina and most recently carried out mass murder in Iraq!

A Spartacist League spokesman intervened from the floor at the Berkeley forum to denounce this pro-imperialist toady. Noting that Rudyard Kipling, "the poet laureate of British imperialism," spoke of the "white man's burden" to justify the colonial rape of Africa and Asia, he called Wohlforth "a latter-day Rudyard Kipling who pretends to be a leftist." By Wohlforth's lights, perhaps the British should have intervened in the U.S. Civil War to "stop the bloodshed"!

The SL speaker responded to Wohlforth's claim that it was "morally indefensible" for American leftists to oppose U.S. intervention in Somalia, saying:

> "If it was morally indefensible for us to oppose it, presumably it was also morally indefensible for the Somalis to oppose it. So this line of argument is a justification for the massacre of the Somalis yesterday, and for the Haitians tomorrow."

Max Shachtman earned the epithet "State Department socialist" for his support to the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. Does Tim Wohlforth's push to extend the long arm of U.S. imperialism today qualify him as a "Langley liberal"?

tide allowed *Lavalas* to be under the "control" of bourgeois forces, and that there were no mass organizations that could pressure Aristide in the other direction.

Following the model of Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile in 1970-1973, the petty-bourgeois leftists around Aristide in *Lavalas* allied with capitalist figures like Antoine Izméry (who was dragged out of a church memorial service and assassinated by the regime last year) in order to reassure the Haitian bourgeois elite that the movement would not challenge capitalist property or "uproot" the military and *attachés*. And just as Allende appointed the "constitutionalist" general Pinochet to head the Chilean armed forces, who then led the coup to overthrow the UP government, so Aristide appointed Cédras head of the Haitian army. When he was overthrown by Cédras, Aristide turned straight to the imperialists. At no time has he called for a mass uprising against the junta killers, and now he is openly in the pocket of the U.S. occupiers.

Haiti's working people, peasants and unemployed, starving under the U.S./UN embargo, are thirsting for retribution for the horrendous crimes dealt them by the military, police and *attachés*, the guard dogs of the mulatto bourgeois elite. In the turbulence sweeping Haiti today, as happened when "Baby Doc" Duvalier fled in 1986, there will certainly be demands for "*dechoukaj*" (uprooting) of the military rulers. Thousands of victims will seek revenge against the death squad butchers, most likely by means of *Père Lebrun* ("necklacing," or putting a flaming tire around the neck of the culprit when caught). A workers and peasants government would avert an orgy of random bloodletting by organizing popular tribunals to mete out justice against these pathological killers. But for such tribunals to be anything but an isolated phenomenon, it is necessary to defeat the U.S. colonial occupation through revolutionary action.

For the American forces will attempt to smash every serious opposition against the military machine which they themselves created (during the 1915-34 occupation) and have sustained ever since. In order to root out imperialism's local henchmen, and to break the chains of imperialist oppression, it is necessary to break politically from Aristide's *Lavalas* popular front, which has tied Haitian peasants and workers to the few bourgeois liberals in Haiti and the "democratic" imperialists in Washington. From the beginning, Aristide had a *nationalist bourgeois program* to "democratize" capitalism in Haiti. But to end imperialist domination and liberate the Haitian masses from the rule of the bloody military requires *internationalist socialist revolution*, in which the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers in the diaspora will play a crucial role.

Eldon/Reuters

Racist "humanitarian" U.S. occupation of Somalia.

A *workers and peasants government*, simply to survive, must spread the flames of revolution from Haiti's half of the island of Hispaniola to the Dominican Republic, where Haitians slave away in the sugar plantations and there is a small industrial and mining proletariat. Above all, the fight must be taken to the U.S. and Canada. In contrast to petty-bourgeois leftists, like the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, who raise a nationalist perspective of peasant guerrilla warfare, we Trotskyists look to the numerous Haitian workers along the Eastern seaboard of North America, from Montreal to Miami, who can be won to a proletarian revolutionary program.

Three years ago, over 100,000 Haitians marched through Wall Street in what was effectively a general strike of Haitian workers in New York City. Yet that tremendous power was squandered in the service of liberal pro-Aristide, pro-Clinton leaders, who today support the U.S. occupation. It is necessary to break from the class-collaborationist politics of the popular front to fight for the class independence of the proletariat. Haitian workers must not fight alone, but together with militant workers throughout North America, to forge a world party of socialist revolution.

The International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and for asylum for Haitian refugees. We mobilize to defend the Cuban Revolution, whose gains are increasingly under attack by internal counterrevolution and the Yankee military buildup in the Caribbean. We honor the tradition of the great Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture—who saw the struggle against slavery and for Haitian independence as part of the worldwide revolutionary movement of his time, the French Revolution, and whose struggle in Haiti inspired black slaves throughout the Caribbean and the Americas to struggle for freedom. We follow the path of the Russian Bolsheviks Lenin and Trotsky, who built the revolutionary vanguard party that led the working people to power against world imperialism in 1917. This is the only road to liberation for the impoverished masses, from the slums of Port-au-Prince to the imperialist heartland. ■

Vicky Peláez/El Diario-La Prensa

Workers in Panama City dig out mass grave where 123 bodies were dumped by U.S. military during 1989 invasion which slaughtered 2,000 Panamanians.

Flint...

(continued from page 16)

strikers have GM by the throat.

The current strike is the fifth against GM this year, preceded by walkouts at a plant in Shreveport, Louisiana, another in Dayton, Ohio, the GM Technical Center in Warren, Michigan and, most recently, at the Anderson, Indiana electrical and bumper parts plant. In just three days, the strike by Local 663 in Anderson in late August shut down 15 GM plants with almost 50,000 workers. But with GM on the ropes, the UAW International settled, agreeing to the company's demand to "outsource" some parts production to low-wage plants in exchange for some short-term job "guarantees."

Even as sales, profits and executive bonuses skyrocket, the company continues to slash away at production jobs. For the bosses, it is far cheaper to exploit the hell out of a smaller workforce than to rehire any of the hundreds of thousands of laid-off GM workers and have to pay pension and health benefits. The recent strikes come in response to a GM master plan to sell or close outright over 20 percent of its parts factories in North America, leading to the elimination of 50,000 more jobs—one-fifth of the entire GM workforce—by late 1996.

But the UAW International, which keeps a stranglehold on local strikes, is only contesting "how—not whether—to restructure GM's enormous parts-making operation" (*New York Times*, 27 August). The massive job losses at GM have gone unopposed by "Solidarity" House, which, even under the terms of its own sellout contract, is supposed to be able to demand that the company hire one new worker for every two who retire or leave. The *Times* smugly notes that this is "a fact that neither side mentions, perhaps because it might embarrass the UAW leadership."

Wayne State University

Sit-down strikers at Fisher Body in Flint, February 1937. Plant occupations forged the union at General Motors.

But the gang that runs "Sacrifice House" has enforced the concessions and mass layoffs that extracted *billions* in givebacks out of a dwindling workforce. The job cuts at GM have been paralleled throughout the Big Three—at Ford, the workforce has been slashed by more than *half* in the last 15 years, while production increased. The resulting decimation of labor and black cities like Flint and Detroit was captured in Michael Moore's film *Roger and Me*.

Particularly since the plant closings and concessions at Chrysler in 1979, the UAW bureaucracy has acted as ruthless *company cops* intent on helping the Big Three become more "competitive," which means driving up the rate of exploitation. Health care concessions, mass layoffs, wage givebacks, two-tier contracts are the toll extracted by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants. From 1.5 million members in 1979, the UAW now represents less than half that number. In the Midwest rustbowl, grinding overtime exists side by side with widespread unemployment, especially among blacks. What is needed is a fight for jobs: 30 hours work for 40 hours pay—reduce the workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work.

The Flint strike in this pivotal GM industrial complex could be a springboard for industry-wide action by all auto workers to roll back the decade and more of givebacks and job losses. Spread the strike!

Instead of fighting the auto bosses, the UAW bureaucracy pushes the most grotesque, racist protectionism against Japanese and Mexican auto workers with the claim that they are "stealing American jobs." The strike at Buick City is a chance to sharply repudiate this poison which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters in other countries. By linking their fight for jobs to the struggle of auto workers in Canada and Mexico, workers in Flint and throughout the UAW can counter the labor traitors who only aid the U.S. capitalists in their NAFTA rape of Mexico.

The Caterpillar, Staley and rubber workers defending their jobs against scabs in the Midwest are up against the same class enemy as Ford workers at the giant Cuautitlán plant in Mexico battling violent company and police terror.

In the context of a sharp drop in living standards and union organization over the past 15 years, there has recently been a spurt of strikes, from the Midwest to rail in New York and transit in L.A. But in every case striking workers have been held back by the shackles placed on them by the labor misleaders. *Business Week* (23 May) brags: "Over the past dozen years, in fact, U.S. industry has conducted one of the most successful anti-union wars ever." The catastrophic defeats inflicted by this one-sided class war are the result of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy tying the working class to the bosses' laws and politicians, like "open shop" president Clinton.

A fight for jobs for all requires the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government that will do away with the irrationalities of capitalism and create a socialist planned economy. ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forums

Yankee Invaders Ride Roughshod in Caribbean

Defend the Cuban Revolution! U.S. Out of Haiti!

- Aristide Invites Colonial Invasion
- Castro Regime at Dead End—Selling Off Gains of the Revolution
- New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism
- Fight Imperialism Through International Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Marjorie Stamberg
SL Central Committee, Workers Vanguard Editorial Board

Saturday, Oct. 1, 7 p.m.
Emerson Hall, Room 305
Harvard University
(in Harvard Yard)
For more information (617) 492-3928
BOSTON

Sunday, Oct. 2, 3 p.m.
Room: West Lecture Hall
Bldg: Franklin Patterson Hall
Hampshire College
For more information: (617) 492-3928
AMHERST

Thursday, Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m.
P.S. 41
116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Ave.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, October 8, 7:30 p.m.
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715
CHICAGO

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Tuesday, October 4, 7 p.m.
University of the District of Columbia
Building 44, Room A03
For more information: (202) 872-8240
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, October 1 and Monday, October 3
For more information:
(404) 521-9338
ATLANTA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Introduction to Revolutionary Marxism

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: October 12
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution
University of Illinois
Illini Union, Room 403
For more information: (217) 352-3359
CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
First class: October 6
The Basics of Marxism
Spartacist Public Office
161 W. Harrison, 10th floor
For more information: (312) 663-0715
CHICAGO

The ABCs of Communism

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
Next class: October 12
204 Dwinelle
UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851
BERKELEY

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
First class: October 6
Student Union, Room B114
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 777-9367
SAN FRANCISCO

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
Next class: October 8
State and Revolution
NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist Public Office
41 Warren St.
(One block south of Chambers between Church and West Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Barry...

(continued from page 16)

on the streets and institute the death penalty for a host of "federal" crimes. Most recently, Congress ordered the District to cut $140 million from its budget and eliminate 2,000 workers from its payroll. This is on top of the 2,500 jobs already slashed by Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly over the past four years.

When Kelly came into office four years ago in the wake of Barry's arrest and conviction, she was the darling of Congress. But the honeymoon didn't last long. The D.C. government's perennial fiscal crises soured her relationship with Capitol Hill. City labor unions hated her union-busting policies, and the city's poor and oppressed masses had no use for her because she was cold, aloof and rich. Kelly went so far as to try to build a guard shack on the sidewalk in front of her house, but even her neighbors in upscale Upper Northwest Washington thought this was a bit much.

Black D.C. had had it with Kelly, and with the federal government. So Marion Barry saw his chance for a comeback. It's not that things were so great under Barry. He was mayor for 12 years, during which time he was the willing instrument of the real estate moguls against the black unions, infant mortality rates were astronomical, and he presided over the drug witchhunt until it witchhunted him out of office. In November 1982, when the Ku Klux Klan said it would march in the capital for the first time since the 1920s, Barry just skipped town. The Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the racist terrorists cold.

But blacks are still furious about how Marion Barry was set up. The feds ran a massive operation against him for *eight years*, costing millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of man-hours, trying to "get something" on the black mayor. They sorted through his American Express bills, staked out his house, examined city contracts he had signed, analyzed his bank accounts, checked his tax returns—and came up with zip. So then they ran a classic honey-trap, getting an old flame to lure him into a wired room in the Vista Hotel. When she got a crack pipe from the feds holed up in the next room and the mayor took one puff, the FBI burst in the door. The mayor was publicly humiliated, as a videotape of the bust was played over and over on TV. Although they could only get a jury to convict him on a misdemeanor possession charge, he was given the maximum sentence in a federal penitentiary.

After his release, Barry cleaned up his act, got himself a small apartment in the poorest ward in the city, and started rebuilding his base. He was "born again," remarried, started going to A.A. meetings and took to wearing African garb. Two years ago, voters in his ward elected him to the city council. This year,

Johnston/Washington Post

As Mayor, Marion Barry supervised racist "war on drugs," shown here in 1989 police raid and eviction of black residents in SE Washington.

Barry put his experience in the civil rights movement to use, as his supporters canvassed the streets all summer long, registering thousands of new voters. He could tell the poor and oppressed that he's been down and out too, and his message came across. But his political program is the same as the rest of the Democrats and Republicans: "get tough on crime, balance the budget." In other words, more arrests and less jobs.

Barry has also hooked up with a coterie of right-wing religious leaders, pushing for prayer in the schools and spurning gay voters, whom he used to court. He touts his friendship with the sinister demagogue Louis Farrakhan to boost his "street" image. When most black leaders abandoned Barry after his arrest in 1990, Farrakhan supported him. Now Barry is hanging out with the likes of Rev. Willie Wilson, who organized vicious anti-Korean protests in Southeast D.C. in 1988, and with Farrakhanite hustler Malik Zulu Shabazz, who has been organizing anti-Semitic rallies at Howard University.

In many ways, Barry is the quintessence of that wing of the civil rights movement who put their black militant credentials in the service of the ruling class. These "dashiki Democrats" were installed as mayors of cities from Detroit to D.C. to clamp the lid back on the ghettos after they exploded in anger in the late 1960s. When he was first elected mayor, Barry was a tool of the real estate interests seeking contracts to rebuild the city. Today, with no more contracts to deal out, Barry pushes economic "self-help" programs like Project Ujamaa, which urges blacks to switch bank accounts from white-owned to black-owned institutions. But getting a decent life for the mass of black people is not a matter of getting a loan to set up a dry cleaner's or buy a franchise for a fast food outlet. Blacks cannot "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" because the white racist ruling class has its boot on their necks.

On election day, Barry swept the poor wards of the city, but also did quite well in black middle-class areas of the city that the pundits thought would go to his opponents. A black lawyer explained why: "I voted for Barry to give the powers that be the finger, to let them know that there is a palpable rage even among the middle class. Marion Barry is unbowed in the face of all that he has been through. He is the slave that was beaten by the slave master and didn't shed a tear" (*Washington Post*, 15 September).

The indigenous working class in Washington is overwhelmingly black. Whites who live in D.C. tend to be professionals. At the time of his arrest, Barry was dropped like a hot potato by the liberal whites who used to be part of his old constituency. During the campaign they treated him like a leper. Now they are appalled. The day after the election, Barry was asked by a reporter what he had to say to whites who did not support him. Barry replied, "Get over it." This defiant statement now has the racists fuming, even though Barry leans over backward to reassure the capitalists once again he will defend their profit system: "I know best how to protect their investments, their homes, their businesses. I know best how to balance this budget. I know best how to save our city from financial collapse" (*Washington Post*, 15 September).

The white racists' fury over Marion Barry recalls the hysteria over Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. For his high-living and defiant advocacy of his black constituency, Congress stripped Powell of his Congressional seat in 1967. Despite (or because of) this, Harlem re-elected Powell time and again, seeing a vote for him as an act of pride and repudiation of the white racist establishment. Marion Barry deserves the right to exercise the perquisites of office, like any other elected official. We denounce any attempt to put shackles on the already limited democratic rights for black D.C. But Marion Barry, like Adam Clayton Powell, cannot change the conditions of black life in the ghettos and inner cities of America. That will require getting rid of the racist capitalist system which has held black people in thrall, from chattel slavery to wage slavery. Today these rulers have not only turned black D.C. into a wasteland, but have destroyed industry across the country in the interest of corporate greed.

The road to black freedom will not come through electing black Democrats such as Marion Barry, who have no choice but to carry out the cutbacks ordered by the white rulers. On the outs with the Clintonite "New Democratic" yuppie racists, black capitalist politicians, including the dwindling number of "BEOs" (black elected officials), have taken up a posture of defensive "black unity" with the likes of Farrakhan, for example in the National African American Leadership Summit in Baltimore last June. But the occasional militant posturing and even talk of forming a black party from this layer is only a means of pressuring the partner parties of American capitalism. These black bourgeois leaders are viscerally hostile to the fight against black oppression, in fact they're part of its superstructure, they feed off it.

Thus ex-NAACP head Ben Chavis—like Barry a former civil rights activist become "mainstream" politico, only to be brought down when he was deemed an embarrassment to the white rulers—responded to outrage over Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's restaurants by demanding a black person be seated on the corporation's board of directors and contracts and franchises for black businessmen. It was the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who called coast-to-coast protests to demand equal treatment, good service and food for all at Denny's, and unionization of its low-paid workers. Faced with the devastation of the education system and the isolation of a whole generation of black inner-city youth from the means of production, what's needed is a fighting *workers party* which champions the cause of all the oppressed.

The racist double standard of capitalist America is infuriating. A big-time criminal and convicted felon like Ollie North—who organized mass murder, lied to Congress and waves the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror—is a respectable candidate for Senator from Virginia. But let Marion Barry, who was entrapped by the FBI and sent to jail for *nothing*, get elected to the relatively powerless mayor's office, and the racists want to take away the vote! The racist press screams about how Washington is the "murder capital" of the U.S., but it doesn't say much about how it's the infant mortality capital of the country. Today the rate of babies dying from malnutrition and other diseases in Washington, D.C. is *double* that of Cuba, even under the imperialist starvation blockade. The American capitalist system is built on a bedrock of racist oppression, and it will take socialist revolution to achieve genuine social emancipation for black people. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Susan Meiselas photos

Marion Barry after recent Democratic primary victory (top), four years after being arrested while mayor in 1990 FBI entrapment operation.

—Racist Establishment Fumes—

Black D.C. Elects Marion Barry, Again

Break with the Democrats, Enemies of Black Freedom!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a stunning rebuke to the white capitalist rulers who run this country, black voters in Washington turned out in record numbers to give Marion Barry a solid victory in the Democratic mayoral primary election on September 13. The racists thought they had buried Barry politically four years ago, when after a massive FBI operation they entrapped the black mayor in a grotesque hotel room sting and sent him to the federal pen on a *misdemeanor* drug charge. Now their conspiracy has backfired, and Barry is back. But make no mistake. As mayor, the "reborn" Marion Barry, no less than the "rogue," will be pushing through vicious cutbacks and ordering cop assaults on black youth on behalf of the White House and Congress.

For the American bourgeoisie, the fact that the national capital is an overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black city represents an important strategic weakness to its imperial rule. For decades, Southern Dixiecrats in Congress like Mississippi Senator Bilbo ran D.C. like it was their plantation. They only allowed black Washington to elect a toothless mayor and city council as a result of the ghetto explosion which shook the city in 1968. As the FBI was stalking Mayor Barry during the Bush administration, Barbara Bush said "everyone" she knew wanted to "get our city back." The ruling class would like to "fight crime" in the capital using police-state measures in the black wards never seen by the tourists. If they have to have a black mayor, they want him to be a doorman—to usher in visiting dignitaries—or a doormat.

But the black residents of the District are also fed up. There is no end in sight to the joblessness, homelessness, discrimination and crime that is suffocating the city. The entire school system was ordered to remain closed this fall until unsafe conditions were remedied (No problem for the Clintons; Chelsea goes to an exclusive private school.) Thousands of desperate black people, young and old, hang out on the streets with nothing to do, day in and day out. The Maryland and Virginia suburbs, already among the wealthiest communities in the nation, are getting richer as jobs flow out of the city. Congress is trying to move federal agencies, long a mainstay of black employment, out to the Beltway and beyond.

The vote was an across-the-board repudiation of the white "establishment," not only by Barry's base in the desperately poor Ward 8 in Anacostia, but also by middle-class blacks. Many voted for Barry because the haughty liberal *Washington Post* endorsed his opponent in the primary, John Ray. The word on the street was, "We're not going to let *them* tell us what to do." In response, a racist backlash is underway. Congress already decreed that "statehood" is a dead letter, and following Barry's election (his victory in the November general election is taken for granted) there are now threats to repeal the 1973 limited "Home Rule" Act, or at least slash the D.C. budget to ribbons. Jim Saxton, a Republican member of the House D.C. Committee, threatened:

> "If Marion Barry does somehow manage to ascend to the mayoral seat, we must examine the D.C. governing process and whether it is a truly effective use of taxpayer funds."
>
> —*New York Times*, 15 September

Two years ago, amid a wave of racist "crime" hysteria, they tried to foist a death penalty on D.C. A referendum on the issue was handily defeated, but now the Democrats and Republicans have passed their national crime bill, which will put hundreds more cops

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Fed Up With Speedup and Forced Overtime

Flint GM Workers Shut Down Buick City

SEPTEMBER 27—Production ground to a halt at the 25 plants in General Motor's huge Buick City complex in Flint, Michigan today, as 11,500 members of United Auto Workers Local 599 walked out in the middle of the day shift over speedup and unsafe working conditions. The union is demanding that GM open up new jobs in the scores of plants the company has padlocked in recent years. Workers from other area plants joined Local 599 members on the picket line on Tuesday. Flint Locals 659 and 326 have also demanded their own strike authorization from the UAW International.

Flint workers are seething. A Local 599 spokesman told *Workers Vanguard* that Buick City hasn't added a single permanent new-hire since 1979. One woman picket said every day on the assembly line feels like a day and a half. No wonder! Management has been imposing an average of *17 hours* overtime a week to keep up the nerve-wracking pace of production. Meanwhile, GM slashed more than 230,000 jobs between 1979 and 1993, 50,000 of them just in the last three years.

If the UAW bureaucrats don't cave in to a rapid "settlement," this strike will have immediate repercussions throughout the GM empire. Buick City produces key parts for every GM car and most trucks. Plants on four continents, employing over 100,000 workers, will quickly run out of transmission components made in the Buick City Powertrain facility and be forced to close in a matter of days. With the company's "just-in-time" inventory system, where parts go directly from factory to assembly line without being stockpiled, the

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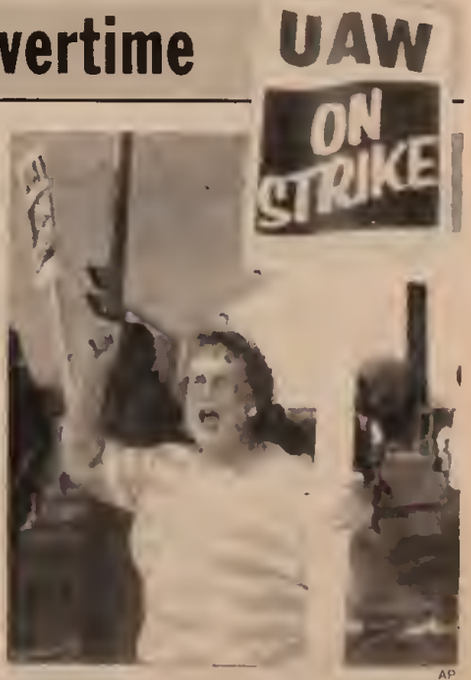

AP

Auto strikers shut down GM's Anderson, Indiana plant in August.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 608

14 October 1994

U.S. Imperialism Out of Haiti!

McNamee/Newsweek

Applewhite/Wide World

Haitian president Aristide at the Pentagon (left) pledges support to U.S. occupation. In Port-au-Prince, U.S. war minister Perry and Gen. Shalikashvili trumpet "success" of colonial invasion.

Aristide: Front for U.S. Colonial Occupation

Death Squad Leaders on CIA Payroll

OCTOBER 10—The U.S. colonial occupiers of Haiti have set the stage for the return of exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide scheduled for October 15. Police chief Michel François has moved to a luxurious villa across the border in the Dominican Republic, and army chief Raoul Cédras and chief of staff Philippe Biamby have resigned their posts. But Cédras' replacement is General Duperval, another leader of the bloody 1991 military coup. The reality is that Aristide is returning as a front man for the racist American occupation and an agent for continued imperialist exploitation. The Yankee occupiers will "retrain" the murderous police forces to put down the Haitian masses, who will not be satisfied with Aristide's promise to lift them "from misery to poverty in dignity," as he vowed in a speech to the United Nations last week.

The U.S. occupation has been carefully orchestrated to show crowds cheering U.S. forces as their "liberators" during the occasional American forays against the *attaché* killers, who are descended from the dreaded Tontons Macoutes of the Duvalier dictatorship. But, as we warned they would, U.S. troops have repeatedly intervened to save the *attachés* from the masses thirsting for justice and vengeance. When thousands marched through Port-au-Prince to mark the third anniversary of the coup on September 30, American troops positioned themselves to stop demonstrators from going "up the hill" toward the plush homes of the elite in Pétionville, leaving five marchers to be killed by *attachés*. The same day, U.S soldiers chased off hungry slum dwellers who broke into a supermarket warehouse.

The Haitian death squad regime has always been a puppet of U.S. imperialism. Cédras was trained in the U.S. and François went to the "School of the

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U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iraq!

OCTOBER 10—To ensure continuing control over the Persian Gulf oil fields, in 1991 U.S. imperialism devastated Iraq, killing over 100,000 people in the fighting and its aftermath. Following the Gulf War, a brutal economic embargo remained in place aimed at reducing the most technologically advanced country in the Arab East to starvation and economic ruin. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have died of malnutrition and disease, with child mortality soaring to 85,000 a year.

Now Washington claims that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein has moved a number of army divisions toward the Kuwaiti border as a pressure tactic to bring about an end to the UN-sanctioned embargo. For their own reasons, France and Russia now want to ease the sanctions, while the U.S. is bent on the total degradation of Iraq. Moreover, Clinton is desperately trying to overcome his abysmal standings in public opinion polls, a month before Congressional elections, by military adventures abroad—first the colonial occupation of Haiti, now war threats against that tried and true target, Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

At least 36,000 U.S. troops are being sent to Kuwait along with hundreds of warplanes; another 25,000 troops are on standby. Pentagon spokesmen are visibly chomping at the bit to again launch their arsenal of mega-death against Iraqi soldiers.

As we go to press, the Baghdad government has announced its army divisions will be pulled back from the Kuwaiti border. Nonetheless, the U.S. military buildup in the region is continuing, raising the danger of a major U.S. attack on Iraq regardless of what Hussein does. The *New York Times* (10 October) reports that "there is growing support within the White House for an aggressive battle plan intended to finish off the job that Mr. Bush left undone: making sure that Iraq no longer poses a threat to its neighbors."

It is U.S. imperialism which is the main threat to the peoples of the Near East. As U.S. warplanes and missiles laid waste to Iraq, Bush proclaimed a "New World Order" of American global domination in the interests of Wall Street and the Fortune 500. Workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world must demand: U.S. imperialism—hands off Iraq! U.S and all imperialist forces out of the Persian Gulf! Down with the imperialist embargo of Iraq!

Auto Workers Need Class-Struggle Leadership

Flint Strikers Showed Union Power

AP

Buick strike led to cascading shutdowns throughout GM chain.

You hear it everywhere. The big business press lectures that "strikes don't work anymore." The AFL-CIO tops say that unless Congress protects labor from scabs, the power of the strike is lost. Fake "militants" and reformists assert that workers have to stay on the job and use the "inside game." But Flint workers in UAW Local 599 taught a different lesson last week.

On September 27, they shut down GM's giant Buick City complex, demanding that the company hire more workers and put an end to grinding and dangerous overtime. The *average* age of Buick City workers is 47, and they have been working up to 66-hour weeks. The plant has gone from 24,000 workers to only 11,500, as auto bosses have slashed jobs while driving up the rate of exploitation of those workers who are left. One worker who is back on the line after a heart attack just five months ago, said of the pace, "You carry the nitro and you hope."

Just hours after the strike began, GM plants began to fall like dominoes. The company's just-in-time inventory system, which depends on the UAW bureaucrats to enforce labor peace, can work to the advantage of workers who are prepared to strike and strike hard. Flint produces key engines and transmission components for the entire GM empire, from North America to Brazil and Europe.

By 7 p.m. the night of the strike, GM announced that Lansing Plants Nos. 1 and 2 would shut down, idling 6,550 workers. On September 29, the company shut down the Linden, New Jersey truck plant and canceled weekend overtime at plants in Wilmington, Delaware and Oklahoma City. Another 1,000 workers were sent home from transmission plants in Warren and Ypsilanti, Michigan. By the next day, when the UAW tops and GM announced a tentative settlement, closings were expanded to plants in Pontiac and in Shreveport, Louisiana and the Ste. Thérèse plant in Quebec—another 8,000 workers.

In the settlement, GM agreed to hire 779 workers at Buick City from the ranks of the over *50,000* who have been thrown on the street in the last three years. The UAW leaders, who have acted as the auto bosses' cops in enforcing the billions in givebacks and hundreds of thousands of layoffs, called off the strike before GM was really squeezed. If the strike had lasted through the weekend, one-quarter of GM's production would have shut down. Another few days and the entire company would come to a standstill. Flint workers won jobs because they had GM by the throat—it was Solidarity House that let go.

The grueling exploitation and overtime at Buick City is the rule at GM and throughout U.S. industry. The Flint strike should have been spread through all of GM. A worker from Local 326 at nearby Fisher Inland Guide was one of many area workers who joined the picket lines. He told a *Workers Vanguard* salesman that the UAW International prohibited his local from striking, despite 66-hour workweeks.

The power that was shown in the Flint strike has been hamstrung by the UAW bureaucracy's grotesque class collaboration. GM continues to boast that it intends to slash as many as 30,000 more jobs in the near future, just in North America. The struggle for jobs for all by reducing the workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40") requires the building of class-struggle leadership fighting to sweep away capitalist exploitation once and for all. ■

The Popular Front: Obstacle to Proletarian Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

From Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the early 1970s, the policy of popular-frontism—a coalition of the parties and mass organizations of the working class with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie—has paved the way for bloody reaction. Even in more "peaceful" conditions, such as the election of Mitterrand in France in 1981, the popular front stands in the way of a revolutionary outcome, paralyzing the proletariat and therefore driving the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the right. As Trotsky wrote at the time of the 1936 French elections, when the Stalinist Communist Party formed a People's Front with the social democrats and bourgeois Radical Party supposedly directed against the "200 families," the aristocracy of French capital

As for the Communists, extremely proud of their initiative in the cause of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, they picture the People's Front as *an alliance between the proletariat and the middle classes*. What a parody on Marxism! The Radical Party is not at all the party of the petty bourgeoisie. Nor is it a "bloc between the middle and the petty bourgeoisie," in accordance with the idiotic definition of the Moscow *Pravda*. The middle bourgeoisie exploits the petty bourgeoisie not only economically but also politically, and it itself is the agency of finance capital. To give hierarchical political relations, based upon exploitation, the neutral name of a "bloc" is to make mock of reality. A horseman is not a bloc between a man and a horse....

An elementary axiom of Marxist strategy reads that the alliance between the proletariat and the little men of the city and country can be realized only in the irreconcilable struggle against the traditional parliamentary representation of the petty bourgeoisie. In order to attract the peasant to the side of the worker, it is necessary to tear the peasant away from the Radical politician, who subjects the peasant to finance capital. In contradistinction to this, the People's Front, the conspiracy between the labor bureaucracy and the worst political exploiters of the middle classes, is capable only of killing the faith of the masses in the revolutionary road and of driving them into the arms of the fascist counterrevolution....

The coming parliamentary elections, no matter what their outcome, will not *in themselves* bring any serious changes into the situation....

The struggle against the "200 families," against fascism and war, for peace, bread, and freedom, and other magnificent things is either a lie or it is the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The toilers of France are faced with the problem of the revolutionary conquest of power not as a distant goal but as the task of the coming period. Meanwhile, the Socialist and Communist leaders not only renounce the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat, but resist it with all their strength. Fraternizing with the bourgeoisie, they hound and expel the Bolsheviks. So greatly do they hate the revolution and dread it!... The entire course of the French labor movement for the last twelve years has placed the task of creating a new revolutionary party on the order of the day.

—Leon Trotsky, "France at the Turning Point" (March 1936)

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WV Photos

Heavily black and Hispanic AFSCME 420 hospital workers rally September 22 against the NYC mayor's racist cutbacks (left). Striking Legal Aid workers faced "PATCO treatment" in city's union-busting drive.

Giuliani Axes NYC Jobs

Harlem Hospital in Danger

"Giuliani is his name, union-busting is his game," chanted hundreds of striking Legal Aid lawyers outside lower Manhattan courts on October 4. They struck after the city-funded Legal Aid Society went after their health benefits and refused to grant a miserly 4.5 percent pay raise over two years. Local 1199 clerical staff walked out in solidarity. The lawyers, who represent poor defendants in court, start at $31,000 a year. But Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani—who was No. 3 man in Reagan's "Justice" Department during the mass firing of PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981—responded with an immediate ultimatum. If the 1,100 lawyers were not back on the job the following morning, they would never work for the city again, he threatened, adding that he was "sending a message" to every one of more than 200,000 city workers.

There should have been an immediate mobilization of the labor movement to support the Legal Aid attorneys as Giuliani goes after city jobs and working conditions with a vengeance. Union president Michael Letwin declared, "We are the first ones to stand up to this bully and we hope New Yorkers will stand up and say, 'Enough'." Instead the pro-Democratic Party municipal union tops volunteered as labor cops for the Republican union-hater. Teachers union head Sandra Feldman and AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill were the worst backstabbers. Hill whined, "I'm concerned about the rhetoric out here because we've been able to sit down with the Mayor and negotiate." Even as Giuliani issued his strikebreaking threat, Hill was holding talks with the city to negotiate away $200 million in workers' health benefits.

Left to face Rudy the Slasher alone, by the following morning the strikers had taken down their picket lines and agreed to return to work under a permanent no-strike clause.

Just three months ago, in his first city budget, Giuliani cut *$1.1 billion* in health care, social services and education, axing over 6,000 jobs with paltry "buyouts." Now he's back for another $800 million, targeting 30,000 unionized city workers for severance or layoffs and warning the rest to forget about raises "for the definable future." Hospitals, welfare, schools, AIDS care, parks, libraries and youth programs are all on the chopping block. Home care for the elderly is to be cut back, as is the Division of AIDS Services, which coordinates benefits for many of the 61,000 AIDS patients in the city. Up to 8,000 welfare and social services workers are to be eliminated, a grievous blow to the *1.4 million* New Yorkers receiving public assistance and food stamps.

While his cops go after squeegee men trying to eke out some form of survival, Giuliani wants homeless people who avail themselves of the filthy, overcrowded shelters to pay "rent" unless they attend degrading "treatment and training" programs. Now, fresh on the heels of breaking the Legal Aid staffers strike, Giuliani has declared war on the city's Home Relief program, demanding that over 230,000 welfare recipients work as slave labor to replace laid-off unionized workers.

Grotesquely claiming he is improving the "quality of life," Giuliani is out to make life ever more miserable for the sick and homeless and the black and Hispanic poor. Last month, Giuliani's hospital chief announced that 3,000 workers, one in every 16, would be laid off and the hospital budget slashed by $357 million. The chief target of Giuliani's slash-and-burn operation is Harlem Hospital.

In one of the wealthiest cities in the world, where almost one-third of all doctors in the U.S. are trained, there remains just one city hospital to provide care for the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic people living in the hundreds of square blocks in upper Manhattan comprising Harlem and its surrounding communities. Over the last 20 years, *eight* hospitals in the area have closed. Harlem Hospital's trauma center last year handled 16,000 patients. Yet workers trying to care for patients routinely run out of sheets in the maternity ward, Clorox to wash down the TB ward, even toilet paper. That is the brutal visage of "Wealthcare USA."

Giuliani spokesmen haughtily point out that 35 percent of the beds at Harlem Hospital are empty. *They're empty because of reduced staff.* Already reeling under successive cuts by previous city administrations, Harlem Hospital Center is now slated to lose another 303 workers, cutting back in-patient care by 135 beds. In an area where the infant mortality rate is a staggering *19 per 1,000*, higher than in some Third World countries, one nurse may have to care for as many as 36 pediatric patients. Now 65 percent of pediatric beds and more than a third of obstetric beds are to be eliminated. Cuts will also endanger the hospital's clinic system which serves 100,000 patients per year. The burn and radiation-therapy units were already shut down earlier this year.

Speaking at a hospital workers rally, AFSCME Local 420 president James Butler vowed, "We will fight to the last drop of blood." But the union misleaders, working hand in glove with the Democratic Party city council, have unleashed Giuliani as he drops his budget ax on the necks of tens of thousands of heavily minority city workers and the black and Hispanic poor. Sanitation union bureaucrats recently agreed to a 20 percent increase in the workload and the loss of at least 600 jobs through attrition. Transport Workers Union Local 100 tops hid behind the state's strikebreaking

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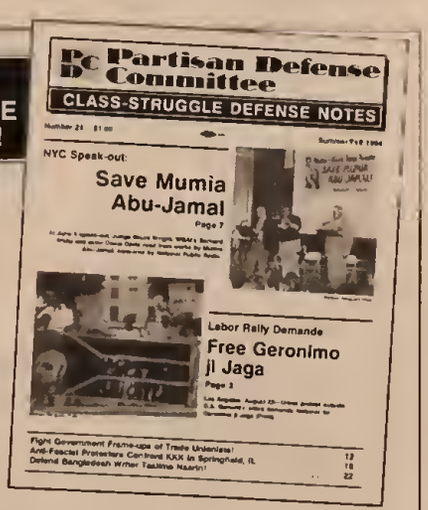
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Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- **Ernest Mandel**
  Spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International
- **Joseph Seymour**
  Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S., International Communist League (Fourth International)

11 November 1994

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New York City

U.S. Marines Slaughtered 15,000

Yankee Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934

National Archives

Reuters

Corpse of Haitian peasant leader Charlemagne Péralte, assassinated in 1919 by U.S. Marines and displayed to terrorize population. U.S. troops capturing Port-au-Prince in 1915, beginning 19-year occupation.

"I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps.... And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.... "Thus I helped make Mexico...safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street."

—Major General Smedley Butler, "America's Armed Forces," *Common Sense*, October 1935

Clinton's colonial occupation of Haiti was, at first, hailed by desperate Haitians hoping for protection against the death-squad terror of the Cédras regime and its paramilitary *attachés*. But the U.S. military has gone into Haiti precisely to prevent the uprooting of the military machine which Washington created and maintained through decades of Yankee imperialist domination. When the Marines landed in Port-au-Prince in 1915, it was the beginning of an American occupation which lasted 19 years, killed thousands, and left the bloody U.S.-trained National Guard in control.

The pretext for the July 1915 invasion came when despised Haitian president Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was torn limb from limb by an enraged multitude. Beset by insurrectionary forces, Sam's supporters had mowed down 173 political prisoners in the capital. U.S. warships rushed to the scene to put down the uprising. President Woodrow Wilson cited the possibility that Germany might build a base at Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas, facing the eastern tip of Cuba. Washington's concern to secure access routes to the Panama Canal, which opened a year earlier, "certainly weighed in the balance of the motivations for the occupation," writes Suzy Castor in her 1971 study *La ocupación norteamericana de Haití y sus consecuencias (1915-1934)*. But "fundamental" to Washington's aims, she wrote, was the "economic motivation": to make Haiti safe for exploitation by American capital. This was "dollar diplomacy" by gunboat.

A telegram to the U.S. Navy Department by Admiral William Caperton shortly after the invasion requested additional forces to disband the guerrilla soldiers known as *cacos*, adding: "Such action now imperative at Port au Prince if United States desires to negotiate treaty for financial control of Haiti." Already in December 1914, a contingent of Marines had landed in the Haitian capital at the request of the National City Bank of New York and seized $500,000 from the National Bank of Haiti. The purpose was to force the Haitian government to sign over control of the customhouses.

The Yankee occupiers seized control of Haiti's government and economy. Just as American soldiers are today deployed around the Haitian parliament to show who's boss, in 1915 Marines guarded the doors of the building where assembled deputies and senators voted in Washington's hand-picked "president," Dartiguenave, who had agreed to U.S. control of Haiti's finances. To ensure ratification of a treaty effectively making Haiti a U.S. protectorate, Caperton seized unsigned bank notes intended for the Haitian government and proclaimed that they would be turned over when the Senate approved the treaty.

The occupation was brutal and racist to the core. A report in the *Nation* (10 July 1920) testified:

> "The five years of American occupation...have served as a commentary upon the white civilization which still burns black men and women at the stake. For Haitian men, women, and children, to a number estimated at 3,000, innocent for the most part of any offense, have been shot down by American machine gun and rifle bullets; black men and women have been put to torture to make them give information; theft, arson, and murder have been committed almost with impunity upon the persons and property of Haitians by white men wearing the uniform of the United States....
> "I have heard officers wearing the United States uniform in the interior of Haiti talk of 'humping off' (i.e., killing) 'Gooks' as if it were a variety of sport like duck hunting."

The occupation force was dominated by white Southerners led by Marine colonel Littleton W. T. Waller, a Virginian who replaced Caperton as the U.S. commanding officer. Waller made known his objection to "bowing and scraping to these c - - ns." U.S. authorities instituted a color bar against "race-mixing" after the arrival of white women from the U.S. The American military forced rural Haitians to carry a "*bon habitant*" (good citizen) card which Marines could demand to inspect at any time. Failure to produce the card meant immediate arrest or even execution.

The imperialists attacked the very roots of Haiti's independence, gained through the revolutionary struggle led by Toussaint L'Ouverture that smashed chattel slavery more than a century before. In 1918 Haitian peasants rose up in the *cacos* rebellion against subjection to the forced-labor *corvée* system. Black American writer James Weldon Johnson wrote after visiting Haiti in 1920:

> "The Occupation seized men wherever it could find them, and no able-bodied Haitian was safe from such raids, which most closely resembled the African slave raids of past centuries. And slavery it was, though temporary. By day or by night...Haitians were seized and forcibly taken to toil for months in far sections of the country. Those who protested or resisted were beaten into submission.... Those attempting to escape were shot...."
>
> —quoted in Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy* (1925)

Led by Charlemagne Péralte, the *cacos* overran the *gendarmerie* (police). Marines responded with a bloodbath. Péralte was shot and his corpse hung from a door. Photos of his execution, which resembled the crucifixion of Christ, were disseminated throughout the countryside, but this only inspired more resistance from the religious peasants. Horrifying examples of vengeance by Marine and *gendarme* squads—including the beheading of a young blind man, the killing of entire families and pregnant women—were documented by Haitians in a petition to the Secretary of the U.S. Navy (reprinted in the *Nation*, 21 May 1921).

The rebellion lasted about five years. A U.S. military inquiry put the number of *cacos* killed at 3,250, while Marines and *gendarmes* suffered only 100 killed or wounded. This was the first reported case of coordinated air-ground combat, as planes bombed rebels trapped by Marines. In one incident, U.S. troops killed over 50 (and possibly as many as 200) *cacos*, who had been hurling rocks. The sole U.S. "casualty" was a Marine who lost two front teeth. For his "bravery" in this "battle," Major Smedley Butler was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, thanks to an order by Assistant Naval Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Benefiting from the U.S. occupation were companies like Standard Fruit and the Haitian American Sugar Company, which took advantage of new land ownership laws to massively dispossess the peasants. U.S. companies were encouraged to set up shop where, as a New York business daily reported, "The run-of-the-mill Haitian is handy, easily directed, and gives a hard day's labor for 20 cents, while in Panama the same day's work cost $3" (quoted in James Ridgeway, ed., *The Haiti Files* [1994]). The same theme was struck in the 1980s when the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) touted Haiti's "highly productive, low cost labor." When President Aristide in 1991 timidly tried to raise the minimum wage from *22 cents to 37 cents per hour*, AID howled against this "high distortion in labor costs."

In 1929, an outbreak of social struggle led the U.S. to question the usefulness of continuing the occupation. After a five-week student strike, American authorities called for more Marine reinforcements. In response, customhouse workers in Port-au-Prince went on strike, and Haitians swarmed into the streets to throw rocks at the U.S. troops. In the southern town of Les Cayes, Marines killed 12 protesters. But the writing was on the wall. A U.S. investigation of the 1929 protests, the Forbes Commission, recommended a policy of "Haitianization" and gradual withdrawal of the Marines. Under the sign of FDR's "good neighbor" policy in Latin America, the last U.S. troops were withdrawn in 1934. Yet U.S. control of Haiti's finances continued until after World War II.

An estimated 15,000 Haitians had perished under the bloody occupation. To run Haiti after its exit, the U.S. left the new *gendarmerie*, the National Guard, which it developed and trained after disbanding the Haitian military. Since 1934, *one-third* of Haiti's budget has been spent on the military. The U.S. has propped up every Haitian despot since that time, including the infamous "Papa Doc" Duvalier, who organized the Tontons Macoutes thugs and killed 50,000 opponents. His demented son "Baby Doc" was forced to flee to France amid a mass upheaval in 1986, and the U.S. sponsored the current junta of torturers and murderers under Raoul Cédras. To put an end to the cycle of puppet dictators it's necessary to defeat the imperialist puppet masters. That must be the common effort of Haitian and American workers against the capitalist rulers, from Port-au-Prince to Washington and Wall Street, who have turned the first black republic into a neo-colonial hell. *U.S. out of Haiti!* ■

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U.S. Out of Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

Americas" (SOA)—otherwise known as the "School of Assassins"—for foreign officers at Fort Benning, Georgia. Now an article in the *Nation* (24 October) by Allan Nairn reveals that blood-drenched *attaché* chief Emmanuel Constant was a paid CIA informant. FRAPH, the party of the death squads, was set up on the urging of Constant's U.S. handler, Defense Intelligence Agency Colonel Patrick Collins, as a "balance" to Aristide's *lavalas* (flood) movement. DIA man Collins and CIA station chief Donald Terry were inside Cédras' military headquarters when Aristide was overthrown. Now Collins is back in Haiti as an officer in the occupation force.

To the extent that the Cédras regime "confronted" Washington, this simply reflected divisions among the U.S. rulers. Thus it turns out that Constant was still on the U.S. payroll when his *attachés* chased off the USS *Harlan County* from docking in Port-au-Prince last year. More recently, on October 4, Constant was feted at a U.S. embassy "press conference" where, surrounded by concertina wire to protect him from an enraged crowd, he called on "everyone to put down their stones, their tires, their guns." Constant and the Haitian military know that the U.S. will continue to rely on them to police the masses on behalf of the imperialist exploiters. Now Aristide is promoting a "new" police force, to be trained by "international police monitors" headed by former New York police chief Raymond Kelly.

The American population is far from enthusiastic about the occupation of Haiti. But in the absence of U.S. casualties, there has been no significant active opposition to Clinton's invasion. But the "humanitarian" façade of the Yankee invasion will soon crumble, as it did in Somalia. It is all the more critical now for revolutionaries to combat illusions in Washington's "democratic" pretensions and forthrightly demand: *U.S imperialism out of Haiti!*

Razoux/AFP

"Democracy" U.S. Marine style: Haitian parliament surrounded by barbed wire and machine guns.

In fact, the biggest cheerleaders for a U.S. protectorate over Haiti are liberal Democrats such as the Congressional Black Caucus. Among them are former Vietnam-era "doves" turned "hawks," like columnist Christopher Hitchens, who crows that "for now I proudly wear the yellow ribbon that supports our boys in Hispaniola" (*Nation*, 17 October). And many on the reformist left, which overwhelmingly hailed Aristide's election, supported the U.S./"UN" starvation embargo of Haiti while some are trying to duck the question of the invasion.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party has consistently and uncritically enthused over Aristide and his petty-bourgeois nationalist *lavalas* movement, which was tied to "democratic" imperialism through liberal bourgeois figures like Antoine Izméry. Meanwhile the Revolutionary Communist Party carries a front-page headline warning that "U.S. Occupiers Can't Be Liberators," but buries any statement of opposition to the invasion in fine print on an inside page (*Revolutionary Worker*, 9 October).

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) joined the liberal chorus for imperialist intervention, saying: "The call to maintain and strengthen the economic embargo of Haiti remains an important way to aid the Haitian toilers in their fight to topple the brutal military regime" (*Militant*, 13 December 1991). Later, when the devastating effects of the embargo on the Haitian masses could not be ignored, the SWP opportunists changed their tune. But as recently as last summer, the International Socialist Organization quoted one of its recruits from Aristide's administration who argues: "If the U.S. was serious...then—okay—we could try an embargo, a serious embargo" (*Socialist Worker*, June 1994).

Some Haitian left groups, like the National Federation of Haitian Students and the National Popular Assembly (APN), have opposed the U.S. occupation, which the APN called "another humiliation." But APN spokesman Harry Numa claims that the occupation provides "a moment for the Haitian people to go out, to express what they haven't expressed for three years," and that the masses "have to accept [the occupation] now, to see if they can get Aristide back. Once they get that, the fight will be against the occupation" (*Haiti Progrès*, 28 September). But Aristide is being brought back with U.S. bayonets, pledged to uphold the dictates of international capital and to "reconcile" with the military and *attaché* thugs. His masters are not in the slums of Port-au-Prince, but in the White House and on Wall Street.

We have warned from the beginning that the U.S. invasion poses a deadly threat not only to the long-suffering Haitian masses but to the Cuban Revolution, which overthrew Yankee imperialism and its local thugs in 1959-60. Indeed, while the Pentagon initially resisted going into Haiti, Clinton's national security adviser Anthony Lake and State Department deputy Strobe Talbott pushed for the invasion as part of "a new script for U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War world" and in order "to enshrine a new doctrine for U.S. military intervention on behalf of democracy" (*Washington Post*, 25 September). This is an undisguised threat against Cuba, which since the destruction of the Soviet Union has faced ever more belligerent attacks and counterrevolutionary pressures from the U.S.

Rapacious U.S. imperialism poses a deadly danger to all the peoples of the world. As the Haitian masses will all too soon realize, the U.S. has invaded their country to prop up the system of capitalist exploitation which has kept them downtrodden and impoverished. An internationalist Leninist vanguard party would strive to unite Haitian and Dominican workers, on the island of Hispaniola and throughout the diaspora in the Eastern seaboard of North America, where as part of the American proletariat they can take the class struggle to the heart of the imperialist beast. U.S. out of Haiti now! Defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism! ■

NYC Jobs...

(continued from page 3)

Taylor Law to push through a contract which allows the use of part-time bus drivers and opens the door to "one person train operation"—a deadly threat to passenger safety and union jobs.

Four years ago, the same sellouts paved the way for the last round of layoffs and cutbacks during the administration of black Democrat David Dinkins. Now, they tell city workers to beg from Governor Mario Cuomo and line up at the polls in November. Leading the pack is Hospital Workers Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera, who moonlights as a vice chairman of the state Democratic Party. Rivera's latest contract with the city's private hospitals has been touted as a "coup," promising "guaranteed jobs" in exchange for a wage freeze. But part-time workers and those with less than two years' seniority were promised nothing, and Rivera admits that if private hospitals close, then "all bets are off."

The union tops peddle the capitalists' lie that "there is no more money." There's plenty of money for the Wall Street banks, which get *8 percent* of NYC's $31 billion annual budget in interest payments. Billions more of Medicaid dollars are poured into the profit-bloated HMOs. Meanwhile, millions of dollars continue to go to the prisons and police to enforce the city's war on the homeless, minority youth and the poor.

Giuliani was elected riding a racist cop mobilization against the city's black and Hispanic population, who have since been subjected to a deadly shooting spree. Recently, the cops almost killed one of their own, as a white off-duty officer pumped four bullets into the back of a black plainclothes transit policeman on a crowded subway platform. On September 27, black teenager Jamiel Johnson was shot in the stomach and critically wounded by a cop in Bedford-Stuyvesant who claimed the youth had a "realistic" plastic handgun. The same night, also in Brooklyn, 13-year-old Nicholas Heyward Jr. was shot dead while playing with a toy gun in the Gowanus Houses by a trigger-happy housing cop. Signs posted by angry residents asked, "Whose 13-year-old is next for Robocop?"

Catapulted into office by a slim margin of white Staten Island votes, Giuliani appeals to his constituency of Wall Street yuppies and white ethnic enclaves by seeking to blame the decay and immiseration of New York on its victims—the nonwhite majority, working people and the poor. His racist backlash budget has been dubbed "the revenge of the outer boroughs." But his stringent austerity and union-busting are a frontal assault on the living conditions of all workers, part of a nationwide capitalist offensive to "downsize" municipal services and "privatize" public employee unions out of existence. From Los Angeles and San Francisco transit unions to sanitation workers in Philly and New York, the ruling class is concentrating its fire on the public employee unions with the same zeal that they went after the industrial unions of the Midwest a decade ago.

It will take sharp class struggle to stop them. A black social services worker at an anti-cutback rally said, "To beat Giuliani, we have to *cripple* this city." A militant citywide strike by transit, sanitation, communication and hospital workers could indeed cripple this center of financial capital. But any serious labor struggle will run head on into the whole array of no-strike laws, court injunctions and police strikebreaking that the bosses have at their disposal.

The lesson of the "PATCO treatment" meted out by Giuliani to Legal Aid workers is not that strikes can't win, but that you need a class-struggle leadership that will mobilize the working class and all the oppressed against the capitalist rulers. It's not just Giuliani: prominent Wall Street Democrat Felix Rohatyn has been calling on the mayor to "extract major union concessions," with Democratic governor Mario Cuomo joining in the cutback chorus. It is urgently necessary to fight for a *class-struggle workers party* that fights for a workers government to expropriate the capitalists and rebuild the cities through a planned socialist economy. ■

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Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) and the International Communist League

The following declaration is the result of intensive discussions indicating wide-ranging programmatic agreement between the International Communist League and the Luta Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Struggle) group of Brazil. Luta Metalúrgica recently broke from Causa Operária, which is part of the tendency led by Jorge Altamira's Argentine Partido Obrero. The initial basis for these discussions was a common principled programmatic position of proletarian opposition to popular fronts, including calling for no vote to any candidates of such class-collaborationist formations. Another key issue bringing our two organizations together was the Leninist understanding of the role of the revolutionary party as a "tribune of the people" in fighting all forms of special oppression.

* * *

"The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership.... [T]he crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Transitional Program" (1938)

The Luta Metalúrgica group of Volta Redonda, Brazil and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) concur in this declaration of fraternal relations as part of the urgent struggle to overcome the crisis of proletarian leadership through reforging the Fourth International as the democratic-centralist world party of socialist revolution.

I

"The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—L. Trotsky, Letter to the Dutch RSAP (July 1936) [emphasis in original]

Ever since Marx and Engels' struggle for the basic principle of the revolutionary independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, genuine Marxism has fought against class collaboration. The fight by Lenin and the Bolsheviks against Kerensky's Provisional Government (which Trotsky later called the greatest historical example of a popular front) culminated in the most important victory of the world proletariat: the October Revolution of 1917. In opposition to the betrayal of the Stalinists, social democrats and centrists, the Fourth Internationalists under Trotsky's leadership fought head-on against all support to popular fronts, which in France and Spain led to terrible defeats for the proletariat, thereby paving the way for the second imperialist world war.

In our times, the struggle against popular-frontism draws a line between revolutionary Marxism and all variants of opportunism. In Chile, Allende's Unidad Popular tied the combative proletariat to the institutions of the bourgeois state, preparing the bloody outcome in Pinochet's 1973 military coup. Already in 1970 at the time of Allende's election, when all the fake-Trotskyist tendencies advocated one or another type of support to the popular front, the Spartacist tendency (today ICL) warned:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —[*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970]

With the election of Mitterrand's popular front in France in 1981, once again the Spartacists warned against any support to this class collaboration, while pseudo-Trotskyists (from Mandel and Moreno to Lambert and Altamira) hailed it as a "victory" of the working class. The politics of popular-frontism led to more defeats from Bolivia to El Salvador, Nicaragua and many other countries.

Today in South Africa, the nationalist popular front around the African National Congress led by Nelson Mandela ties the black workers to the bourgeois state apparatus which maintained the murderous regime of apartheid. It is the duty of revolutionaries to urgently warn against any political support to, or confidence in, the "power sharing" government, which is already attacking the black and "coloured" [mixed-race] workers. We note the importance for revolutionary workers in South Africa of the struggle against the popular-frontism of the reformist Brazilian Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party), and of the events in South Africa for the workers and radical youth in Brazil.

In Brazil the left is impregnated with nationalism and popular-frontist reformism. At present its various tendencies are competing with each other to see who can best capitulate to the Frente Brasil Popular (FBP), the open coalition of Lula's PT with bourgeois politicians. This front does everything possible to demobilize the exploited and oppressed, in this country which has a highly combative proletariat and is experiencing deep social unrest. The trade-union bureaucrats and their leftist advisers insist that instead of fighting, the working people must "wait" for Lula to be elected and not "frighten" his bourgeois allies. The Stalinists (PPS and PCdoB [People's Socialist Party, formerly the pro-Moscow CP, and Communist Party of Brazil, formerly pro-Albania]) with their doctrine of class collaboration—who supported the bourgeois governments of Sarney, Collor and Itamar Franco—are now part of the popular front led by Lula. While the Mandelites of Democracia Socialista and the Lambertistes of O Trabalho [Labor] revel in their by now traditional role as faithful servants of the leadership of Lula & Co., the Morenoites of the PSTU [United Socialist Workers Party] strike a hypocritically "critical" posture at the same time as they have openly joined the FBP.

To the left of these tendencies are the centrists of Causa Operária (CO) [Workers Cause, aligned with the Argentine Partido Obrero of Jorge Altamira]. The comrades of Luta Metalúrgica were originally recruited to CO because they believed it represented a revolutionary, Trotskyist opposition to the popular front. But already in the 1989 elections, at the same time as it "criticized" the popular front, CO voted for the popular front's candidate, Lula. Thus its "criticism" had no consequences in deeds, serving only as a fig leaf for its vote *in favor of* class collaboration.

Facing the 1994 elections, CO has been spinning around, first seeking to make a "distinction between supporting Lula and campaigning for him, and possibly calling for a vote to the candidate of the PT" (*Circular Interna* [Internal Bulletin], 1 April 1994), later feigning a position of "no vote to the candidates of the Frente Brasil Popular" (*Causa Operária*, 12 June), only to wind up with the call to "vote for Lula and the worker and peasant candidates" (*Causa Operária*, 1 August). CO thereby reproduces the fake Trotskyists' typical trick of arguing that a vote for the "workers candidates" of the popular front (in this case including its presidential candidate) is somehow "different" from voting for the popular front as such.

For these petty bourgeois who peddle their wares in the shadow of the popular front, "leftist" phrases are not to be taken seriously but serve only to pretify tailing after their reformist masters! Their line has *nothing* to do with that of Trotsky, who characterized the support by Andrés Nin's POUM to the Spanish popular front as a *betrayal* and stressed, regarding the popular-front government: "It is necessary to openly and boldly mobilize the masses against the Popular Front government" ("Is Victory Possible in Spain?" April 1937).

We note that this "national-Trotskyist" tendency [of Altamira] has traditionally justified its betrayals through Menshevik stageism and references to the "anti-imperialist united front," the formula used by Guillermo Lora (former ally of Jorge Altamira's Partido Obrero in Argentina and CO in Brazil) in Bolivia to justify his shameful capitulation to a whole series of popular fronts.

Against this Menshevism, in a document (April 1994) opposing CO's line, the comrades of the Volta Redonda cell (Luta Metalúrgica) characterized the FBP as "a class-collaborationist front," a popular front. They demanded "that Causa Operária break with the PT and the popular front in all its variants.... The elementary duty of all revolutionary Marxists is to irreconcilably struggle against the popular front in the elections and to have absolutely no confidence in it." The CO leadership *suppressed* this clear denunciation, together with the entire last part of the document, in CO's *Circular Interna*. A subsequent document (July 1994) that the comrades wrote against CO's capitulation ended with the clear slogan: "For a revolutionary workers party—No vote to the popular front and Lula." The International Communist League has raised the same position of intransigent proletarian opposition to the popular front.

II

The world situation today has been profoundly affected by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. Far from representing a "victory" or mere "episode" as the fake Trotskyists claim (including CO, which virtually kept its members away from all discussion of the Russian question), the restoration of capitalism in the USSR—resulting from the encirclement and enormous pressure of imperialism and prepared by decades of Stalinist betrayals—represented a great *defeat* for the workers of the world. Its repercussions for the semi-colonial victims of imperialism are very clear from Iraq to Haiti, with the growing military adventures of Yankee imperialism, which today threatens to strangle the Cuban deformed workers state (undermined from within by the Castro bureaucracy).

In the present "new world *dis*order" there are growing interimperialist rivalries, fratricidal inter-ethnic wars, fascist attacks against immigrants and dark-skinned workers in Europe, assaults against the rights of women. At the same time, unrest throughout the world—symbolized by the revolt of Indian peasants in the south of Mexico, the victorious Air France strike, youth mobilizations against fascists in Europe and many other events—brings opportunities for revolutionary intervention by the proletariat. It is more urgent than ever to forge the international Leninist vanguard party.

Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, taught us that those who do not defend conquests already won will never be able to win new conquests. He showed the dual character of the [Stalinist] bureaucracy, a narrow nationalist caste resting atop the gains of October: at times it was obliged to defend these conquests in its own partial and contradictory way, while undermining them through betraying the world revolution and trampling proletarian democracy.

Trotsky and James P. Cannon, founder of North American Trotskyism, compared the revolutionary policy toward the USSR to the situation of a bureaucratized trade union. Conscious workers defend the union against the capitalist government and the bosses, while fighting for a revolutionary leadership to throw out the treacherous bureaucrats. Likewise, it was the duty of the world proletariat to give unconditional military defense to the USSR, while fighting to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution, indispensable for preventing capitalist restoration. During the entire period of the Left Opposition and the struggle for the Fourth International, Trotsky emphasized that *"Defense of the Soviet Union"* from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization" ("War and the Fourth International," June 1934).

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Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election

Lula Popular Front Chains Workers' Struggle

Gurgel/Manchete

Brazil president-elect Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

The October 3 national elections in Brazil resulted in solid victory for Fernando Henrique Cardoso, whose (thoroughly bourgeois) "social-democratic" party, the PSDB, was allied with a bloc of rightist parties and local political bosses. While characterized by plenty of government "dirty tricks" in favor of the official candidate, the vote was a stinging defeat for Cardoso's main electoral opponents, the Frente Brasil Popular headed by Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party). Only four months ago, Lula was riding high with over 40 percent support in the opinion polls, more than all other candidates combined. Now Cardoso has been elected on the first round of the voting, with more than 54 percent of the valid votes.

Cardoso rode to victory on the coattails of the currently popular "Real Plan" which he designed as outgoing president Itamar Franco's treasury minister. Named after a new currency (the *real*—the most recent in a long series of monetary units introduced to "cure" Brazil's spectacular financial instability), the plan was based on linking the currency to the American dollar, slashing public spending, continuing privatizations of state-owned companies and attracting foreign investment.

While for the moment it has dramatically reduced inflation from 50 percent to less than 6 percent a month, this International Monetary Fund-style "stabilization" scheme is aimed pointblank against the working class. Budget cuts and privatizations mean even more mass layoffs and poverty, in a country where more than 12 million people earn *less* than the starvation minimum wage of US $71 a month and 5 million work without receiving any cash wages at all. Moreover, these "quick cure" plans have a tendency to go down in flames after a few months, which is why it was introduced only in July. Leading businessmen (97 percent of whom supported Cardoso, according to one poll) temporarily held off price increases in order to prevent a Lula victory, and the government concealed unfavorable economic figures to help the official candidate.

The Real Plan spelled electoral disaster for Lula, who quickly cut short opposition to the scheme after accurately denouncing it as a crude electoral gambit. Rather than mobilize workers' action against the anti-labor plan, the PT-aligned CUT (United Workers Federation) sought to quickly end strikes by the powerful São Paulo metalworkers as well as by 50,000 members of the oil workers union. All along, the PT's campaign aimed at proving its respectability and fitness to administer Brazilian capitalism. Programmatically this was underlined at the party's April conference, where abortion rights and other "controversial" planks were scrapped from the PT's longstanding (reformist) program. Sealing alliances with bourgeois politicians, Lula succeeded in making himself virtually indistinguishable from Cardoso—whom he accused of "stealing" his program!

In numerous meetings with São Paulo moguls, Lula promised support to large-scale budget cuts and vowed that, far from touching capital's interests, his government would be good for Brazilian big business. On a junket to Wall Street he announced that the PT had abandoned its previous call for a moratorium (not even repudiation) on payments to foreign banks and governments; he was asking only for a "renegotiation" of the foreign debt, which totals $135 billion. This year Brazil already renegotiated financing on a third of the debt; the PT accepted the onerous terms and wanted to do the same with the rest, promising to keep feeding the bloodsucking international financiers who drain *12 billion dollars* from the country each year.

During a June visit to Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Lula promised a "coalition government." After Cardoso met with Archbishop Arns of São Paulo, a close Lula adviser, Lula proposed a "cooperation agreement" with the PSDB, a call soon echoed by Cardoso's own running mate. In the final stretch, the PT candidate averred that the PT had to "flexibilize" its program even further in order to garner support from the "middle class" (*Folha de São Paulo*, 3 October). As if all this weren't clear enough, Lula reiterated that if Cardoso were elected he would support him and possibly "participate" in a Cardoso government (*El Diario/La Prensa* [New York], 30 September).

With the "choice" between IMF-ordered cutbacks and layoffs administered by Lula or by Real Plan "wizard" Cardoso, Brazilian voters decided to go with the latter, who at least promised to deliver "stability" by slashing the savage inflation. "Historic" populist leader Leonel Brizola was reduced to insignificance in the vote, with his nationalist PDT (Democratic Labor Party) receiving only 3 percent in its traditional stronghold, the state of Rio de Janeiro.

No Vote to the Popular Front!

Claiming some 600,000 members, the Brazilian PT has been the flagship for a Latin American "left" which—after the collapse of Stalinism led it to junk all reference to class struggle or revolution—set up the "Foro de São Paulo" to bring together Mexican Cardenistas, Nicaraguan Sandinistas and a host of others on the basis of verbiage about a "democratic revolution." At the same time, the PT has been a key point of reference for debates in South Africa on the question of a "workers party," with both the Communist Party (now in the ANC/De Klerk government) and leftist critics in WOSA (Workers Organisation for Socialist Action) looking to Lula's party for inspiration.

Around the world, pseudo-Trotskyists of various tendencies, and particularly Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, have seen the Brazilian PT as a model of a non-Stalinist "democratic socialist" party in which they hoped to achieve mass influence by acting as leftist advisers to Lula & Co. Consequently they have systematically painted up this pale pink party in bright red colors. A recent article by American Mandelite George Saunders claims:

> "The PT is neither a bourgeois populist nor a social democratic nor a Stalinist party.... To the contrary, the PT consciously calls itself revolutionary socialist and has adopted revolutionary socialist policies and perspectives (most recently at its national gatherings in June 1993 and April 1994).... As I have indicated, most of the ranks and leaders of the PT have consistently rejected both populist and Popular Front-ist conceptions and pressures."
>
> —*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, September 1994

This fairy tale is a *lie* from start to finish.

Not a social-democratic party? Following the recent vote, José Dirceu, the secretary general of the PT who is leader of the dominant tendency, Articulação, declared: "The party is a left social-democratic party. Its objectives are to democratize the political institutions, wealth and power" (*Folha de São Paulo*, 5 October). A "revolutionary socialist" party? While the June 1993 PT statement has a dash of leftist verbiage, the program is entirely one of "structural reforms" to "democratize the state," "redistribute income" through "progressive tax reform," "democratize land ownership" through agrarian reform, etc. By the PT's April 1994 election platform all "revolutionary" window-dressing has been excised (see *International Viewpoint*, December 1993 and July 1994, for the text of these thoroughly reformist documents).

And far from "rejecting popular-frontist conceptions," *the PT set up a popular front, both in the 1989 presidential elections and again this year, as a guarantee to the international and domestic bourgeoisie.* Aptly named, Lula's Frente Brasil Popular (FBP) is a class-collaborationist coalition tying the workers movement and left to the politicians and institutions of the bourgeois state. Reaching out to the armed forces, Lula promised to *triple* the military budget and called for establishing the previously nonexistent post of defense minister as a seal of approval for the military. This recalls the "constitutional guarantees" Salvador Allende gave to the Chilean military, paving the way for the September 1973 Santiago coup. In Brazil, it echoes the way the reformist left chained the workers movement to "progressive" bourgeois politicians and officers, setting the stage for the bloody 1964 military coup which ushered in *two decades* of brutal army rule.

As in the case of Allende's Unidad Popular and Mitterrand's Union de la Gauche in France, the position of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) toward the FBP in the Brazilian elections was for *no vote to any of the candidates of the popular front.* Given the character of the PT as a workers party with mass support, we would seek to intersect working-class discontent toward the PT's class-collaborationist electoral campaign, calling on the PT to repudiate its guarantees to and alliance with the bourgeoisie and run on a

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AFP

Goldgrub/Jornal do Brazil

Workers Party (PT) candidate Lula (above, center) campaigning in recent elections. PT leaders gave guarantees to capital by forming the Brazil Popular Front together with minor bourgeois parties.

Brazil...

(continued from page 7)

class-against-class basis. Such a break would be the minimum *precondition* for any kind of critical electoral support. If it had the resources, a Trotskyist party in Brazil would have run in these elections *against* the PT, putting forward a program to fulfill the toilers' urgent needs through socialist revolution.

This has also been the position of a small group of revolutionary workers who, continuing their longstanding fight against popular-frontism, have broken from the swamp of the fake-Trotskyist left in Brazil (see the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica [Brazil] and the International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]," in this issue). In a recent issue of their bulletin (*Luta Metalúrgica*, September 1994), these comrades write:

> "The Popular Front and the CUT have demobilized struggles in order to play strictly according to the electoral calendar (Lula 94!!)....
> "The PT and Popular Front's minimum wage proposal is lower than that put forward by ["center-right" candidate] Quércia; the bourgeois candidate Brizola has a harder position on privatizations than Lula, etc., and there is no class cutting edge differentiating the FBP candidacy from the bosses' candidacies; the FBP is one more among the variants of bourgeois politics in the institutional framework. And when the Popular Front has been the government (São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Volta Redonda, etc.), it acts the same as governments of the bosses, attacking the rights of public employees and so on...."

Calling for united strike action, including the occupation of landed estates and factories, and the preparation of a general strike against the ravages of the Real Plan; for "defense of Cuba," "Yankees out of Haiti," a fight against racial oppression and to "defend the rights of women, Indians and homosexuals;" the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica raise as their slogan for the elections: "a broad campaign together with the workers of the city and the countryside and the youth for a null vote and for the construction of a true workers party, the revolutionary party." The statement ends with the call for "Proletarian Opposition to the Popular Front —For Workers Mobilization to Defeat the Cardoso/IMF Hunger Plan! For a Workers and Peasants Government!"

Powerhouse of Latin American Labor

Brazil, in territory the fifth-largest country on the planet, is the colossus of Latin America: its 158 million inhabitants make up half the population of South America. With the tenth-largest economy in the world, it is a case study in combined and uneven development. Glaring regional differences divide the country. Huge, cosmopolitan cities like São Paulo are surrounded by desperately impoverished shantytowns (*favelas*) and dominate a countryside mired in backwardness and illiteracy. There are 32 million people living in hunger, 20 million unemployed and underemployed, 12 million *sem terra* (landless peasants). Export-led industrialization produced a huge, highly combative proletariat, with hundreds of thousands of workers in high-tech "multinational" industries. The Brazilian working class is the powerhouse of the Latin American proletariat.

For years, the Brazilian bourgeoisie kept the lid on through a combination of nationalist populism and iron-fisted repression. In 1963-64 large-scale mobilizations by land-hungry peasants reached the point of threatening the bourgeois-nationalist regime of President João Goulart. The example of the Cuban Revolution had helped radicalize a new generation of leftists, many of them impatient with the sterile reformism of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. In April 1964, the Brazilian military took power in a coup d'état planned in close cooperation with Lyndon B. Johnson's White House. This coup decapitated the left and labor movement, setting the stage for the dictatorships that took power a few years later throughout Latin America's "Southern Cone"—in Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina.

AP

Killing of street children by death squads of police and drug traffickers is rampant in Brazil's shantytowns. Above, six killed in Duque de Caxias suburb of Rio de Janeiro, November 1991.

The generals' Brazil was a living hell for leftists tortured in prison cells, and for the working people as a whole, whose real wages were slashed by 30 percent from 1964 to 1974. Precisely for this reason, the country was a paradise for investors; the military boot suppressed attempts by the working class to defend itself against the most brutal superexploitation. In the early '70s, the economy "took off" at a rate surpassing any other "underdeveloped" capitalist country, except oil producers. Far from a "free market" success story, the "Brazilian miracle" developed under military technocratic state control. Massive foreign investment, which increased by 25 percent a year after 1970, led to imperialist corporations controlling not only the auto and pharmaceutical industries but also industries which had traditionally been the domain of Brazilian capital, such as beverages, textiles and machinery.

While urbanization and industrialization grew apace during the 20 years of military rule, Brazil's income distribution became one of the most starkly polarized in the world. A burgeoning population in the *favelas* provided cheap labor but a scanty internal market. By the end of the 1970s, inflation was skyrocketing and a massive wave of strikes, centered on São Paulo's "ABC" auto manufacture zone, had begun to rock the regime (see "Labor Shakes Generals' Brazil," *WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980). In an attempt to head off widespread radicalization, the generals decreed a limited and controlled *abertura*—a political "opening" designed to be a face-lift for the dictatorship. The safety valve for discontent was supposed to be the regime's kept "opposition," the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement), an umbrella group bringing together a range of bourgeois politicians, union bureaucrats (called *pelegos* in Brazil), and even a sector of fake leftists.

PT Reformism Shackles Mass Struggles

Meanwhile, the traditional populists were quite incapable of leading a struggle against the military regime. This was the backdrop for a sector of MDB-linked *pelegos*, led and symbolized by "ABC" metalworkers leader Lula, to begin talking about a "workers party." Reflecting the broad and militant strike wave, the result was a break from the openly bourgeois parties and the official launching of the Partido dos Trabalhadores in February 1980. In the spring 1982 elections, the slogan of Lula's bid for the São Paulo governorship was "worker vote for worker." The new party had a big popular appeal; many famous entertainers and sports figures (among them soccer great Pelé) gave it their support.

Yet from the beginning the PT leadership, with close links to the liberal wing of the Catholic Church, quite consciously limited the party to a reformist program. The PT's February 1980 manifesto calls for "democratic control over the state bureaucracy and the decisions made by the big companies." Stressing its national character, the party eschewed affiliation to any international grouping (although the CUT labor federation in 1992 joined the U.S.-aligned International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). It refused to challenge the limits set by the bourgeois state in this country where capitalist rule has meant military terror, superexploitation and hunger for millions. Accommodating the anti-Communist winds blowing from Washington, the PT eulogized Poland's Solidarność; in early 1981, Lula joined his personal hero, Lech Walesa, at the Vatican for an audience with Polish Pope Wojtyla.

Soon enough, the meaning of reformism was brought home to thousands of workers when the PT started winning city elections. While PT administrations collaborated with layoffs and brutal budget cuts in several regions, the most famous case was that of São Paulo mayor Luiza Erundina's breaking of a major municipal transport workers strike. The PT's reformism was instrumental in allowing the military to make an "orderly transition," hand-picking civilian president José Sarney in 1985. As in other Southern Cone countries, the military torturers and executioners went free; the military brass, withdrawing from the limelight, made it clear that not only would the armed forces' "institutionality" remain intact, but they would keep a close eye on political developments.

Bringing up the PT's rear was the whole gamut of the "Marxist left." The two sizable Communist Parties (the pro-Moscow PCB and formerly pro-Albania PCdoB) originally criticized the PT from the *right* for being too "hard" on the traditional populist parties, only to jump on the handwagon when Lula's popularity grew. A slew of fake-Trotskyist tendencies had participated in the PT's founding. The Mandelites, ironically going under the name Democracia Socialista, served as hatchet men for the Lula bureaucracy. The O Trabalho group, followers of French pseudo-Trotskyist Pierre Lambert, sought to be loyal left advisers. The PT was also home for many years to Convergência Socialista, section of Nahuel Moreno's International Workers League, which achieved a certain implantation in some union sectors, as well as the small centrist group Causa Operária, linked to Jorge Altamira's Argentine Partido Obrero.

The Brazilian PT is the first organic mass labor-based party to arise in this region where the left has historically been dominated by petty-bourgeois nationalism and Stalinism. Yet although it arose out of militant workers strikes, the PT has never gone beyond social-democratic reformism. It is dramatic proof of Lenin's classic statement that revolutionary consciousness can only be brought to the workers *from without*.

Genuine Trotskyists would have sought to intervene inside the PT, particularly in its early years, to break out a section of the party fighting on a revolutionary program against the reformist Lula leadership. Such a tactical orientation in fighting to build an independent Leninist vanguard party is in sharp contrast to the perpetual entrism and tailism of the fake Trotskyists. Even after a red purge beginning with the expulsion of Causa Operária and extending to Convergência, they continue to vote Lula. Today, the Morenoites, while openly admitting that the FBP is a popular front, are an official part of this class-collaborationist lash-up.

In the 1989 presidential elections, the PT formalized its class collaboration with the formation of the first edition of the Frente Brasil Popular. It presented bourgeois politician José Paulo Bisol as Lula's vice presidential running mate and received support in the second round of voting not only from Brizola's PDT but from Cardoso's PSDB (Party of the Brazilian Social Democracy). A sleazy provincial politician, Fernando Collor de Mello, backed by a coalition of right and "center" parties, narrowly defeated Lula in the vote.

Taking office on a "clean government" platform, Collor de Mello soon imposed a "neo-liberal" shock treatment centered on Thatcherite privatizations and accompanying massive layoffs in steel, light and power, etc. At the same time as he was gouging the working people, Collor was soon up to his neck in a labyrinthine scandal of payoffs. A groundswell of popular rage broke out in a massive movement demanding "Collor out!" Bringing together militant workers, student youth, *favela* dwellers, housewives and the rural poor, the mobilizations showed a potential to strike at IMF-imposed austerity

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BERKELEY
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
Next class: October 26
204 Dwinelle
U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
Next class: October 22
Sever Hall, Room 101
Harvard Univ., Harvard Square
Cambridge
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: October 26
Illini Union, Room 211
For more information: (217) 352-3359

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next class: October 20
Spartacist Public Office
161 W. Harrison, 10th floor
For more information: (312) 663-0715

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
Next class: October 18
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
Next class: October 22
Spartacist Public Office
41 Warren St.
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next class: October 20
Room B112, Student Union
San Francisco State
For more information: (415) 777-9367

Declaration of Fraternal Relations...

(continued from page 6)

The CO leadership never talked about such classic works by Trotsky as *In Defense of Marxism* (written against Shachtman's petty-bourgeois opposition, renegades from the defense of the USSR), because it has had a neo-Shachtmanite position toward all the conflicts between the capitalist enemies and the USSR. After the Altamiranes hailed the Islamic "revolution" of the feudalist bangman Khomeini in Iran, they opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against the "holy warriors" who were fighting to overthrow the left-nationalist regime for the "crime" of legislating education of women and agrarian reform. The CIA armed the anti-communist fanatics with enormous amounts of weapons and money so that they would kill Soviet soldiers on this battlefield of Cold War II. In Brazil the ultra-reactionaries of Family, Tradition and Property staged marches to the cry of "Russians out of Afghanistan," and the fake Trotskyists had the same position! The Spartacist tendency, following the principles of Trotsky's Fourth International, defended the USSR and the women and oppressed of Afghanistan, saying "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

When in Poland Solidarność consolidated as a clerical-nationalist movement for capitalist restoration under the aegis of the Vatican and Reagan, the Brazilian PT praised the "example" of Walesa; Lula in particular sought to identify himself with this puppet of imperialism. The question of Solidarność was an acid test for every tendency which called itself Trotskyist. The pseudo-Trotskyists shouted their "solidarity with Solidarity." While Moreno called for "All power to Solidarity," Altamira called for "the seizure of power by Solidarity." In contrast the Spartacists said, "Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!" As the Luta Metalúrgica comrades stated in their July document, "the worker" Walesa whom the fake Trotskyists followed "was the best and principal instrument of imperialism and the Vatican for counterrevolution." As the ICL warned, the victory of this anti-communist movement has brought terrible suffering to the working people of Poland.

The CO leadership had the gall to attack the Luta Metalúrgica comrades for daring to tell the truth, evident to millions of class-conscious workers, that the destruction of the deformed workers state of East Germany through its annexation by German imperialism was a defeat for the workers of the world. While the ICL threw itself into fighting against capitalist unification and for a red Germany of workers councils as part of a socialist Europe, Altamira claimed that "the phony 'unification' of Germany must...open up, sooner rather than later, a great mass mobilization and a revolutionary situation from which no country of Europe will be exempt" (*Prensa Obrera*, 3 July 1990). Far from producing a "revolutionary" situation, German reunification brought a rise in racist terror, unemployment for millions with the closing of factories, destruction of conquests for the working people, with especially brutal results for working women.

Whereas the Spartacists organized a protest in New York against Gorbachev and Yeltsin's 1991 withdrawal of the Soviet brigade [from Cuba], which gave imperialism a green light for a possible invasion, CO's newspaper (12-18 October 1991), far from protesting, proclaimed that the event had no importance because "the presence of Soviet troops has nothing to do with defense of the island ." Today CO publishes a resolution (17 July 1994) of its national congress, on Clinton's threat to invade Haiti, which *does not even mention* the urgent danger facing the Cuban Revolution.

The low point came when Yeltsin seized on the failed coup by the "Gang of Eight" in August 1991 to launch a campaign to completely destroy what remained of the gains of October and the Soviet state. In the USSR the ICL distributed thousands of leaflets with the urgent call, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" While the Morenoites hailed the "new Russian revolution," the absurd line of Altamira was that U.S. imperialism gave its support not to its man Yeltsin but to the "Gang of Eight"—in other words, that for the Soviet workers the basic thing at that time was to fight against these Stalinist has-beens and *not* against Yeltsin, Bush's man and the spearhead of open capitalist counterrevolution. CO repeated the phony propaganda that a "mass mobilization" defeated the Gang of Eight's botched coup.

It is obvious why Altamira and CO don't want their members to find out about Trotsky's line on the Russian question! It is no accident that a tendency which capitulates to class collaboration with its "own" bourgeoisie capitulated to the imperialist campaign against the conquests of the October Revolution, a campaign which culminated in the destruction of the USSR.

III

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky proclaimed that "The black question has become an integral part of the world revolution." Brazil has the largest black population in the world after Nigeria, and as part of the Brazilian working class, black and mulatto workers have enormous potential power. The struggle against the oppression of blacks in Brazil is a *strategic* question of the proletarian revolution. As Cannon noted in his essay on the Russian Revolution and blacks in the U.S. (1961), it was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who insisted that black oppression is a special question which requires special attention and work by the revolutionary party.

As Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?* the vanguard party must be the "tribune of the people," fighting to mobilize the power of the working class against every kind of oppression. The urgency of this is seen in Brazil, where death squads constantly kill black "street children." In the steel mills, black workers are condemned to die from leukopenia.[1] But the attitude of the fake left in Brazil, which follows the social-democratic PT and the bureaucracy of the CUT [pro-PT labor federation], is the narrow "trade-unionist" and economist position which Lenin's Bolsheviks fought against.

This is seen in the most scandalous way in the case of Causa Operária, which, as the Luta Metalúrgica comrades have noted, has been willfully *blind* to black oppression. CO did not even take up this question in the 6,600 lines of its collection of basic documents from 1979 to 1988 (*Bases Programáticas*). This collection was published just when tens of thousands of blacks were marching through the streets during the centenary of the abolition of slavery, shouting slogans against the brutal racism of present-day Brazil and trying to pull down the statue of the racist massacrer Caxias![2]

In an important effort to confront this strategic question, Luta Metalúrgica wrote a document in August 1993 for the meeting on "The CUT's Role in the Struggle Against Racism." In this document, which reflected a transitional period in the group's development and was marked by some important weaknesses (such as the slogan for black fractions in the unions), the comrades called for worker-peasant militias for self-defense in the struggle against racist terror, denounced forced sterilization of black women and criticized the fake left's silence on black oppression, which went hand in hand with the fact that the bulk of the "left" voted for a starvation minimum wage (less than 100 dollars a month) that condemns millions of blacks to superexploitation. In the recent period, in a significant internationalist effort, the comrades translated the document "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1967), in which the Spartacist League/U.S. elaborated the program of revolutionary integrationism.

As the tribune of the oppressed, it is indispensable that the Leninist party raise the banner of struggle against the oppression of women, rooted in the institution of the bourgeois family—a question of utmost importance in Brazil—as part of the program of permanent revolution. The defense of the rights of Indians and homosexuals is an important element in the fight against the bourgeois prejudices that poison the consciousness of the working people and against the nationalist fake left which reproduces the social values of "its own" bourgeoisie.

What Trotsky said in 1939 about blacks in the U.S. applies today as well:

> "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class.... If it happens that we...are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."
>
> —[Leon Trotsky, "Plans for the Negro Organization" (April 1939)]

The black question in Brazil, as in the U.S., is not a national question, and the fantasies of black nationalism regarding "self-determination" are an obstacle to the struggle against oppression. The only road for black liberation is that of the socialist revolution, carried out by the proletariat under the leadership of a multiracial Leninist party. This means that it is indispensable to forge black cadres of the internationalist Trotskyist party. Inspired by the heroism of such fighters as Zumbi, João Candido, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, John Brown and Sojourner Truth, the beginning of joint study on the black question is an important element of these fraternal relations.

IV

The comrades of Luta Metalúrgica ended their April document against the popular front by citing what Trotsky wrote on Spain in the 1930s: "For a successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party!" Calling for "a revolutionary regroupment that takes the form of the construction of a *Trotskyist* party with a firm Marxist programmatic base," they emphasized. "The key to a well-founded revolutionary regroupment is therefore a deep-going struggle for internationalism and the transitional program."

Essential to this effort is the fight to *forge cadres* of a Leninist nucleus. The party is built, in Lenin's words, "from the top down," on the basis of the Fourth Internationalist *program*. In its beginnings—in contrast to the fake left's hollow "mass" pretensions—such a nucleus has to be a *fighting propaganda group*. In Brazil it is a priority to publish a Trotskyist journal in line with the real size and work of the group, in order to carry out propaganda for the revolutionary program. With the authority earned in years of bitter working-class struggles, the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica face the need to polemicize against those who besmirch the name of Trotskyism—in the first place the centrists of Causa Operária; to seek the possibility of regroupments through splits and fusions, and to recruit youth so that a new generation of revolutionaries may enter the struggle against capitalist barbarism. The effort to build a propaganda group will certainly involve difficult decisions on priorities, which will need to be resolved through collective discussion.

The rotten values of semi-social-democratic groups like the PSTU and CO are shown not only over such issues as their support to "strikes" by the police (the professionals of anti-worker and racist repression) and calls for a more "people's" police. They are shown as well in the open disdain of CO's leaders toward the revolutionary workers of Luta Metalúrgica, whom they defame as "ignorant" and backward. We jointly declare a pitiless struggle to politically unmask these petty bourgeois who tail the popular front and lose no opportunity to keep their mouths shut regarding the oppression of blacks and women.

For us internationalism is not a pretty sentiment for Sunday speechifying and resolutions. It is the struggle to build a world party based on revolutionary democratic centralism, quite opposed to the national federations of innumerable nationalist opportunists. Luta Metalúrgica's record of struggle against the popular front and for finding a proletarian program against black oppression has a deep-going parallelism with the struggle of the Spartacist tendency since its foundation, and provides a solid basis for going forward together. We underline the need to carry out joint work, in full consciousness of the difficulties posed by geographic distance and other obstacles; overcoming these difficulties will require conscious, mutual efforts. We note as an urgent task the study of Portuguese by the comrades of the ICL, and of Spanish and English by comrades of Luta Metalúrgica.

Our perspective is for these fraternal relations to be a step toward the fusion of our organizations, uniting our efforts in the struggle for communism throughout the planet. The realization of such a fusion would represent an important extension of the ICL. We fight to reforge the Fourth International on the basis of the communism of Lenin and Trotsky and the rules set forward in the "Transitional Program":

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance, to call things by their right names, to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

20 September 1994

—Approved by Luta Metalúrgica, 22 September 1994.

—Approved by the International Secretariat, International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), 26 September 1994.

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[1] [Blood disease caused by fumes from the blast furnaces, which are run mainly by black workers. When Luta Metalúrgica denounced this, the companies said this disease is "genetic" for blacks. —Translator's note.]

[2] [Founder of the Brazilian army, who won the 1864-70 war against Paraguay (thereby depopulating that country) and bloodily suppressed black and peasant rebellions. —Translator's note.]

Prop 187...

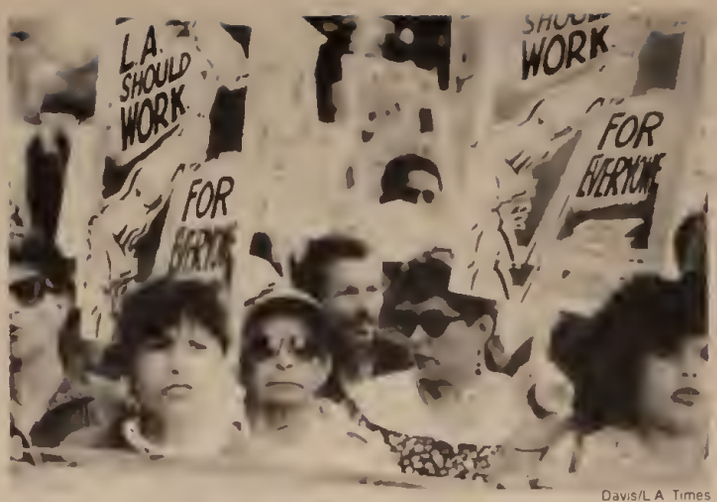
(continued from page 12)

war zone, complete with 12-foot-high metal fences, ditches and floodlights.

Meanwhile, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein demands that immigrants arrested at the border be thrown on buses and dumped hundreds of miles inside Mexico. (As mayor of San Francisco, "Dixie Dianne" had the Confederate flag flying outside city hall until a supporter of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League tore it down.) Feinstein also joins Brown in calling for a "tamper-proof" Social Security/ID card for everyone in the country. A commission appointed by Clinton, chaired by Texas black Democrat Barbara Jordan and including Prop. 187 co-author Harold Ezell, calls for a centralized computer listing of all Americans with their Social Security number and immigration status. This is part of an ongoing attempt to regiment the population by imposing the sort of pass system made notorious by South Africa's racist apartheid regime.

The bourgeoisie is by no means solidly behind Prop. 187, and major newspapers have come out against it. Nonetheless, the mainstream opposition to the anti-immigrant referendum echoes the racist "law and order" themes of the Brown and Feinstein Democratic campaigns. Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, a featured speaker at the kick-off rally of "Taxpayers Against Prop. 187" in August, called for tougher controls at the border, claiming that Prop. 187 just doesn't do the job (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 August). Last February, the statewide California Latino Civil Rights Network was formed, including organizations such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and key Latino Democrats like Gloria Molina and Art Torres. The network has a five-point program that explicitly calls for strong border controls, and for a voter registration drive among those naturalized under the amnesty provisions of the 1986 immigration "reform."

But with the elections around the corner, the more "mainstream" Latino organizations like the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund are opposing the planned October 16 rally, just as the big-name Democrats boycotted the previous rally on May 28. A demonstration of some tens of thousands of workers and youth is too hot for most of the Democratic politicians to handle—one opponent of the rally told the *Los Angeles Times* (26 September), "The last thing we need is a sense that L.A. is truly overrun by all these immigrants"! Meanwhile, groups like One-Stop Immigration and the AFL-CIO's California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA), along with other sections of the labor bureaucracy, see October 16 as an opportunity to get out the vote and blow off steam.



Davis/L.A. Times

"Justice for Janitors" march for union recognition in Los Angeles, August 1993. Latino workers in California are in forefront of fight for labor rights.

Many of the Latino youth who will turn out on October 16 understand that the Democratic Party of Boxer, Brown and Feinstein is no less their enemy than the Republican Party of Wilson. But with the main slogan "Stop Pete Wilson—No on 187!" the demonstration organizers seek to divert the outrage of L.A.'s immigrant workers into electoral support for the Democrats. CIWA director José de Paz said of the march: "Not only should we demand voice and vote in the legislation that affects us, but also we should support our candidates at election time" (*La Opinión*, 9 September).

For working people and immigrant youth—at least those who even have the right to vote—choosing which of the immigrant-bashing, union-busting capitalist parties should lord it over them is no choice at all. The coalition opposing Prop. 187 includes not only the liberal machine of the Westside Democratic Club and the California PRD, supporters of Mexican bourgeois populist Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, but also the agribusiness Farm Bureau. This class-collaborationist popular-frontist formation will not and cannot fight for the rights of immigrant workers.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

A whole collection of reformist left groups have virtually liquidated into the pro-Democratic Party organizing vehicle for October 16, in which they do the donkey work for the labor bureaucrats and the Democrats. It was this same AFL-CIO bureaucracy which tried to squelch a march by 200 union janitors against INS sweeps following the multiracial L.A. upheaval in 1992 over the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King.

What unites the liberals and the reformists is the lie that the capitalist state can be reformed or pressured into serving the needs of the working class. This "popular front" political strategy is directly counterposed to mobilizing the integrated working class to stop immigrant-bashing and cop terror. Anti-immigrant terrorism, whether by the capitalist state's police/military agencies or paramilitary fascist gangs, can be smashed only by the working class taking state power in its own hands and sweeping away the capitalist system root and branch.

Immigrant workers, many with experience of bitter class struggle in countries like El Salvador, have taken the lead in strikes in the L.A. area in recent years. They are a prime reason why, despite a general lack of militant labor struggle around the country, Southern California has seen one militant strike after another in recent years. L.A.'s massive port facilities and key rail links are the linchpin of the U.S. rulers' designs to dominate the Pacific Rim. Immigrant worker militancy poses a serious challenge to Los Angeles' longstanding reputation as an "open shop" (non-union) town, and their struggle is of vital importance to all workers.

In 1990, SEIU Local 399's heavily Latino "Justice for Janitors" campaign resisted a brutal LAPD onslaught in organizing the glitzy Century City complex. In 1992, "drywalero" construction workers waged a five-month strike against the nearly slave-like conditions in which they work, achieving union recognition under Carpenters Local 2361. The largely Latino independent truckers shut down the port for ten days in 1993.

A number of unions like SEIU 399 and the transit workers who recently struck for eight days, also include significant numbers of black workers. H.E.R.E. Local 11 won a recent victory against the Wilshire Hotel when Korean restaurant workers stood with the largely Latino hotel workers against management. And in the recent Teamsters strike, Latino, black and white workers fought side by side against police assaults and the bosses' union-busting schemes. Latino trucker Jesse Acuna, sentenced to five years on frame-up charges for defending his picket line during the recent IBT strike, is a hero for the *entire* working class.

The power of labor must be mobilized in struggle against the assault on immigrants and in the fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers in the country. Anything less leaves immigrants vulnerable to constant victimization and deportation. In addition, there must be a fight by the unions against

Der Spiegel

Troops seal off U.S.-Mexico border near San Diego.

Brazil...

(continued from page 8)

and the roots of poverty and oppression: the capitalist system. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, the reformist PT—after first trying to ignore the anti-Collor protests—joined forces with the bourgeois opposition to head off the danger, containing the crisis within the parliamentary framework.

With the aid of Lula and the PT/CUT bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie gave Collor the hook (but no jail time) and replaced him with his vice president, Itamar Franco. The PT pledged its cooperation with Franco, who included "ex-PT" ministers in his cabinet.

For Workers Revolution!

Today, Lula vows to keep the Frente Brasil Popular going after the election—although it will almost certainly fall apart in the face of enticements to various of its elements to join Cardoso's regime. Yet the prospects for Cardoso's popularity are limited. This politically seething country with its huge working class will continue to be the scene of convulsive struggle, and the eventual popping of the "Real Plan" balloon could set off major class battles.

The key to unchaining the power of Brazil's proletariat is forging a revolutionary internationalist workers party, breaking the working-class base of the PT from the pro-capitalist tops and fighting for the program of workers power. Such a party must be a Leninist "tribune of the people." In Brazil this means taking on the issue of black oppression, which has been an "unspoken question" on the Brazilian left, which echoes the bourgeoisie's myth of "racial democracy." More than half of Brazil's population consists of blacks and mulattos, who are concentrated in the proletariat and poor peasantry. Not only is discrimination rife and the starvation minimum wage used to generate immense profits from the super-exploitation of blacks, in recent years Brazil's army and police death squads, financed by prominent businessmen, have become infamous worldwide for their savage massacres of black street children (the *meninos da rua*) in Rio de Janeiro and other parts of the country.

Under the sway of the narrow, economist worldview of the PT and CUT bureaucracy—and reflecting at bottom the social values of its "own" nationalist bourgeoisie—the Brazilian left, including its "Trotskyist" components, has turned a blind eye as well to the oppression of women, discrimination against homosexuals and the barbaric extermination of Indian peoples by profit-crazed prospectors and ranchers. The Brazilian proletariat can liberate itself only by taking on the historic mission of emancipating all the oppressed, smashing the rule of capital and putting this country's immense resources and energies at the service of the working people. Leading the millions of land-starved peasants, the working class must establish its own rule as part of a Socialist United States of Latin America, fighting to extend revolution to the imperialist heartland, the United States. This is Trotsky's program of permanent revolution.

Indeed, the construction of a Brazilian Trotskyist party with a strong black leadership component would strike an important chord from Harlem to Johannesburg. The internationalist program would provide a powerful beacon not only for the workers and peasants of Brazil but for the beleaguered toilers of countries like neighboring Bolivia, where capitalist governments have decimated the working class; for the oppressed masses of Haiti and the embattled workers of Cuba, starved by imperialism's embargo and threatened by counterrevolution; and South African workers whose strikes are being broken by Mandela's nationalist popular front. While Lula's popular front flounders, the urgent need is to build a Trotskyist party of workers revolution in Brazil, in the fight to reforge the Fourth International. ■

unemployment through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a campaign to organize the unorganized. Particularly with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), this must reach across the border to the brutally exploited workers in the *maquiladoras* fighting U.S. and Japanese corporations and Mexican government repression.

NAFTA is an attempt by the U.S. capitalists to annex Mexico as a low-wage labor zone, but it has also enhanced opportunities for joint struggle by Mexican and U.S. workers. The key to militant labor struggle within the U.S. is a political struggle to oust the pro-Democrat labor bureaucrats, who seek to tie the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie. For years, the AFL-CIO tops have pushed racist protectionist poison against Japanese and Mexican workers, as they did in their campaign against NAFTA. In contrast, the Spartacist League denounced NAFTA as a Yankee imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico, calling for joint class struggle by workers throughout North America and Mexico to smash it.

In Mexico today, outrage over Prop. 187 and the "Operation Gatekeeper" border blockade is likewise being channeled into appeals to the viciously anti-labor Salinas government to champion the cause of Mexican workers in the U.S.! An example of the impotence of such nationalist appeals is the call by a group of Tijuana leaders for a refusal to cross the border into the U.S. on October 29-30 (*Excelsior*, 3 October). In contrast, joint protest strike action by workers on both sides of the line would send shock waves to Mexico City, Washington and Wall Street.

Capitalist Decay Nurtures Racist Mobilization

Wilson and the backers of Prop. 187 hope to foment a racist mobilization with the aim of diverting attention from the capitalist crisis which is the cause of the economic devastation ravaging California. They want to turn the victims of this increasingly bankrupt economic system into scapegoats, in the same way as the "war on crime" targets the black ghettos for racist repression because there are no jobs for minority youth.

Still reeling from the latest recession, with real unemployment in double digits, California is fertile ground for anti-immigrant demagoguery. The state has lost more than 650,000 jobs, three-fourths of them in Los Angeles County. The California public school system, the only one in the U.S. with a majority of minority students, has been decimated. Per-student spending is now among the lowest in the country—thanks in large part to Prop. 13, passed in 1978, which froze property taxes on which local schools depend.

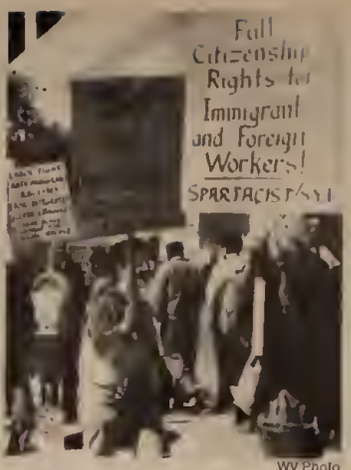
Latinos now outnumber non-Hispanic whites in the Los Angeles area. One-third of the population of L.A. and one-quarter that of San Francisco and Orange County are foreign-born, many of them undocumented. Under the terms of Prop. 187, an estimated 400,000 students statewide would be thrown out of school. In L.A.'s Belmont High School alone, Prop. 187 would lead to the expulsion of 2,000 of the 4,500 students.

The state's estimated 1.6 million undocumented immigrants are the most vulnerable target for the racists. But these immigrants are not simply victims. While "S.O.S." backers rave about supposed savings to be realized by denying basic services to "illegal" immigrants, even bourgeois studies show that immigrants contribute a net surplus of $12 billion to the state's economy. That means they have some *social power*! Over half of the workforce in California's huge "factories in the fields"—which have such a severe labor shortage that crops are literally rotting on the vine—consists of undocumented workers.

While Reagan & Co. (reflecting the interests of California agribusiness) tacitly encouraged large-scale immigration to the U.S. in the 1980s, much of it from Latin America, elements of the ruling class are beginning to fear that the Mexicans are "taking back" the Southwest that was stolen from Mexico in the middle of the 19th century. The National War College at Fort McNair recently hosted Dan Stein, executive director of the "Federation for American Immigration Reform" (FAIR). In a speech shot through with undisguised racism, Stein claimed that an "uncontrolled wave of in-migrants" threatened to "overwhelm" the country, ranting: "Today, whites are at or below replacement level, while minorities are above it." He warned the military that unless the borders were shut tight, "Our institutions will erode, our harmony of outlook will disappear, and our entire sense of national cohesion will evaporate."

This is sinister stuff. FAIR is heavily funded by the Pioneer Fund, which was founded in 1937 by a textile magnate who advocated shipping black people to Africa. This outfit is notorious for sponsoring "research" to "prove" that blacks are genetically inferior to whites. One of the authors of Prop. 187, former INS official Alan Nelson, was until recently a FAIR consultant. Another prominent Prop. 187 backer is California State Senator Don Rogers, who is tied to the "Christian nationalist" right. Rogers recently appeared alongside a founder of the fascist Aryan Nations, which regularly guns down blacks and Jews, at a "Christian Identity" conference and has written for its newsletter.

Obscenely, the Wilson gubernatorial campaign seeks to appeal to black people against immigrants. A TV ad depicts Wilson in a classroom surrounded by an interracial group of children. The subliminal message—money saved by cutting off illegal immigrants would go to educate black children. This campaign is aided and abetted by a handful of black demagogues who argue that Latinos are "stealing" black jobs and social services. Likewise, when the beating of Latino teenager Felipe Soltero by a black Compton cop provoked an integrated protest by black and Latino militants, nationalist demagogues on both sides joined the bosses' media in trying to turn it into an ethnic confrontation.



WV Photo

San Francisco, May 1993: Spartacist demonstration outside INS building protests racist deportation of Chinese immigrants.

This is deadly dangerous for both Latinos and black people. It is vital for Latino workers to understand that the color line has always been the central, strategic question in racist, capitalist America. And blacks must understand that immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism go hand in hand. One Prop. 187 sponsor explicitly evoked the imagery of KKK nightriders before an Orange County audience: "You are the posse and SOS is the rope" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 August).

Anti-immigrant racism has always been a cornerstone of nativist American reaction, from the Know Nothing attacks on German and Irish workers in the 1800s to "yellow peril" hatemongering against Chinese and Japanese. Anti-Japanese racism was whipped up in California in the service of the "war effort" in WW II as more than 100,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps. Today, Korean immigrants are a particular object of chauvinist hostility, in particular by black nationalist demagogues.

Intent on warding off social struggle and dividing the working class, the racist rulers seek to pit black against Latino, "legals" against "illegals." This is not without effect. According to opinion polls, Prop. 187 is favored by a majority (52 percent) of Latino registered voters. But while some of the more conservative Mexican American organizations have lined up behind Prop. 187, there is a growing realization that this is a racist attack on *all* minorities.

The possibility of bringing together blacks and Latinos in struggle against the racist rulers was demonstrated in the 1992 L.A. upheaval in which poor Latino, black and white youth took to the streets. Key is mobilizing the power of the working class. Recently, SEIU Local 399 organized a demonstration which brought together mainly Latino janitors and black Kaiser hospital workers to demand a new trial and freedom for former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been languishing in a California prison for 23 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit.

Along with immigrant-bashing, the American ruling class wants to put ever more blacks and Hispanics in jail. California's prison budget already equals its spending on higher education, and its prison population of 120,000 represents the highest incarceration rate *in the world*. Prop. 184, also on the November ballot, mandates 25-year-to-life sentences for those convicted of a third felony after a previous conviction for a "violent" crime. This is aimed at making it harder for the state legislature to repeal a virtually identical "three strikes" law already signed by Wilson. Such draconian laws will be used, for instance, against unionists convicted of "violent crimes" like defending their picket lines against scabs. No to Prop. 184!

The current sharp rise in anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is part of a worldwide phenomenon, which has reached a fever pitch with fascist terror against immigrants in Europe. For years, U.S. immigration policy was not only a means of securing cheap labor but a key weapon in the Cold War. Unlike black refugees from Haiti fleeing the bloody U.S.-trained junta, those fleeing "communism" in Cuba (as well as from the former Soviet Union, East Europe and Vietnam) were welcomed with open arms as "freedom fighters" and given government handouts from the day they arrived. With the destruction of the USSR, the imperialist bourgeoisies no longer feel the need to maintain the façade of granting asylum to refugees and are slamming the doors shut. Yet there are now an estimated 100 million refugees worldwide, many driven from their homes by the economic devastation and ethnic civil wars unleashed by the counterrevolutions in the former Soviet Union and East Europe.

The fight for immigrant rights, against racist terror and for a decent standard of living for all working people requires the forging of a *revolutionary workers party* grounded in an internationalist program. Acting as a *tribune of the people*, such a party can unite all the oppressed behind the working class in a successful struggle for state power. The fates of the Mexican and U.S. proletariats are closely linked, including by the human bridge of immigrant workers. We seek to build a communist internationalist vanguard fighting for working-class revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán. ■

Spartacist Forums

Republicans/Democrats—
Twin Parties of Racist Reaction!

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

• No to Proposition 187!
• Full Citizenship Rights for *All* Immigrants!

Speaker: Barbara Franck, Spartacist League
Special Eyewitness Report on Mexico: Skye White, Spartacus Youth Club

Saturday, Oct. 22, 3:00 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church
Grant Hall, Franklin at Highland
(just north of Hollywood Blvd.)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
LOS ANGELES

Thursday, Oct. 27, 6:00 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Student Union B119
For more information: (415) 777-9367
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Prop 187!

Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!

Last month an 87-year-old Korean immigrant woman in Pinole, on north San Francisco Bay, died because she and her family were afraid to go to the hospital until the last minute. Her daughter found the elderly woman severely burned in a household accident, but hesitated to call for medical help for fear that undocumented members of the household would be arrested and deported. No wonder her daughter was worried. Building up to the November elections in California, immigrant-bashing is the name of the electoral game—codified in Proposition 187. If passed, this proposition would force hospital and school personnel to report suspected "illegal immigrants" to the notorious Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) police. It would also deny welfare, education and health care to undocumented immigrants.

Taking immediate aim at "illegal" immigrants, Prop. 187, sponsored by the rightist "S.O.S." (Save Our State) campaign, is the electoral spearhead of a xenophobic offensive against *all* immigrants, inciting a climate of racist hostility particularly against Latinos and Asians. California Republican governor Pete Wilson is running for re-election on a platform of unalloyed Hispanic-bashing. But he's not alone. The Democrats are competing on the terrain of anti-immigrant electoral racism, from the White House to the California state house race on down.

The capitalists' real aim is not stopping "illegal immigration" but controlling the border like a faucet—turn it on when labor is needed, turn it off when it's not. Criminalizing immigrants makes them even more vulnerable to brutal exploitation, while the threat of deportation aims at turning them into docile wage slaves. This poses a deadly threat to the multiracial working class, particularly in California whose population of 31 million is on the verge of becoming "majority minority"—Latino, Asian and black—and where Latino workers are an increasingly strategic and militant component of the labor movement.

The Spartacist League calls to vote "no" on Prop. 187. But we also warn that this racist assault won't be defeated at the ballot box, particularly when those most directly threatened by it don't even have the right to vote. Polls show a *62 percent* approval rating for Prop. 187. The capitalists' game is to pit everyone at the bottom against each other in a desperate struggle for a piece of an ever-diminishing pie. The power to stop them lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. But to mobilize that power, to build a genuinely integrated labor movement that champions the rights of all the oppressed, from welfare mothers to immigrant youth, boils down to a question of leadership. And that question can only be answered by a revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Ciro Cesar/La Opinión

Los Angeles, May 28: Over 15,000 predominantly Latino workers marched on L.A. City Hall with banner proclaiming, "Stop Racist Attacks Against Immigrants!"

Southern California has seen a wave of labor struggles in recent years—from militant janitors and drywall construction workers to Los Angeles teachers and teaching assistants, hotel workers, hospital workers, county workers, longshoremen, Teamsters and independent truckers—which have either been led or heavily supported by Latino workers. Across the border, Mexico is seething in outrage against Prop. 187 and the recent INS blockade of the border ("Operation Gatekeeper"). But on both sides, calls for protest focus on pressuring the capitalist politicians to act.

Tens of thousands are expected to turn out in Los Angeles on October 16 for a massive demonstration of opposition to Prop. 187, a demonstration endorsed and built by significant sections of the California labor movement. Last May, more than 15,000—including a number of trade-union contingents—also marched in L.A. But all the labor tops want to do is channel militant opposition to anti-immigrant racism into a campaign to "stop Wilson" by electing equally racist Democrats.

Tying the interests of the exploited to those of the exploiters, whether it be the Democrats in the U.S. or the PRD of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in Mexico, kills any possibility of class struggle, fracturing the labor movement along racial and ethnic lines by keeping the working class bound to a system whose existence is predicated on such divisions. The only action that can successfully resist this racist onslaught is *multiracial* class struggle which can unite the militant heavily Latino L.A.-area unions and others who have denounced Prop. 187 (including teachers, health workers and the California Labor Federation) together with super-exploited Mexican workers just across the border in the U.S.-owned *maquiladora* (free trade zone) sweatshops of Tijuana. Such proletarian internationalist action would send a powerful message to the immigrant-bashers. *Down with Prop. 187! Full citizenship rights for ALL immigrants!*

Democrats and Republicans Compete in Immigrant-Bashing

Pete Wilson overcame a 20 percent lag in the polls behind Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown by pushing Prop. 187. Last year Wilson demanded repeal of the 14th Amendment, in order to deny citizenship to children born in the U.S. to undocumented immigrants. This constitutional amendment, guaranteeing citizenship to *everyone* born in the United States, was one of the hard-won victories of the Civil War which destroyed chattel slavery and led to the enfranchisement of the black freedmen. Brown opposes Prop. 187 as going too far, but attacks Wilson for being "johnny-come-lately" on the immigrant-bashing front.

Brown advocates militarizing the Mexican border, as does Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer. And the Clinton administration is already doing it. Days after ordering the colonialist invasion of Haiti—in large part aimed at stopping the flow of black Haitian "boat people"—Washington launched "Operation Gatekeeper," doubling the number of Border Patrol agents along a 14-mile stretch south of San Diego. Modeled on "Operation Blockade"—which has INS agents lined up along 20 miles of border separating El Paso and Ciudad Juarez—this turns the border into a

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 609

28 October 1994

La Stampa

General Strike Rocks Italy

MILANO—Twenty-five million people joined the nationwide general strike on October 14. More than 3 million, possibly 5 million, protested in the streets of 97 cities. This massive strike was the largest in decades, perhaps the largest since the immediate postwar period. Eighty percent participated around the country, 90 percent in industry and the public sector, almost 100 percent in the "red belt" of central Italy. Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi had doubted that the strike would be general; speaking before 200,000 in the Piazza San Carlo in the Northern industrial bastion of Torino, home of Fiat, a leader of the CISL union federation declared, "This was not a general strike, it was a total strike." Even in the South, in Catania and Palermo (Sicily), the walkout was complete.

This massively successful display of proletarian power was preceded by weeks of explosive and largely spontaneous workers protest strikes by hundreds of thousands against the government's pension-slashing austerity budget. From Berlusconi, who had gone off on a junket to Moscow in order to be out of the country on the 14th, came the arrogant response that "not one, not ten, not 100 general strikes can change the budget." The prime minister spent the day swilling vodka with would-be Tsar Yeltsin and lamenting that economic "reform" was so much harder in Italy because of parliamentary constraints. The aspirations of the leader of the right-wing coalition government (which for the first time since WW II includes fascist ministers) to become a new strongman are patently clear: one protester's sign declared, "Mussolini had the balconies, Berlusconi isn't satisfied with six TV chains," referring to the three channels owned by the media magnate's Fininvest chain, and the three "public" channels he now controls as head of the government.

AP

Top: 350,000 protesting workers in Milano during October 14 general strike. Above: Unemployed workers protested outside Prime Minister Berlusconi's office in Roma.

Commenting on the general strike and Berlusconi's high-handed response, Massimo D'Alema, head of the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), remarked: "A democratic government cannot refuse to take this into account." In the same vein, Eugenio Scalfari, editor of the liberal bourgeois daily *La Repubblica* (15 October) wrote in a front-page editorial, "The people protest in the streets, but then they return to their houses and to work. Fortunately. If they remained in the streets to protest not four hours like yesterday but for two whole days, any government would fall like a house of cards." Scalfari and D'Alema are imagining a parliamentary shuffle bringing in a popular-front cabinet.

Yet scarcely two years ago, in October 1992, the PDS reformists were being chased from speakers' platforms under a hail of coins and bolts from their own members, enraged by the sellout of hard-won union gains. *La Stampa* (15 October), house organ of Fiat hoss Giovanni Agnelli, commented on the "miracle in Milano," that this time "the coins (and bolts)" against the union tops were "no longer in fashion." A real, unlimited general strike would pose the question of

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U.S. Troops Out Now!

Yankee Occupation Props Up Haiti Elite

On October 15, U.S. Black Hawk helicopters delivered exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide back to Haiti's National Palace, where tens of thousands cheered the populist priest. Thousands of Haitian soldiers, police and paramilitary *attachés*—the present-day version of the Tontons Macoutes thugs of the Duvalier dictatorship—began to flee as their victims sought retribution. But Aristide has returned as a front man for the U.S. colonial occupation of Haiti, which is intended to install a "professionalized" apparatus of oppression.

While many liberals and leftists in both Haiti and the U.S. openly or backhandedly support Clinton's "humanitarian" occupation, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have from the beginning called for "U.S. out of Haiti!" The main reasons Washington launched its invasion were to stop the flow of desperate black Haitian refugees to the U.S., reinforce imperial domination over its Caribbean "backyard" and tighten the screws on the Cuban deformed workers state.

Aristide's speech at the National Palace (inside a bulletproof glass box, in front of a Haitian honor guard whose rifles' firing pins had been removed) hailed the U.S. armed forces. Echoing his October 4 speech to the United Nations, in which he stressed "reconciliation" as the way to get Haiti "from misery to poverty in dignity," Aristide threw a dove into the air and advised the crowd, "If you see an attaché with his gun, bring him to the American military, who will give you security."

But the "security" the U.S. Army troops are providing is for the property rights of the despised local bourgeois elite, who have always depended on the army and paramilitary killers to defend their privileges from the impoverished masses. Now U.S. Army APCs are lined up in front of the food

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Hands Off the International Socialists!

Free South Korean Leftists, Trade Unionists!

Seizing on U.S. imperialism's onslaught of threats against the North Korean deformed workers state, in recent months the Kim Young Sam government in South Korea has sharply escalated its police-state crackdown on the left and workers movement. Hundreds of militant trade unionists were arrested during a strike wave this summer, as thousands of riot cops repeatedly charged into workers' rallies and stormed union offices. At the same time, the regime launched a witchhunt against pro-reunification student groups, arresting at least 300 leftist activists and placing 90 leaders of Hanchongnyon (National Federation of University Student Councils) on its "most wanted" list.

Now the Seoul regime has widened its anti-left crackdown, arresting 23 supporters of the International Socialists (I.S.) in mid-October under the draconian National Security Law. Dozens of others are being sought or are under investigation. Among those imprisoned was socialist publisher Choi Il Bung, a founder of the Korean I.S., who was released from prison only last December following an earlier arrest (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993). The I.S. is politically aligned with Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. International Socialist Organization. Notably, unlike many of the student leftists rounded up over the summer, who were denounced as sympathetic to the North, the "third camp" Cliffites are virulently hostile to North Korea and refuse to defend it against imperialism and counterrevolution.

The National Security Law, which is so severe that even Washington calls for its modification or repeal, has been used repeatedly to try to smash leftist organizations. In May 1992, this law was used to go after the Socialist Workers League (SWL), reportedly the largest socialist group in South Korea, for "seeking a proletariat revolution" (*Korea Times*, 16 May 1992). SWL leader Paek Tae Woong and 39 other activists were arrested, and several months earlier, poet Park Ki Pyong had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in organizing the SWL. In January 1992, labor militants were seized on suspicion of trying to organize a workers party (see "Mobilize Against Anti-Labor Repression in Mexico, South Korea," *WV* No. 545, 21 February 1992).

The recent arrests fully demonstrate that South Korea remains a police state, despite the "democratic" pretensions of Kim Young Sam, a bourgeois oppositionist to the former military dictatorship who was put in office two years ago as a civilian "alternative" to direct military rule. Leftists and trade unionists internationally must demand the release of the imprisoned Korean leftists and trade unionists! We print below a protest letter issued by the Partisan Defense Committee.

23 October 1994

Ambassador of South Korea
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We are writing to protest the arrests of at least 23 socialists and union activists, including Choi Il Bung and other supporters of the International Socialists. We demand they be immediately released and all charges be dropped.

Choi Il Bung is no stranger to Korean prisons. Last December he was released after a year in prison for publishing Marxist and other political books available in countries around the world. He and the others recently arrested are charged with "forming an organization benefitting the enemy" under the National Security Law. The "enemy" of the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

For Workers Revolution in Italy!

Confronted with the growth of fascism and the bourgeoisie's drive for a "strong state," the reformist misleaders of the Italian working class pursue a program of (bourgeois) democracy based on the class-collaborationist popular front. Eight years after Mussolini's 1922 rise to power, Leon Trotsky, in a letter to Italian supporters, addressed illusions in a "democratic revolution" as the answer to fascism, emphasizing that only workers revolution could sweep away the rule of capital which was the basis for the regime of the fascist blackshirts. Trotsky's warning that the restoration of bourgeois democracy in Mussolini's Italy would be the result not of a "democratic revolution" but rather of a counterrevolutionary suppression of proletarian uprising was confirmed in the Stalinists' derailing of workers revolution in 1943-45 in the wake of Mussolini's downfall.

You deny the possibility of a bourgeois revolution in Italy. You are perfectly right. History cannot turn back a considerable number of pages, each of which is equivalent to half a decade. The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party already tried once to duck the question by proclaiming that the revolution would be neither bourgeois nor proletarian, but "popular."...

Does this mean that Italy cannot, for a certain time, again become a parliamentary state or become a "democratic republic"? I consider—in perfect agreement with you, I think—that this eventuality is not excluded. But then it will not be the fruit of a bourgeois revolution, but the abortion of an insufficiently matured and premature proletarian revolution. In the event of a profound revolutionary crisis and mass battles in the course of which the proletarian vanguard will not have been in a position to take power, it may be that the bourgeoisie will restore its rule on "democratic" bases....

But does this mean that we communists reject in advance all democratic slogans, all transitional or preparatory slogans, limiting ourselves strictly to the *proletarian dictatorship*? That would be a display of sterile, doctrinaire sectarianism. We do not believe for one moment that a single revolutionary leap suffices to cross what separates the fascist regime from the proletarian dictatorship. In no way do we deny a transitional period with its transitional demands, including democratic demands. But it is precisely with the aid of these transitional slogans, which are always the starting point on the road to the proletarian dictatorship, that the communist vanguard will have to win the whole working class and that the latter will have to unite around itself all the oppressed masses of the nation.

—Leon Trotsky, "Problems of the Italian Revolution" (May 1930)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is October 25

No. 609 **28 October 1994**

Letter

Shelly Weltman

October 4, 1994

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

This is to inform you of the death at age 53 of an old personal friend of mine and long-time political radical, Shelly Weltman. Shelly passed away of a heart attack on September 24th.

Shelly was in the 1960s for a time a supporter of the Spartacist League. Then later on, he became for want of a better phrase what I could only term a kind of iconoclastic Trotskyist freelancer politically. He was one of the smartest guys I ever met, an entirely self-educated working class guy of Jewish origins who had grown up in a neighborhood where he had to learn to fight back early on because of taunts about his Jewish heritage from anti-Semitic religious bigots. Shelly told me years later that the fact he was always called an atheist when he was a kid made him seriously turn to investigating atheism and materialism later on, and he was a self-conscious atheist and materialist throughout his entire later life.

Shelly was particularly fascinated by science and its implications in philosophy, and he avidly read books on science and philosophy. He was also an avid music collector, self-employed in his own business which involved finding and distributing old classics in rock music, and he himself had a fine collection.

Later in his life, he again was, I believe, a political supporter of the Spartacist League, and more recently he helped another radical party, the Trotskyist League, build an anti-Klan demonstration in the Midwest where he then lived.

My fondest memories of Shelly, however, are of the interminably often exasperating arguments and wrangles over politics he, a mutual friend and I had over dinner or coffee in New York City where the three of us lived. Unfortunately, these fascinating discussions were too few and far between, and I missed having more of them, but I shall especially feel the void in this sort of enormously mentally stimulating food for thought in my life now, with Shelly having passed away.

Shelly had a son, André, who I believe was associated with the SL, and a little girl, Nikki. His wife, Lisa, informed me over the phone she was putting together a booklet of memories about him, as well as putting an article about him in the paper of her party, the Trotskyist League. I thought it was fitting in light of Shelly's long-time sympathies with the Spartacist League for me to inform the comrades of his passing. I shall miss him.

Comradely,
Al Greene

Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- **Ernest Mandel**
  Spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International
- **Joseph Seymour**
  Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S., International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

11 November 1994

7:30 p.m. at P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Avenue)
For more information call: (212) 732-7860

New York City

For Mass Pickets to Shut Down CAT, Staley, Rubber!

Midwest Labor Rallies in Decatur

DECATUR, Illinois—Five thousand workers from all over the Midwest came out October 15 in solidarity with striking workers at Caterpillar and Bridgestone/Firestone rubber, and with workers at the Staley corn processing plant who have been locked out for the last 15 months. Decatur is strike city, and workers around the country are coming to identify with the fight by workers here for the very existence of their unions. All three companies have brought in strikebreakers and scabs to run production. Unionists have traveled for hundreds of miles to make a real show of solidarity, but there has been no program to mobilize the *power* of Midwest labor to stop the scabbing and shut the plants down tight.

Hours before the march, hundreds of workers assembled at the UAW Local 751 hall of the CAT strikers. Rubber Workers members came from as far away as Nashville and Oklahoma City. SEIU Local 73 (Illinois state workers) sent delegations from Chicago and Springfield. Auto workers came on buses from Flint Local 599 at Buick City, site of last month's strike against GM, and other locals in Michigan and Ohio. The stage and sound system came on a tractor-trailer brought by the Pennsylvania Conference of Teamsters.

Decatur is the center of what strikers call the Illinois "war zone," including Peoria and Aurora, where hard union battles have been going on constantly for the last three years. But it's been pretty much a *one-sided* war against labor. For a decade and a half, workers across the Midwest have seen their unions ravaged by mass layoffs, givebacks and strikebreaking. The plant closings and massive concessions in auto which decimated labor/black Detroit were followed by the defeat of two Greyhound strikes, the betrayal of Hormel meatpackers by their own union tops, and the busting of *Chicago Tribune* printers unions.

Decatur must not become, in the words of one demonstrator's sign, "Scab Town USA." How can the workers win? The bosses have their mercenary strikebreakers like Vance International, their cops and courts, their Democratic and Republican politicians and the media who do their bidding. What does labor have? Above all its numbers, organization and the social power to stop production and cut off capitalists' profits. But it takes a *leadership* that is conscious of this power and willing to use it.

A common strike front of area unions should be built, appealing to labor and minorities from Chicago to St. Louis to join their fight and employ the class-struggle weapons that forged the industrial unions. Then we could start talking about some *two-sided* class war, and some union victories for a change. The companies are bringing in scabs? Then ring the struck plants with real *mass pickets* that *nobody* crosses! Unions must refuse to handle ("hot-cargo") scab products: Teamsters and rail workers move nothing in or out of the plants, no Firestone tires mounted on cars in Detroit, no Caterpillar engines installed in GM trucks, no Staley corn sweetener used in bottling plants.

WV Photo

Decatur, Illinois, October 15: 5,000 workers march in support of unionists at Caterpillar, Bridgestone/Firestone and Staley.

Sacrificing the Union for "Right to Work" Clinton

Caterpillar workers struck in 1991. With record profits and domination of the world market for construction and earth-moving equipment, Caterpillar has relentlessly gone after the union. Following the five-month-long partial strike, where the UAW International refused to call out all 13,000 CAT workers, the company announced plans to hire scabs in April 1992. In an abject capitulation, the UAW bureaucracy ordered picket lines taken down, and sent workers back under the CAT's "final offer." The strike was called off immediately after the AFL-CIO voted to back Clinton for president. Fearing that scenes of labor battling scabs would stand in the way of the election of their "right to work" Democrat, the union tops engineered a bitter defeat.

Caterpillar workers have been paying for that piece of treachery ever since. They have had to fight a daily battle for their jobs against a steady barrage of firings, harassment and attacks on the union. Workers have been fired for wearing union T-shirts, having UAW stickers on their lunch boxes, daring to talk back to abusive foremen. The union responded with a series of short walkouts. In recovering from a defeat, such skirmishes can be used to muster labor's forces. But the UAW tops argued that strikes can't win, and pushed their "inside game" of slowdowns and appeals to the "corporate consciences" of CAT's bankers. To no avail.

As Caterpillar responded with steadily escalating reprisals, smoldering rage in the plants burst into a national strike on June 21. CAT management is playing hardball, using thousands of office workers, lower-level management, UAW defectors and newly hired scabs to continue production. Some Caterpillar plants, especially the crucial Mossville engine facility, are producing heavily with scab labor. The company is also relying heavily on imports of key parts and finished equipment. Engine blocks are coming in from Brazil, fuel pumps and excavators from Belgium. Other work is being farmed out to non-union, low-wage outfits.

In Decatur, the number of craft workers entering the CAT plant has more than quadrupled since the strike began. Illinois AFL-CIO head Don Johnson alibied this *scabbing*, claiming it was a "jurisdictional dispute." Over the summer, increasing numbers of demoralized UAW members began crossing the picket lines. Caterpillar claims that 4,000 UAW members are scabbing may be inflated, but a UAW International rep admitted at a Decatur picnic in August that over 2,000 union members are crossing the lines (*Labor Notes*, October 1994). Detroit UAW tops responded by tripling strike pay to $300 a week. With their hidebound bureaucratic logic, they figured that shelling out a few bucks could stop scabbing.

They talk about a war zone, but these givebacks artists don't even know how to wage a real strike, and wouldn't do it even if they could. They refuse to call out mass pickets to shut down the plants, or anything else it would take to win the strike. In Decatur, the need for international workers solidarity is concretely posed. But instead of appealing to British, Japanese and Brazilian workers employed by the same bosses to aid their struggles, the union tops whip up a flag-waving frenzy. Signs at the Decatur Labor Day march declared, "World War II, Part II: Japan's Bridgestone Attack on American Economy."

The *Wall Street Journal* (4 October) crows that Caterpillar's "success in operating without its biggest, strongest union could refute the conventional wisdom that both sides always suffer in a long strike." The *Journal* reports how the UAW tops themselves are directly stabbing CAT strikers in the back:

> "At plants operated by GM, Ford and Navistar International Corp., UAW members continue to install Cat diesel engines in medium or heavy-duty trucks. James Lee, the UAW shop chairman at GM's truck plant in Janesville, Wisconsin, says he didn't even know Cat's [engine-producing] Mossville factory was on strike."

At the struck Firestone plant, Teamsters and railroad workers are handing off freight to their supervisors, who then take it on into the plant. Union leaders alibi their sabotage by hiding behind the Taft-Hartley Act, which makes "secondary" boycotts "illegal." But no decisive gain of labor has ever been won playing by the bosses' rules.

Now the contract has expired at John Deere, and Case and Navistar are coming up next year. There is "the shadow of Caterpillar falling on the rest of the industry," as one auto analyst put it. Deere is demanding a two-tier contract, with new workers to start with a 30 percent wage cut. Last week, 11,000 Deere workers rejected the company's "final offer" by 90 percent. An industrywide strike is a real and immediate possibility, but the UAW International is begging Deere for a one-year contract extension to prevent a strike!

Mobilize Labor's Power

The October 15 rally and march drew thousands of workers who want to see

continued on page 5

WV Photo

Pennsylvania Teamsters, Oklahoma rubber workers came to Decatur in solidarity. Mobilize Midwest labor to stop the scabs!

Russian Ruble Crash

MOSCOW—As news of "Black Tuesday," October 11, spread like wildfire on the streets of Moscow, tremors convulsed Russia from the capital to the Siberian Far East. After several months of steady devaluation, the ruble had suddenly crashed straight through the floor. In a matter of hours, from the opening bell of the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange to noontime, the Russian currency lost *27 percent* of its value, plummeting from around 3,000 to the U.S. dollar to 3,926. (It was 2,000 to the dollar as recently as July.) On the streets, black-market exchange rates went as low as 6,000 and, in Vladivostok, even 7,000.

In the long-suffering population of Russia, faces went white with shock and fear. The London *Financial Times* (12 October) reported: "The reaction of ordinary Russians was one of stunned incomprehension." After three years of capitalist counterrevolution, most people live hand-to-mouth on the paper-thin margin of their ruble salaries—if they get a salary at all. Virtually rent-free state apartments are fast disappearing, while subsidies on food have long since been eliminated. With half of all consumer goods now imported, world prices based on "hard currency" like the dollar are becoming the norm.

"I will never get enough dollars to pay my rent," said one Moscow working woman. An old-age pensioner who had just seen the dollar value of her monthly income of $37 drop by more than $10 summed up her situation simply: "Ruin." Those who had any savings left bought whatever they could, from televisions to sacks of sugar, just to unload their rubles. Street kiosks immediately slapped new labels on their goods, raising prices by up to 100 percent. Stores in Moscow shut down out of fear of looting, recalling that price rises in Tadzhikistan the previous week resulted in two women being killed in bread-line shootings. By the end of the week, the ruble had returned to just under 3,000 to the dollar, but by and large the price hikes remained.

The wild gyration of the ruble exposed as a lie the "stabilization of the economy" so often touted over the summer. Recriminations and rumors of dark plots and conspiracies abounded. Denouncing a "threat to national security," President Boris Yeltsin set up a high-level commission of military and intelligence officers to investigate "sabotage." In what was also seen as a direct snub to Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, who was on vacation during the ruble crisis, Yeltsin sacked acting finance minister Sergei Dubinin and finally managed to get rid of his longtime nemesis, Central Bank head Viktor Gerashchenko. The Russian Orthodox Metropolitan of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) looked to the traditional scapegoat of Russian reaction—Jews—ranting: "We must stop Zionists from taking over the world. It is their single goal."

While Yeltsin was searching for conspiracies, his own commission suggested in a preliminary report that the backdrop to "Black Tuesday" lay in the government's own policies. Stringent austerity measures were imposed this year, including high interest rates and massive cuts in Central Bank lending, enabling the regime to meet the draconian financial targets set by the International Monetary Fund. But as fresh subsidies were channeled into agriculture and industry over the summer and inflation picked up in September, speculators flocked to rid themselves of rubles. Indeed, the Yeltsin regime wanted to weaken the ruble in order to ease the budget deficit and outstanding credits, including a backlog of unpaid salaries. A few days after the crash, it was revealed that among the winners on the currency exchange was the government itself, which by holding off buying rubles until they bottomed out actually made a profit of some *eight trillion* rubles (roughly $2.7 billion)!

But beyond the particular economic factors, the collapse of the ruble put a spotlight on the chaos of trying to establish capitalism without capital. "This is the downside of joining the international financial world, Boris," editorialized the London *Guardian* (13 October). "Welcome to the capitalist club!" Industrial production in Russia plummeted by 56.7 percent between January 1990 and June 1994. Domestic industrialists prefer to earn interest on short-term loans rather than investing in production—or paying their workforce. It is estimated that $30 billion in short-term Russian deposits is money diverted from enterprise salary funds; recent figures show that workers at *35,000 enterprises* had not been paid for months.

At the same time, foreign capital has been flowing into Russia at an unprecedented pace—$600 million a month—more than *quadrupling* since the beginning of the year, according to the Ministry of Privatization (*New York Times*, 11 October).

Le Segretain/Sygma

Desperation mounts as economy collapses: Homeless woman with child in the shadow of the Kremlin. Thousand-ruble note now worth about 33 cents.

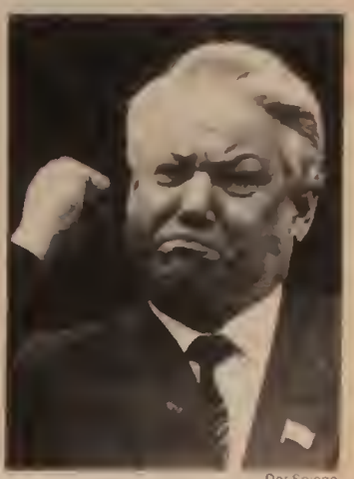
Russia's Rulers Seek Bonapartist Regime

Significant sections of the nascent Russian bourgeoisie and their Western advisers have long understood that to consolidate a stable, functioning capitalist economy, to beat down social explosions which loom in the face of threatened massive layoffs, to arbitrate the looting by the embryonic exploiters and tame the "wild capitalism" of fly-by-night speculators and mafia gangsters, Russia needs a Pinochet-style strongman dictatorship. Getting this is another matter.

Yeltsin's bloody assault on the Russian parliament in October 1993, in which hundreds were killed, was the opening shot in his attempt to consolidate such a bonapartist "strong state." This was immediately followed by an escalation of terror and repression directed primarily against national minorities from Central Asia and the Caucasus, in the guise of "fighting crime." But elections in December for the new parliament turned out to be a humiliating setback for would-be Tsar Boris, with the victors being the Russian nationalist opposition, ranging from the fascist Vladimir Zhirinovsky to the Stalinist "patriots." While this parliament has little power in a legal constitutional sense, it nonetheless voices the interests and aspirations of influential elements of the new Russian elite, including enterprise managers and military officers.

In June, Yeltsin decreed an "anti-crime" ukase—allowing for detention without charges for up to a month and searches without warrants—which was so draconian that even his own supporters turned against him. Yeltsinite "democrats" in the Duma joined the "red-brown" coalition of the Communist Party-Russian Federation (KP-RF) and the nationalists in an overwhelming 279-10 vote against the anti-crime measure, though this parliament has no power to overturn presidential decrees.

Outright opposition to Yeltsin as the aspiring Russian Bonaparte has spread to those who represented his strongest and most influential supporters, like former finance minister Boris Fyodorov. The IMF similarly is having doubts that Yeltsin can effectively impose order and enforce austerity. Russia's capitalists, whose image is that of mafia toughs in shades lolling in the back of white stretch limos, are hardly a cohesive bunch, and a drunken buffoon as president has certain drawbacks as the "man on the white horse."



Der Spiegel

Would-be "Tsar Boris" Yeltsin.

Indeed, what is generally notable about the recent period is that Yeltsin has been facing opposition from his former base of support. When *Moskovsky Komsomolets* journalist Dmitry Kholodov was assassinated by a briefcase bomb last week while investigating corruption in the military, his funeral turned into a political rally, with formerly Yeltsinite "reformers" calling for the resignation of the government.

Russia's weak bourgeoisie, beset by mounting economic devastation and social chaos, can only stabilize its rule by a bonapartist dictatorship. At the same time, the new mafia-type capitalists don't want a strong government capable in any way of interfering with their own money-making operations. Hence, Yeltsin's bonapartist moves have encountered opposition ranging from pro-Western "free marketeers" like Fyodorov to aspiring nationalist strongman Aleksandr Rutskoi to the Stalinist "patriots." However, much of this opposition is limited to a shared desire to keep options open for their own bonapartist bids.

Russian workers had better beware being sucked into the racist "anti-crime" crusade buttressing the bonapartist drive. The ultimate and real target is the working class. Only weeks after St. Petersburg mayor Sobchak was given control over Russian Army units last spring for a "war on crime and preserving social order," the giant Kirov works laid off tens of thousands of workers. Even *Commersant* (16 April), the leading voice of Russian *biznes*, had to note that Sobchak's move was "minimally useful" against criminals, but could prove useful for fighting "with demonstrators, picketers and strikers." Meanwhile, Moscow mayor Luzhkov yearns to draw in "popular" reinforcements for the anti-crime campaign through the formation of the racist vigilante "Narodnaya Druzhina" (people's guards).

As in the West, such fascistic outfits are aimed at terrorizing minorities and immigrant workers, including the millions of unemployed Ukrainians and other workers from the "near abroad"

Spartacist

Zil auto workers demonstrate outside Moscow White House last April. Sign on right reads, "We want to work, our children want to eat."

Decatur...

(continued from page 3)

a sharp fight against Caterpillar, Firestone and Staley. While the heavy-handed UAW International deadens fighting spirit among the strikers, "labor consultant" Ray Rogers, who is advising the Staley union, postures as a real crusader against the "corporate thugs." But what his "Corporate Campaign Inc." offers is calls for a *consumer* boycott of banks, insurance companies and other capitalists in order to pressure Staley, Firestone and Caterpillar to make the thugs "act right." This is the same "Cram Your Spam" strategy that Rogers pushed during the Hormel strike of 1985-86. It was a disastrous *diversion* from Local P-9's fight to *shut down* Hormel's scab plants, using such techniques as flying pickets.

At his most "militant," Rogers calls for "civil disobedience," which produces lots of arrests without stopping any scabs. Decatur strikers got a taste of this no-win strategy on June 25, when they were made into sitting ducks as cops brutally sprayed pepper gas at dozens of locked-out workers and their supporters who blocked the street at the entrance of the Staley factory. Following these same liberal protest politics, on the march through Decatur the International Socialist Organization (with Rogers' blessing) sat down in the street and waited in vain to be arrested.

While union officials promote "nonviolence" against the scabherding companies and their cops, they freely threaten violence against anyone they perceive as getting in their way. At an earlier Decatur rally, on October 1, the UAW sergeant at arms threatened *Workers Vanguard* salesmen and supporters of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) with being gooned out of the rally and turned over for arrest to the same cops who had gassed strikers just weeks beforehand. While the RWL writes on paper of mass pickets, they have made a practice of waltzing across picket lines on university campuses, and then made a principle of defending this scabbing.

If the union bureaucrats refuse to mobilize labor's power, the fake socialist groups don't believe it's possible. For all of them, our simple statement "picket lines mean don't cross" is considered something we invented. Yet it's on this basic principle that the industrial unions were built, from the Mine Workers to the CIO. To win this crucial labor battle, we need elected strike committees to mobilize the power of labor all around the Midwest *in action* to shut down the struck plants tight. And if we are going to see some hard-fought labor struggle here, it means that labor must champion the rights of all the oppressed. As Karl Marx wrote at the time of the struggle against the Confederate slavocracy, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Recently there has been an ominous rise of fascist provocations in the Midwest. The Klan and Nazis feed off labor's defeats—they are poison to organizing integrated workers' struggle. But the same Illinois AFL-CIO misleaders who are alibiing scabbing at Caterpillar have tried to sabotage the mobilization of labor/black power to stop the fascists. Last January, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League fought for such a mobilization at the Illinois state capitol in Springfield to spike the Klan's provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday. State AFL-CIO chief Johnson tried to undermine this effort by ordering labor to stay away.

UAW bureaucrats push racist anti-Japanese protectionism, poison to international labor solidarity.

To Save the Unions

To protect their profits and property, the capitalists and their government will not hesitate to use all their power. That is an ABC of the class struggle. If you want to know who owns the government, just look at the Decatur police, whose "Emergency Response Team" is brought out on the command of Staley to gas and beat peaceful pickets. The Vance gun thugs and professional strikebreakers are given the run of the town, while court injunctions rain down on striking workers.

Years of union-busting assaults by the bosses have been aided and abetted by their labor lieutenants, from the destruction of PATCO to today. To hammer out victories for the working class will take above all the forging of a leadership fighting to break the chains that tie labor to the capitalist parties and to build a class-struggle workers party. As James P. Cannon, a founder of American Communism, wrote during the bosses' drive to destroy the unions in favor of the "open shop" in 1921:

> "The working class has the power not only to defeat the effort to destroy the unions, but to end the system of exploitation altogether.
>
> "Let the labor unions put aside their illusions, let them face the issue squarely and fight it out on the basis of the class struggle. Instead of seeking peace when there is no peace, and 'understanding' with those who do not want to understand, let them declare war on the whole capitalist regime. That is the way to save the unions and to make them grow in the face of adversity and become powerful war engines for the destruction of capitalism and the reorganization of society on the foundation of working class control in industry and government."
>
> —"Who Can Save the Unions?" in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (Prometheus Research Library, 1992) ■

(former Soviet republics) flocking to Russia's big cities. Yet the KP-RF and the other Stalinist "patriots" nourish this racist vendetta with their Great Russian chauvinist appeals in tandem with monarchists and fascists in the "red-brown coalition." And the social democrats who publish *Rabochaya Demokratia* (January-February 1994), affiliated with the British Militant group, provide a "left" gloss for Yeltsin's "war on crime" and Luzhkov's vigilante formation with their reformist-utopian call for "democratic control over law enforcement organs" *of the capitalist state*.

In the absence of working-class resistance, capitalist counterrevolution has devastated the former Soviet Union. The incidence of cholera, tuberculosis and other treatable diseases is climbing to epidemic proportions as public health care is slashed. In the last year alone, the average life expectancy dropped by 2 years for women and 3.6 years for men, while the birthrate has declined by almost half since 1987 (*Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 16 July). Now the regime is preparing to implement the last stage of its IMF-mandated "reform" program, vastly cutting industrial subsidies and shutting down "unprofitable" enterprises. This will mean many millions of workers thrown onto the streets and consigned to slow starvation.

Workers Under the Gun

The new capitalist class recently gave the workers of Russia a taste of what it has in store for them. When 2,000 workers at the huge AvtoVAZ auto complex in the city of Togliatti on the central Volga shut down the production line to demand payment of back wages on September 27, management locked out almost the entire workforce of over 100,000 for a week and fired several dozen "ringleaders." Since the introduction of capitalist market "reforms," many of Russia's workers have been lulled by illusions in a supposed commonality of interests with the enterprise managers, particularly around demands for government subsidies. This lie, fostered especially by the Stalinists, was exposed by the brutal management crackdown and the treachery of the former official FNPR trade-union federation leaders, who marched in lockstep in breaking the strike. AvtoVAZ has recently entered into a joint venture with General Motors to build a new plant in Togliatti capable of turning out 300,000 cars a year.

The fact that the AvtoVAZ strikers, led by a small independent union, did not win active support from other sections of the working class, or even from the rest of the workforce at this key plant, is indicative of the difficulties in organizing working-class resistance against the hammer blows of capitalist restoration. The conditions they were protesting are indeed rife throughout the Russian economy. In a 14 October article on the strike, Australian journalist Renfrey Clarke suggests that militants could win broad support among workers facing non-payment of wages by demanding "full disclosure of enterprise accounts." But management will not "open the books" without a struggle, and this poses the need for factory occupations—also key in defeating lockouts and other attempts at strikebreaking.

Moreover, widespread managerial looting, the smuggling of hard currency into Western bank accounts, etc., are symptoms, not the fundamental causes of the economic devastation unleashed by the capitalist counterrevolution and breakup of the Soviet Union. The Soviet industrial economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, was built on a planned, collectivized basis as an integrated whole aimed at maximizing output and maintaining full employment. A huge fraction of Russia's industrial enterprises cannot operate profitably in the new capitalist environment, much less compete in world markets, without, at the minimum, massive layoffs and retrenchment. In short, what is posed is not just piecemeal demands for wages but a confrontation with the nascent capitalist order. Hence the need for a *transitional program*, as elaborated by Trotsky's Fourth International, to serve as a bridge between the defensive demands of the proletariat and the struggle for state power.

To wage such a struggle successfully requires forging a genuine proletarian vanguard on a revolutionary programmatic basis, through assiduous propaganda and political struggle. If the working class is to defend its livelihood and, indeed, its very existence, it must reappropriate the class consciousness of its forebears in championing the cause of all the oppressed. A revolutionary workers party would seek to mobilize the proletariat to resist the drive toward a bonapartist "strong state," for example, in defense of the parliament against Yeltsin's onslaught in October 1993. An internationalist vanguard party is needed to lead the still multinational proletariat of Russia in struggle against the pogromist assaults on non-Slavic minorities. This can only be part of a fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the ravages of capitalist restoration and forge an authentically voluntary federation of soviet republics in which all nationalities will have an equal place. ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

BERKELEY

Republicans/Democrats—Twin Parties of Racist Reaction! For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism and Fascist Terror! No to Proposition 187!
Wednesday, November 2, 7 p.m.
10 Evans Hall, UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

ATLANTA

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.
November 3: *Imperialism: The Death Agony of Capitalism*; Georgia State University, University Center, Room 204
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BERKELEY

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
November 9 *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, 204 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
November 5: *The Revolution Betrayed How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, Sever Hall, Room 101, Harvard University, Harvard Yard, Cambridge
For more information (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 3: *Imperialism: The Death Agony of Capitalism*; Spartacist Public Office, 161 W. Harrison, 10th floor
For more information, (312) 663-0715

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
November 1: *Imperialism: The Death Agony of Capitalism*, November 15: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*; Rolfe Hall Room 3118, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
November 5: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*; November 19: *The Revolution Betrayed*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St., between Church St. and West Broadway
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 3: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*; November 17: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Room B112, Student Union, San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 777-9367

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
October 29 *The Imperialist Epoch and the Struggle for Socialism*; November 12 *The Russian Revolution*; Howard University
For more information, (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League Forum

TORONTO

Repression and Resistance in Racist America, Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Also PDC video "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal".
Saturday, November 5, 7:30 p.m., International Student Center, 33 St. George, University of Toronto
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

Mississippi

Racist "Desegregation" Scheme Threatens Black Colleges

Forty years since *Brown v. Board of Education* struck down *de jure* segregation in public grade schools, nationally de facto segregation is the norm, with separate and unequal schools for blacks. In the spirit of what *Brown* was meant to do for secondary education, a black father in Mississippi, James Ayers, sued the state in 1975, charging that his son and other black students didn't receive equal opportunities at state-run black colleges. Ayers, who died in 1986, challenged the disparity in financing between black colleges and white ones. The Supreme Court eventually backed Ayers' claims, ruling that Mississippi operates a dual system of education in underfunding historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Schwalm/Clarion-Ledger

Thousands demonstrated last spring outside Mississippi supreme court against state's plan to shut down black college.

Last February, the Mississippi state college board announced its response at a closed meeting to which only the white college presidents had been invited (*Commercial Appeal* [Memphis], 22 February 1993). Cynically talking about "equal treatment for all" and "evenhandedness" in arguments that sound very much like David Duke and the KKK, the board proposed to liquidate two of the state's three black colleges—shutting down Mississippi Valley State and Alcorn State, while creating a merged "Delta Valley University" and an "enhanced" black Jackson State.

This racist attack on the right to an education for black youth should be met with widespread protest to keep the schools open! What's needed is a fight for integrated, free, quality education for all. Even a cursory look at the campuses gives the lie to the state's claims that different "missions" are behind its annual allocations per student: $3,038 at black colleges; at white colleges, $4,489. The outcome in Mississippi is likely to affect 18 other segregated state systems from Texas to Pennsylvania. Several protests against the racist Mississippi "desegregation" scheme, including a thousands-strong mobilization in Jackson on April 30, highlight the fact that black students see these schools as an opportunity to escape centuries-old degradation and racism. Across the country, "Save the HBCUs" has become a rallying cry in the fight against this latest effort to slam shut the school doors on black youth.

Without these schools, many black youth would never see the inside of a college classroom. Nearly *65 percent* of Jackson State freshmen would be ineligible for automatic acceptance if Mississippi goes ahead with its plan to "standardize" admissions requirements as part of its scheme. This is the result of conditions for black and minority youth in a segregated and inferior public education system where schools function more as holding pens than institutions of learning. Literacy rates are abominable. Across the country, intensified racist oppression, cutbacks in funding for minority scholarships, an escalation of attacks on black youth attending majority-white campuses and more restrictive admissions standards have increasingly made a college education even more a privilege for a select few, not a right for all.

Chartwell Books

James Meredith, first black student at University of Mississippi, 1962, surrounded by U.S. marshals as he braved racist mobs to challenge Jim Crow segregation at "Ole Miss."

Coming of Age in Mississippi

Mississippi Valley State serves blacks in the Mississippi Delta, the poorest section of the poorest state in the country. Mississippi is home to the highest percentage of black people nationally. Among black students, 13,000 of 17,000 attend historically black institutions, where admissions requirements are more open. Nationwide, black colleges enroll less than 18 percent of the 1.3 million blacks attending college, yet they award 34 percent of undergraduate degrees. Black colleges were the source for nearly 50 percent of black doctoral students from 1986 to 1992, according to the United Negro College Fund (*Emerge*, September 1993).

Attacks on black people in Mississippi have always been brazen and vicious. This is the state where black student James Meredith integrated the campus of Ole Miss in 1962, dodging bullets as federal troops and racist mobs lined his route to school. At Jackson State in 1970, two black students were murdered by cops on the campus in the wake of the U.S. intervention into Cambodia. In Neshoba County, three civil rights workers—Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney—were murdered by the KKK and local cops during the 1964 Freedom Summer. In 1990, a black man who had been dating a white woman died suspiciously in the Neshoba County jail (*Nation*, 15 August). After the deaths of 47 inmates, characterized as "suicides" by Klan-infested prison authorities, even the Justice Department found Mississippi prisons despicable for their conditions.

At the predominantly white Ole Miss campus, amid a sea of Confederate flags, there are air-conditioned facilities, a golf course and tennis courts, along with a 43,000-seat football stadium. Jackson State, which is overwhelmingly black, has buildings in poor repair and suffers chronic underfunding and neglect. As black author Margaret Alexander Walker testified in court battles over the state scheme: "All you have to do is visit the schools. You don't have to have a child's intelligence to see the difference" (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 18 May). The 79-year-old Walker, who wrote the novel *Jubilee*, taught at Jackson State for 30 years until she retired as a full professor, never earning as much as $25,000 a year.

Rise of Separate and Unequal

When schools and colleges for the education of blacks were first established in the South in the wake of the Civil War, the founders envisioned integrated institutions. For example, Howard University, founded by the white Union Army general Oliver Otis Howard, was integrated from its inception. Fighters against slavery recognized that education was a powerful weapon in the fight for liberation, as did their students. Teachers and their schools were main targets of the KKK and other racist marauders. In the period of reaction that followed the defeat of Reconstruction, the racist "Redeemer" governments took away the funding needed to run black schools.

By the beginning of the 1890s, the solidification of the so-called "Redeemer" governments led by Southern planters resulted in the passing of laws to codify segregation of schools, transport and virtually every other aspect of life. In 1896, these Jim Crow laws were upheld by the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling mandating "separate but equal" conditions. But there is no such thing as "separate and equal" under

continued on page 10

Hundreds Rout Nazis in Berkeley

Continued from 16

Hitler-Lover David Irving—Smash Fascist Terror!" nearly 100 protesters gathered outside Alumni House. In addition to the SYC and the Spartacist League there were trade unionists from the Labor Black League for Social Defense; a contingent of the Jewish Student Union from Berkeley High School; numerous Cal students; some supporters of the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Workers League and the Revolutionary Trotskyist League.

Nazis Disarmed—Swastikas Destroyed

When we confirmed that Irving and his Nazi rat pack were meeting at the YWCA (where they had secured a room by concealing their purpose) we marched straight there. Crossing campus the crowd swelled to some 300 protesters—blacks, Jews, Asians, whites, Latinos, students and workers! Chanting "Nazis Out!" we marched directly into the meeting room. Most of these would-be Hitlers scurried into the corners of the room, cowering like sewer rats. A couple of the fascists tried to attack demonstrators with chairs. Another was swinging a camera tripod. They were effectively disarmed.

Swastikas—the symbol of Nazi genocide—littered the floor. The anti-fascists made short shrift of them and the other Nazi insignia. Irving himself was seen sprawled across a collapsed table amidst a pile of his videotapes and other fascist filth. One quaking Nazi dropped hundreds of swastika stickers.

Young Spartacus photos

Spartacus Youth Club initiated mobilization against Hitler-lover David Irving.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley riot cops protecting Nazis attack anti-fascist protesters.

Berkeley and UC cops arrived to defend the fascists. A supporter of the Spartacist League described the scene: "The cops went crazy. They were grabbing signs out of people's hands, they were jabbing people with billy clubs, they hit one woman really hard several times in the back. I tried to pull her out, I got hit in the stomach." A young black woman who was videotaping the protest was savagely attacked and had to go to the hospital. A *Workers Vanguard* photographer had her glasses knocked off and stomped on by the cops. At least three other anti-fascist protesters were sent to the hospital, with head and body injuries.

In Berkeley, where you don't have the right to smoke a cigarette, there is now some bellyaching about the "right" of a gang of Nazis to organize for gas chambers! The fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with racist "ideas." They are paramilitary action squads whose program is to kill, culminating in genocide. The murder of an Ethiopian youth in Portland, Oregon by Nazi skinheads, the charred body of a black man who was set on fire by Klan members in Florida—are not "free speech." The hundreds of us who acted to stop the fascists on Thursday night understood that this was an elementary act of self-defense and defense of all the intended victims of fascist terror.

No Reliance on the Capitalist State!

The SYC sought to bring together all those who agreed on the need to stop Irving's fascist provocation in a united action in which the diversity of political views and strategies of all participating groups would be represented. The Berkeley High Jewish Student Union responded with their own leaflet as did the International Socialist Organization [ISO] and the Revolutionary Workers League [RWL].

Now the ISO is denouncing "violence." Not fascist violence, not the violence of the club-swinging cops—no, the ISO is smearing the anti-fascist protesters! "It was a few bad apples acting in the heat of the moment," ISO leader Brandon Rees told the *Daily Cal*. Obscene, but nothing new. In January 1993, members of the Canadian International Socialists linked arms to bolster a line of cops in Vancouver who were trying to force back anti-fascist militants.

The ISO's cringing desire to be respectable in the eyes of the powers that he flows from a belief that the capitalist state can either be pressured or reformed into stopping the fascists. Despite their sometimes more "radical" posture, such a view is also shared by the RWL. Both groups have herded militants into fenced-in police pens set up to contain anti-fascist demonstrations in the Midwest. The SYC has repeatedly warned that these pens are deadly traps, leaving protesters completely at the mercy of the racist cops with their guns, their tear gas, their nightsticks and their horses. This was seen last April in Lansing, Michigan where the cops maced the trapped anti-fascists and then arrested eight of them. By willfully going into these pens the RWL and the ISO demonstrate that they have no strategy for, or even commitment to, stopping the fascists.

At the anti-Irving protest, the Nazis were given police escort out of the building while demonstrators chanted, "Cops and the Klan work hand in hand!" Indeed here was a textbook lesson in the role of the capitalist state and their armed thugs in blue—not "neutral arbiters" but fascist protectors. The capitalist rulers keep the fascists in reserve, and will turn them loose when "normal" police repression no longer suffices to maintain their rule of exploitation and oppression of the many by the few.

To see whose interests the fascists serve one need only look at Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. The collapse of the former workers states in these countries (however deformed by the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes there) and the victory of the forces of capitalist counterrevolution has led directly to a rise in fascist terror attacks. As their bankrupt economies go down the tubes, the capitalists are taking aim at foreign-born workers and desperate refugees. The immigrant-bashing by both the Democrats and Republicans here in the U.S. gives the green light to the fascists.

For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Our strategy is to mobilize the organized power of the multiracial working class, together with minorities and all the intended victims of racist terror, to crush the fascists in the egg. This strategy comes from Leon Trotsky—a leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution—who called for a workers united front to stop Hitler's Nazis from seizing power in Germany. Last January, the SYC helped mobilize to stop a KKK provocation on Martin Luther King Day in Springfield, Illinois. More than 500 protesters, the core of which were workers from the integrated unions in Chicago, braved state harassment and arctic weather to come out to confront the Klan terrorists.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and above all the social power to stop the fascists and to put an end to this decaying capitalist system which breeds them. The SYC, a school of action for young revolutionaries, is fighting to help build a revolutionary workers party which can do just that. Join us!

Spartacus Youth Club
17 October 1994

David Irving and His Nazi Filth

Searchlight

Young Spartacus

David Irving, star attraction at meeting of German Nazi Deutsche Volksunion, March 1992. Swastikas seized at his Berkeley fascist meeting.

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Fight Racist Terror!

Report from Columbus Anti-Fascist Conference

Four activists from the Spartacist League and Chicago Spartacus Youth Club went to Columbus, Ohio October 15-16 for the founding conference of the Midwest Anti-Fascist Network. In a number of discussions over what strategy to fight fascism, the issue of going into police pens, which we have repeatedly warned are deadly traps, was hotly debated. Our call for a proletarian-centered strategy to fight the KKK/Nazis put us in sharp counterposition to the Trotskyist League (TL), a centrist outfit itching to form what they see as a "united front" with radicals in the Columbus-based Anti-Racist Action.

Nearly 200 anti-fascists attended, including anarchists, anti-racist skinheads, independent activists, purported socialists and the revolutionaries of the SL and SYC. The International Socialist Organization was nowhere to be seen. Surprisingly, even the Socialist Workers Party (see article on facing page) showed up in order to talk out of the left side of their mouth to impress anti-racist youth. The SWP maintains the deadly strategy of "debating" the fascists, who they do not consider a real threat. At one workshop, an SWP member even went so far as to argue that since black people are part of the "ruling class" of capitalists, fascism in the United States would not target black people!

On Saturday, an SL supporter made an announcement that had particular relevance to the conference: the SYC-initiated united-front demonstration in Berkeley, California had stopped Hitler-apologist David Irving, winning a real victory for anti-racists nationwide.

A number of workshops developed into a debate with the TL. While the TL was busy tailing various political currents in the hopes of building a flabby "coalition," members of the SYC called for building a party to mobilize the working class, which has the social power to smash the fascists. This strategy was demonstrated by Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilizations over the last decade and a half in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and most recently on January 16 in Springfield, Illinois. Almost 500 people, including a large contingent of Chicago transit workers and members of various unions in the region, braved sub-zero wind chill and driving snow to stop a Ku Klux Klan rally. That the scum even showed up was due largely to the state of Illinois, which called out its forces in full riot gear to ensure the Klan's safety.

At a workshop on "What to Do When the Klan Comes to Town," members of the Spartacus Youth Club took every opportunity to argue against entering the deadly dangerous police traps, in which anti-fascists "demonstrate" side by side with fascists under the eyes of the cops who control all entrances and exits. Over the past year, this has become the preferred strategy for police around the Midwest in "containing" and repressing *anti*-fascists. The cops aren't grabbing people by the collars and forcing them into the pens, we stressed. The only people "herding" anyone into these set-ups are the leaders of outfits like the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC). In contrast, supporters of the SL and SYC have urged people to stay out of the pens.

The Trotskyist League (which split from the RWL), calls on paper for "no reliance on cops or courts." But at the conference the TLers argued that entering a pen, as their group did in Painesville, Ohio, is a "tactical decision" to make on site, based on where the "masses" are going. In other words, they are perfectly happy to rely on the capitalist cops if that's what everyone else is doing. So much for revolutionary leadership! The Spartacist League's insistence on upholding in action the principle of not relying on the bourgeois state is "wooden," according to these pseudo-Trotskyists.

Our stance in Columbus won over at least one activist from Antioch College. At a well-attended workshop where an SL comrade spoke at length, during discussion the Antioch student announced to applause: "No more f---ing pens for me. I'm not going in. The pen allows the fascists to set the tone and set the agenda. This group of people needs to swear off pens."

But the RWL/NWROC unwittingly provided the most compelling argument on Sunday. While leaving a labor rally in Decatur, Illinois the previous day, one of their cars was pulled over by Ohio state police who had a photograph of an NWROC member taken in a police pen June 18 in Bowling Green, Ohio and a Jane Doe warrant issued for her arrest. She was the third person to be arrested from a photograph taken in Bowling Green, where police had photographed and videotaped everyone going into the pen. On July 30, two anti-fascist protesters, one of whom is in NWROC, were arrested going into a pen in Dayton, based on the Bowling Green warrants. According to a leaflet distributed by NWROC at the conference, black activist Marvetta Davis faces trumped-up charges of "inciting to violence." Drop the charges against all anti-fascist protesters!

On Sunday afternoon, our sharp programmatic differences with the TL came to a head at a workshop they initiated on "Socialism or Barbarism." Upon learning that a member of the Spartacus Youth Club had been added to the panel, TL leaders decided that rather than expose their centrist program to open debate, they would cancel "their" workshop. When we decided to address the topic without them, they sent five representatives to defend their waffling on the issue of police pens, their history of scabbing on labor strikes, and their tailing of the most counterrevolutionary currents in the working class, such as Solidarność in Poland.

The key difference between the Spartacus Youth Clubs and fake socialists like the TL boils down to *reform versus revolution*. Because they cannot see the revolutionary capacity of the working class and hence are unable to lead it, they end up capitulating to whatever is popular, which inevitably turns into trusting the forces of the capitalist state. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are fighting to win youth to a Leninist vanguard, a revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class to power. Only the multiracial working class can overthrow capitalism and smash fascism once and for all. Join us! ■

Sabau/Columbus Dispatch

October 1993: Anti-fascists penned in by cops at Columbus, Ohio statehouse. *Young Spartacus* has repeatedly warned: police pens are a deadly trap. No illusions in the capitalist state!

Reprinted from the Howard University student newspaper

THE HILLTOP —14 October 1994

Student socialist group rallies against restriction on speakers

William Gruen

The Howard University administration's cancellation of Unity Nation's planned meeting, and their new policy which restricts the use of campus facilities by student groups is an attack on the democratic rights of all students, faculty and staff on the campus. The policy has nothing to do with "security." It amounts to an unprecedented attempt to censor and control the student body.

Who does the administration think it is? The Lords of "the Mecca?" We in the Spartacus Youth Club are opposed to all administration bans on student groups. Down with administration censorship!

The administration, acting in loco parentis, is trying to decide for the students whom they can listen to and with whom they can associate. The administration rolls out the red carpet for a commencement speech by General Colin Powell, the former military commander of the U.S. imperialist war machine, who is directly responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqi men, women and children. But the ranting of Unity Nation is an embarrassment to the administration and mobilizations against imperialism and the racist status quo are viewed as a threat by the administration and their paymasters on Capitol Hill.

The Howard University Spartacus Youth Club, which recently organized a speak out against the invasion of Haiti, is no stranger to petty harassment by Howard security and the administration. When our members protested on campus against the invasion of the tiny Black Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983, we were arrested.

The racists who run this country hardly need an excuse to attack Blacks. The issue of Khalid Muhammad's speech is a red herring. When Muhammad came to Howard University to spew his anti-Semitic poison last spring, the bourgeois media illuminated the spectacle with a thousand spotlights. The Howard administration was fit to be tied and the stage was set for yet another attack on Black youth.

The administration. . .is trying to decide for the students whom they can listen to and with whom they can associate.

The White racist ruling class in this country (who are the real progenitors of racial oppression and exclude Jews from their social clubs) found that Muhammad's obscene "message" made an easy target for them to hypocritically denounce racism while gleefully sending thousands of Black people to their deaths in Africa, in Haiti and in every Black ghetto of this country. They tarred all Howard students with the brush of "anti-Semite," making clear who holds the purse strings all the while.

Insofar as the ruling class wants educated Blacks, they want docile, pliant puppets. One step out of line and they come down like a ton of bricks. That is not to say that the Farrakhanites are fighters against Black oppression. Quite the contrary.

The ideology of the Nation of Islam, in that it goes beyond rabid bigotry and chauvinism, is the ideology of an aspiring Black cockroach capitalist class. The program of the Muslims coincides with that of some of the most reactionary forces in society. Farrakhan and his Fruit of Islam have hired themselves out as rent-a-cops for the government in Black housing projects throughout the country, repressing Black people and not uplifting them.

The Nation of Islam wants students to go into the community as capitalist hustlers and the administration wants to seal off the campus from the surrounding community in an ebony tower.

However, there is an alternative. In 1982 and again in 1988, Howard students were in the forefront of the fight against the Ku Klux Klan in Washington and Philadelphia. These are the kinds of fighters who can and must be won to the program of a revolutionary fight against all forms of race and class oppression, the program of Trotskyism. And this is the kind of movement that the administration wants above all to suppress.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights against the administration's new "restrictive" policies as an attack on the democratic rights of all, but we also link this fight to the struggle to provide a decent education for all. In this racist country, where there is not "separate but equal," we seek to undercut the race and class bias of higher education by fighting for the nationalization of all private universities, for open admissions with free tuition and a state paid living stipend for all. We say abolish the administration and Board of Trustees for student-teacher-worker control of the University!

The writer is a junior majoring in economics

Barnes Appeals to Clinton White House

Trouble in SWP Over "Federal Troops to Pensacola"

On July 29, an anti-abortion terrorist gunned down Dr. John Britton and his escort James Barrett in Pensacola, Florida. In response, the misnamed Socialist Workers Party, in a 22 August *Militant* editorial, raised the demand, "Federal troops to Pensacola!" However, the SWP is evidently having trouble pushing this reformist line even with its own membership. Another article in the same issue, on its national conference, reports that SWP national secretary Jack Barnes' insistence on the call for federal troops "sparked considerable discussion among the delegates. Several said they opposed the demand, since local, state and federal governments have been carrying out attacks on gains women won with the 1973 Supreme Court decision decriminalizing abortion."

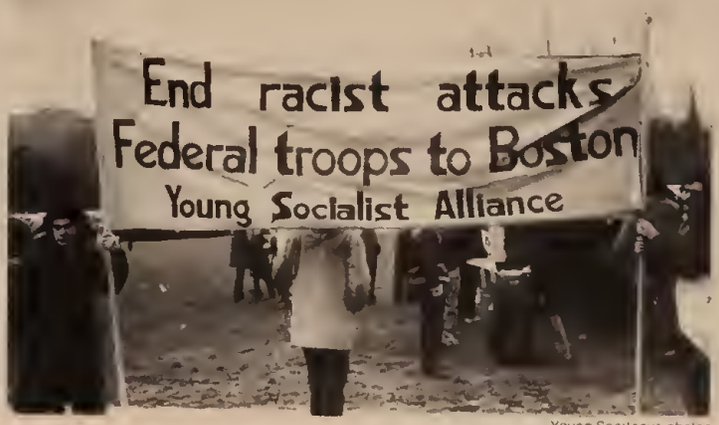
With consummate cynicism, Barnes admitted in his summary that of course the feds have been involved in attacks on abortion rights. He even conceded that the federal government has "been complicit in the lynchings and political killings of most Black rights fighters throughout the 1950s and '60s." And today you only have to turn on the TV to see U.S. troops engaged in a racist colonial occupation of Haiti. So why on earth call on this bloody-handed military to defend black rights or a woman's right to an abortion?

Barnes' rationale, according to the *Militant*, is that "the workers movement does not yet have the strength or leadership to prevent people from being killed," so therefore one must "demand that the authorities act to do so." There are "massive illusions" among "broad layers" of working people that the government acts "to advance democratic and social rights." Thus, according to Barnes, "calling on Washington to enforce the laws working people have won is part of the process of dispelling such illusions over time among thinking workers and youth."

So to dispel illusions in this government one should...spread illusions in this government?! This nonsense is only a thin cover for the SWP's real politics, which are deeply reformist. It's been some 30 years now since the SWP decisively abandoned its revolutionary heritage, giving up any belief in the capacity of the working class for revolutionary struggle. Instead, they chased after "popular" movements of various hues, ultimately leading to preaching reliance on the capitalist state.

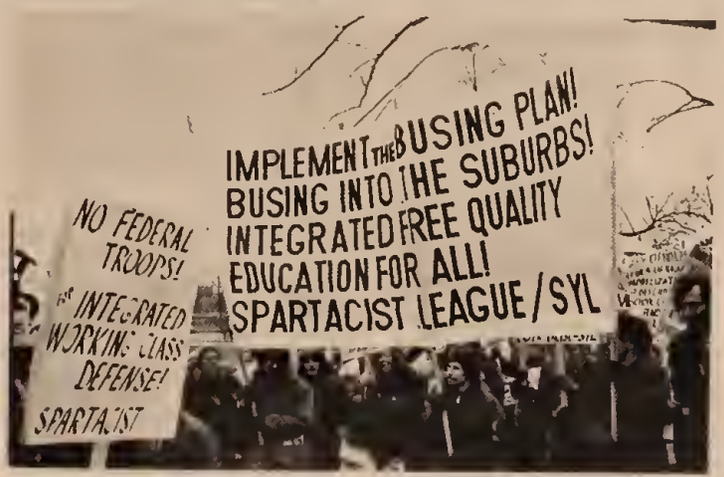
The notion that imperialist troops will defend the oppressed is at odds with the fundamental nature of the capitalist state. It is a basic Marxist truth that the capitalist state, its army and police, cannot be controlled or "taken over" or made to work in the interests of the exploited. As Marx and Engels wrote, the working class "cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." Lenin pointed out in *State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another."

To see what's wrong with the SWP's call, look at it in another context: the British imperialist occupation of Northern Ireland, supposedly in defense of the beleaguered Catholic minority. When the Lahour government sent in the British army in 1969, this was supported by a host of reformist outfits. Thus, the Cliff group, represented in the U.S. today by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), hailed the imperialist intervention as providing a welcome "breathing space." But the British troops hardly protected the Catholics. Less than three years later, the British army perpetrated the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of Civil Rights marchers, one of a long series of brutal atrocities against the oppressed Catholic population.



Young Spartacus photos

Boston, 1974: SWP reformists joined liberal NAACP in calling for federal troops; Spartacists fought for integrated working-class defense of busing.



The SWP is a past master at calling to "Send federal troops to..." wherever. And the *Militant* editorial makes it clear that the SWP really *does believe* that the Clinton White House—which unleashed the Waco holocaust, and threatens to starve young mothers and their children in order to "end welfare as we know it"—can he pressured to defend the rights of workers and the oppressed. The *Militant* falsifies history, asserting that, "The successful call for federal troops to help integrate the schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 and in Boston 17 years later made victories in those struggles possible."

Victories? In fact, Eisenhower sent federal troops to Little Rock only *after* a black armed upheaval to defend the black community erupted in the wake of racist attacks on integration at Little Rock High School. The *Amsterdam News* (28 September 1957) headlined "IKE MOVES AS NEGROES HIT BACK." As we detailed in the article "Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!" in *Young Spartacus* No. 27, December 1974, the role of federal troops in Little Rock, as in Birmingham and the rest of the civil rights era protests, was to *suppress* black struggle that the government feared was "getting out of hand."

Inside the SWP, Richard Fraser led opposition to the party leadership's line, writing in November 1957 that, "The demand for Federal Troops to the South is revealed in action, not as an adjunct to but as a substitute for the organized action of the masses and is counterposed directly to it" (see our bulletin, "In Memoriam, Richard S. Fraser," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3).

This question was also raised within the SWP by the Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor of the Spartacist League). In an 18 August 1963 document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," the RT called for "*organized* self-defense movements in southern cities—for the tactics of Robert F. Williams; against federal military intervention, which always supports the status quo."

In the battle over busing in Boston in 1974, the SWP joined with the NAACP and leaders of the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature in the call for federal troops. In contrast, the SL fought to "Implement the Busing Plan—Extend Busing to the Suburbs!" and demanded "No Federal Troops—For Integrated Working-Class Defense!" Far from Barnes' imaginary "victory," busing was *defeated* in the streets of Boston by a mobilization of white racist reaction.

And now the SWP has once again revived its call for federal troops...to *Pensacola* of all places, a right-wing bastion dominated by the Navy and Eglin Air Force base, where commandos trained to invade Haiti. Back in the '60s, the *Militant* raised the social-patriotic call to bring "our boys" home from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi. So maybe now Barnes will petition Clinton to get "our boys" out of Haiti and send them back to Pensacola?

Today women's right to abortion is under siege by right-wing terrorists—and by the government. A year before Dr. Britton was murdered, abortion provider Dr. David Gunn was also killed in Pensacola, shot in the back by a fanatic with links to the KKK. Ominously, this August in Melbourne, also in the Florida Panhandle, patients had to run a gauntlet of eight hooded Klansmen at an abortion clinic. The president of an organization which operates nine abortion clinics told a Congressional hearing on September 22: "We have been confronted and attacked more violently than ever" since the murder of Dr. Gunn. "The F.B.I. takes our death threats, but tells us they cannot really investigate" (*New York Times*, 23 September).

The onslaught against abortion rights has driven women to desperate measures. Last spring Florida teenager Kawana Michele Ashley, too poor to afford an abortion (estimated to cost up to $1,800), shot herself in the stomach. The child delivered by Caesarean section in the hospital was too underdeveloped to live (it died of kidney failure). But outrageously, the girl was charged with murder and thrown into Pinellas County jail on $50,000 bond. We say: Drop the charges against Kawana Michele Ashley! For free abortion on demand!

In opposition to the SWP's timid and treacherous reformism, the Spartacist League fights to mobilize workers and the oppressed to stop the attacks on the right to abortion. As we wrote last August:

> "If ever an event demonstrated the suicidal futility of looking to the capitalist state—the Clinton White House, the FBI, cops and courts—to defend the rights of women and minorities, the murderous rampage in Pensacola, Florida is it.... What is needed to win the raging war to keep abortion clinics open are *mass, militant mobilizations* drawing in all defenders of women's rights and seeking in particular to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement. It is necessary to *drive off and disperse* the right-ist mobs who lay siege to the abortion clinics and thus provide a screen for the killers like Hill and Griffin."
>
> —"Pensacola: Anti-Abortion Terrorists Kill Again," *WV* No. 604, 5 August ■

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Yankee Occupation...

(continued from page 1)

warehouses to prevent looting, and on the roads leading to the villas of the rich in the hills above the capital. As crowds of unarmed Haitians caught and detained dozens of *attachés*, U.S. troops repeatedly intervened to save them, or simply handed them back to their pals in the police who later released them.

The U.S. military commander, Lieutenant General Henry Shelton, has insisted that the Haitian army and police "must survive as an institution." But the Yankee imperialists have a big problem as they try to "professionalize" the Haitian armed forces. For the past month, these armed thugs have terrorized Haitians on the streets under the eyes of the American occupiers. Now, from Port-au-Prince to the rural provinces, these professional killers are scrambling to fade into the population, hiding their guns and awaiting future "guaranteed" employment under the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) jobs program.

The primary task of the 17,000 U.S. troops in Haiti is to prevent the kind of *déchoukaj* (uprooting) of the oppressors which began to break out after Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier fled the country in 1986. The working people, peasants and unemployed sought to bring to justice every Macoute they could find. Squatters took over grand houses in the Port-au-Prince suburb of Pétionville after the owners had fled, while the Duvaliers' gaudy family mausoleum was torn apart and a huge statue of Christopher Columbus toppled into the sea.

But with the Macoutes temporarily out of the way, the U.S.-trained army soon brought back "Duvalierism without Duvalier," installing first General Henri Namphy, then the puppet Leslie Manigat, then Namphy again, followed by General Prosper Avril. Unable to stabilize the situation, the U.S. backed former World Bank official Marc Bazin in the 1990 elections, only to see Aristide elected by a two-thirds majority.

AP

U.S. troops stand guard against impoverished masses outside food warehouse reportedly owned by newly appointed military chief General Jean-Claude Duperval, shown below (center) with 1991 coup partners Raoul Cédras (left) and Philippe Blamby.

Razer/AFP

IMF "Reconstructs" Haiti

Today the American occupation authorities include experienced counterrevolutionary operatives, exemplified by one Gunther Otto Wagner, who was recruited from Hitler's *Luftwaffe* after World War II. In the Vietnam War, Wagner "advised" the puppet government in the South during the U.S.' notorious "Phoenix program," which assassinated more than 30,000 "suspected Viet Cong cadre." He also trained Nicaraguan contra leader Enrique Bermúdez. Dispatched to Haiti after the 1991 coup that overthrew Aristide in order to "investigate" why thousands of Haitians were fleeing the country, Wagner announced that 95 percent of Haitians' asylum claims were "fraudulent" (John Canham-Clyne, "U.S. Policy on Haiti: Selling Out Democracy," *CovertAction*, Spring 1994).

Aristide's appeals for calm are generally being heeded in the mistaken hope that his promises of a better life are for real. But Haiti's desperate masses will inevitably become disenchanted with the long journey from "misery to poverty," and may wonder where Aristide's talk of "dignity" comes in. Before the U.S. invasion, the Haitian president agreed to a "reconstruction" program which was presented at an August meeting to the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Interamerican Development Bank. One of the presenters was Leslie Delatour, a former aide to Baby Doc's finance minister and a minister of finance under Namphy.

Among other items, this austerity plan calls for slashing public employment in half and selling off state-owned industries. Many may be bought up by the imperialists, while the remainder will go to Haiti's notorious "six families." These wealthy mulatto clans have lorded it over the black masses since the late 19th century and were granted monopolies over key sectors of the economy by Haiti's dictators. At the head of the pack were the Brandts (who got port facilities and energy) and Mevs (owners of the Haitian American Sugar Co.), followed by the Accras (textiles), Behrmanns (car and truck imports), Bigios (steel, iron and construction materials) and Madsens (beer and coffee).

The plan also targets Haiti's starving peasants by initially cutting in half the protective tariff for rice and other grains and eventually removing it altogether, while eliminating all other import restrictions and tariffs. This could cause a social explosion in the countryside, where 75 percent of the population lives. When the Namphy regime opened Haiti to rice imports, it touched off a "guerrilla rice war of roadblocks and shootouts" by peasants, who provided an important base of Aristide's *Lavalas* (flood) movement (*Financial Times*, 20 October).

Haiti's trade-union movement was mostly shattered under the Cédras regime's repression, and militants were driven out of the factories in Port-au-Prince. This has only been exacerbated by three years of the U.S./UN starvation

Mississippi...

(continued from page 6)

racist American capitalism! The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, with equal rights for black people guaranteed through a planned, collectivized economy in a socialist, egalitarian society.

White racist opponents of education for blacks—and some black liberal integrationists—accuse the Mississippi protesters of "fighting for segregated schools." In fact, it is the abject *failure* of liberal integrationist programs which has led some black protesters to look nostalgically back to the days of Jim Crow segregation, when the fate of separate black institutions was less precarious.

On an individual level, who can blame black students for leaving white institutions where they are under attack to attend more hospitable black colleges? But pseudo-nationalists who exalt the accomplished fact of racial segregation stand in the way of the fight for racial integration on an egalitarian basis. Plaintiffs in the Ayers lawsuit argue that the state could strengthen separate black institutions by moving some of the pricier programs from white institutions to black colleges, and gradually luring more white students to predominantly black schools. But this will do nothing to answer the systematic underfunding of predominantly black schools and will likely result in generalized lousy education, while the racist authorities will seek to use it to inflame white racist reaction in the Deep South.

Rather than pit white against black or play pork barrel politics with the racist capitalist state, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for *quality education for all!* A fight to nationalize the elite private universities and an education system based on *open admissions* and *free tuition* would really redress the race and class bias inherent in a capitalist education system.

Some 30 years since the civil rights movement, by every social index there's been an increased intensity of racist segregation and immiseration. "Last hired, first fired" has been a way of life for black people. Now more black Americans lack regular employment than at any time since the Depression. At the same time, nearly a quarter of black workers are unionized. A pattern of reverse migration has developed, as Southern-born black workers have returned to the South to gain employment after having been laid off from industrial jobs in the North. A new industrial belt has developed along Interstate 85, running southwest from the Carolinas.

Although predominantly rural farmland, Mississippi has a high concentration of black unionists at the sprawling Pascagoula shipyards on the Gulf of Mexico. Next door in Alabama, strikes by rubber workers in Huntington and steel workers in Bessemer have showed the power of integrated labor. Black workers in the South, concentrated in auto, steel, Teamster and longshore jobs, can be the basis for sharp class struggle to back students' fight for an education on the road to a social revolution that can achieve genuine black equality.

Many of the activists fighting to defend education for blacks are inspired by the liberal civil rights activists of the 1960s, and the radicalized SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). SNCC organized the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964, which brought hundreds of idealistic and courageous black and white youth into the state to fight for integration and the right to vote. The civil rights movement attempted to break through the entrenched segregation and forced racial separation known as Jim Crow.

But when the movement confronted the hellish conditions of the Northern ghettos, it had no program to break through the economic bedrock of racist oppression. Missing from the struggles of the 1960s was a class-struggle leadership that could link the fight for black liberation to the power of the labor movement. The mass struggle for black rights was led straight into the dead end of Democratic Party politics and the root cause of racial oppression—capitalism and production for profit—was not challenged.

The fight for equal education is integrally linked to the working-class fight for the revolutionary integration of blacks into an egalitarian socialist society. This is the revolutionary perspective that's urgently necessary today. ■

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

American Hatred of Haiti

Few nations have come into existence facing as much opposition as Haiti.

Born January 1st, 1804 after a bloody and horrific revolution against their French overlords, Haiti became the first nation on earth where an enslaved people broke their own chains and militarily defeated a powerful colonial army.

Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a military disciple of Toussaint L'Ouverture, in proclaiming Haiti's independence, said, "Never again shall colonist or European set foot on this soil as master or landowner. This shall hence forward be the foundation of our constitution."

Haiti, the first independent nation in all of Latin America, was officially declared a haven from oppression, and an asylum for escaped slaves, and for any person of either African or Amerindian descent.

How did America react to this isle of freedom floating to its south?

With fear, hatred, contempt and military aggression.

How did America respond to the new nation?

One politician, South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne (1824) made no bones about the issue of Haiti's recognition, "Our policy with regard to Haiti is plain. We never can acknowledge her independence.... The peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us even to discuss [it]."

The black republic struck fear into the hearts of a white Euro-American empire that drew its sustenance in a vampirish exploitation of black labor, suffering, and slavery.

European nations, joined by America, entered into a diplomatic quarantine of Haiti that made independence a virtual nullity.

Although independent since 1804, the United States didn't recognize Haiti until some 58 years later—1862.

As late as 1872, German ships entering Haiti seized 2 Haitian vessels and as a sign of their contempt, took down their flags, and smeared the national emblem with human excrement (to prove, no doubt, European civilization).

In 1915, the U.S. Marines invaded and occupied Haiti until 1934. In the interim, they forced Haitians into labor gangs, called corvée, to work for U.S corporations that went there to exploit cheap labor.

When the people rebelled against this involuntary servitude in the Cacos Insurrection, the U.S Marines responded by ruthless repression, that left an estimated 15,000 peasant casualties.

One U.S Marine officer, Colonel Littleton W.T. Waller (Virginia) wrote of his impressions of the people historians now say they came to "help"; the Haitians were "real n----rs and make no mistake—there are some fine looking, well educated polished men here, but they are real n--s beneath the surface."

A perfect example of exported American "democracy."

Haiti's military, trained, armed and paid by the U.S. government, are America's latest example.

Hands off Haiti!

In the spirit of L'Ouverture.

19 August 1994

© 1994 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, 1100 Pike St., Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112.

embargo, which caused what little industry existed to shut down. While the economy will be reactivated by the lifting of the embargo, and there is bound to be a welling up of discontent, the new colonial authorities will be no friends of labor. The "reconstruction" plan pointedly says nothing about raising Haiti's miserable minimum wage of $3 a day.

To carry out the IMF austerity program, Aristide has just announced the appointment of U.S.-educated commodities trader and "free market" advocate Smarck Michel as prime minister. Michel helped finance Aristide's 1990 election campaign and served as his commerce minister for five months until resigning in opposition to lowering food prices.

Aristide: Front for U.S. Imperialism

In early September, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) was holding meetings under the title "Should the U.S. Invade Haiti?" Clinton answered that for them. Now the ISO is attempting to build liberal coalitions to pressure Clinton to get out of Haiti. Meanwhile, the ISO lauds the counterrevolutionary mobs who rioted in Havana, Cuba in early August (see "ISO: Gusano Socialists?" *WV* No. 606, 16 September).

Appealing to those who have seen Aristide as a liberator of the Haitian masses, and are now queasy over his role as front man for the Americans, the ISO has suddenly discovered that there are "two Aristides": the one who "campaigned around a program of reform" in 1990 and today's tool of the World Bank (*Socialist Worker*, October 1994). Back in 1991, the ISO described Aristide as "fully aware that for democracy to survive in Haiti, the whole system had to be restructured" (*Socialist Worker*, November 1991).

The truth is that Aristide, a radical "liberation theologist" whose *Lavalas* movement was based on the peasantry and urban poor, came to power in alliance with a small, liberal section of the Haitian bourgeoisie, represented by Georges and Antoine Izméry (both assassinated by death squads). While the Aristide government initially tried to carry out some reforms, such as raising the starvation minimum wage, it was pledged to respect bourgeois property rights. As the *Financial Times* notes, "President Aristide's first government attempted to wrest political power away from the military-appointed rural strongmen, but did not touch their economic power by promoting land reform."

Aristide called for a "marriage between the army and the people," naming Cédras as his military chief. Whereas before his election he often denounced U.S. imperialism's role in Haiti, once in office Aristide welcomed USAID and IMF assistance. In an essay published in the *New York Times* (16 October) the day after he returned to Port-au-Prince, Aristide boasted that he would "restore the World Bank's confidence in Haiti," adding: "In 1991, the bank commended our Government for 'providing a window of opportunity for the country to move towards sustained social and economic progress'."

The international proletariat must oppose Yankee imperialism's colonial occupation of Haiti and rally to the defense of the Cuban Revolution. The liberation of the Haitian masses from their desperate impoverishment is not their task alone. A workers and peasants government in this terribly ravaged land, where the hills are denuded of trees because this is the only source of cooking fuel for the millions of poor, would immediately have to be linked to revolutionary struggle throughout the region and in the center of capitalist power in North America. This only underscores that a Haitian Trotskyist party must be built as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International.

As Spartacist League spokesman Marjorie Stamberg noted in a recent forum on Haiti and Cuba:

> "Any revolutionary struggle in Haiti has to be extended to the Dominican Republic. As far back as the slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture at the time of the French Revolution, what is now the Dominican Republic was the staging ground for counterrevolution, and you can bet that is what the former Port-au-Prince police chief François [currently living in Santo Domingo] is going to be up to today. There are thousands of Haitians working in the Dominican Republic in virtual slave conditions in the cane fields.
>
> "Beyond that, the struggle has to be taken to the imperialist heartland. The Haitian working class is present by the hundreds of thousands in North America—in cities from New York to Boston to Washington, D.C. to Montreal. Above all, the fight for socialist revolution must be extended to the 'belly of the beast.' The multiracial American proletariat is key to the fight for socialist revolution here and around the globe." ■

Morris/Black Star

Jean-Bertrand Aristide returning to Haiti's National Palace in Port-au-Prince.

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South Korea...

(continued from page 2)

Korean government is anyone who asserts that the workers who created the country's wealth are more than just slaves to the *chaebols*.

Former "dissident" Kim Young Sam learned well his lessons from the military dictatorships he claimed to oppose. Throughout the summer, as the United States rattled its sabres at the North, Kim Young Sam's police state carried out vicious attacks on labor activists, and against students for alleged pro-North sympathies. Since coming to office his regime has swelled the country's prison population with trade unionists and dissidents, and carried out attacks on striking workers and students that would be envied by Park Chung Hee, Roh Tae Woo and the rest of the previous South Korean dictators propped up by U.S. arms.

We demand that all charges be dropped against Choi Il Bung and the other arrested supporters of the International Socialists. Free all imprisoned trade unionists and leftists!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein

Popular Frontism and the Strong State

ITALY

The following article is adapted from Spartaco *No. 44, September 1994, published by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.*

The rightist victory in the March 1994 elections marked a turning point in Italy's postwar history. It underlined the sharply escalating political and class polarization throughout West Europe. For the first time since World War II, fascist forces are now present in the government of an imperialist power. This ominous development repre-

PART ONE OF TWO

sents a direct threat to the workers movement, as the reactionary ruling triumvirate of Berlusconi-Fini-Bossi takes aim at union gains won through decades of hard struggle.

Democratic rights are menaced by this so-called "Pole of Freedom" right-wing coalition, which claims to be "liberal" while seeking to establish a muscular "presidential republic," drastically curbing the power of parliament and the judiciary. But the "Pole of the Progressives" coalition which was defeated in the elections presents no real opposition to their reactionary designs. Indeed, the left (and not-so-left) bloc offered itself as an alternative vehicle to carry out the bourgeoisie's program for a "strong state."

In the elections of March 27-28, the Trotskyist League (LTd'I) refused to call for votes to the "progressive pole." The latter was a typical *popular front*, a class-collaborationist coalition which tied the working class to direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, from anti-Mafia liberals to prominent capitalists such as a former vice president of Confindustria (the manufacturers' association) and the brother of the owner of Olivetti. Although it was led by the reformists of the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and Rifondazione Comunista (RC), this front is a *bourgeois* political formation. It stood not for defense of the workers' livelihoods but for the bosses' profits—to continue the government of the former Bankitalia chief Ciampi, which has meant the loss of *one and a half million jobs* since mid-1992 and a sharp drop in real wages last year.

We have pointed out that the push toward a "strong state" in Italy is a direct result of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Across West Europe, the capitalist rulers no longer see the need to throw a few crumbs to the workers to fend off the "communist menace." This and the economic crisis of the last several years are key factors in producing a general onslaught against the "welfare state" under its different national rubrics: "*l'état providence*" in France, "*lo stato sociale*" in Italy. What Thatcher and Reagan undertook in the 1980s, the continental bourgeoisies are driving hard to accomplish in the '90s: to increase profits by jacking up the rate of exploitation and holding down social "overhead" expenses. But their success is by no means guaranteed.

Der Spiegel

Media magnate Berlusconi, head of right-wing government, promotes himself as strongman to "save the nation" and eliminate union gains.

Now a battle has been launched over the government's plans to drastically slash pensions. Finance Minister Dini wants to cut L50,000 billion (over $30 billion) out of the health and social security system, and declares peremptorily that there will be "no negotiations on pensions" with the unions (*La Repubblica*, 7 September). This is a showdown for the entire workers movement. The CGIL-CISL-UIL union tops talk of a "hot autumn" of social struggle, while politely waiting for an audience with "no-negotiations" Dini. But angry metal workers in the Fiat bastion of Torino have declared that they are not waiting for permission and will launch a "preventive" strike against the cutback offensive of Berlusconi & Co. on September 8.

This is a good opportunity to give the rightist government in Roma the treatment the Air France workers gave the rightist government in Paris. An offensive of sharp class struggle could dramatically change the relationship of forces. Yet current PDS leader D'Alema is calling to "broaden" the popular front into a center-left "pole of the democrats." In Italy, as in France and throughout Europe and the world, the key question is leadership, the need for a revolutionary vanguard, a Leninist-Trotskyist party that can break the chains of class collaboration and wage a victorious struggle for working-class power. In order to build such a party, it is necessary to understand what are the forces in contention and what the battle is about.

"Sweat and Tears"

For the last several years, decisive sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie have been driving for an authoritarian, semi-bonapartist regime. Their goal: to "discipline" the working class by breaking the power of the unions and "clean out" the Italian political establishment, which was put together by the CIA after WWII and has since been rotted by decades of corruption. Because this involves some real reshaping of the capitalist class itself, they must displace the normal push-and-pull of competing factions under bourgeois democracy. A would-be Bonaparte, who presents himself as savior of the nation, is already in place: Citizen Berlusconi, the media magnate whose Fininvest holding company is one of the largest capitalist enterprises in the country. But he is constrained by his two allies, the fascist Italian Social Movement/National Alliance (MSI/AN) of Gianfranco Fini and Umberto Bossi's rightist populist Northern League. This latent conflict between the right-wing coalition partners came to a head in mid-July over Berlusconi's attempt to hamstring the *mani pulite* (clean hands) anti-graft investigations.

La Stampa

Workers demonstrate against Berlusconi's pension-slashing austerity, October 14, in front of giant Fiat Mirafiori plant in Torino.

Berlusconi appealed to small and medium businessmen beset by heavy taxes and ubiquitous bribes, squeezed by the Mafia, facing powerful unions which have won relatively high wages. In a country where 99 percent of all businesses are family-owned, this is a large audience. This is the same voting base as the Northern League, whose battle cries of "*Roma ladrona*" (Rome the thief) link up the widespread anti-Southern chauvinism of the Northern petty bourgeoisie with what is at bottom a classic tax revolt. It is also from this layer of enraged petty-bourgeois that the fascist MSI/AN draws its hard core of support, until now largely in the South. Although he pitched himself to small entrepreneurs as a "self-made man," Berlusconi is personally worth an estimated $7.5 *billion* and is the quintessence of a monopoly capitalist. And that raises a real conflict of interest he-

Der Spiegel

Liberazione

AFP

Berlusconi's coalition partners include racist-populist Northern League of Umberto Bossi (far left) and fascist MSI/National Alliance of *Il Duce*'s granddaughter, Alessandra Mussolini. Skinhead thugs saluted fascist gains in March elections.

tween Berlusconi and his voting base.

Because now that he was in the saddle, the Hon. Fininvest wanted to stop the corruption purge and get on with business. Although they recruit from the same milieus, the parties of the right-wing coalition have important policy differences (e.g., the League is federalist, the fascists are centralist). Twice in mid-July, differences within the governing majority came to fistfights in parliament. But they have one common enemy: the working class. And in spite of rifts and maneuvering, the coalition partners will unite in their crusade to drive down wages, undo union gains and devastate the unions themselves.

In this country where union membership is still over 20 percent, the bourgeoisie from top to bottom yearns to become like the U.S., where unions are down to 15 percent of the workforce, or France, where the labor movement now counts barely 12 percent of the workers. The CGIL-CISL-UIL federations now sense that they are facing a mortal threat, and are negotiating a bureaucratic unity agreement after decades of being tied to the multiple parties of the "first republic." But neither they nor the mass reformist workers parties, the PDS and RC, waged a *class* fight against the capitalist assault. On the contrary, through the "progressive" popular front they gagged the working class and bound it to its class enemy.

To demonstrate his "responsibility" to the bosses, then PDS leader Occhetto promised the workers nothing but "sweat and tears." Berlusconi promised "one million jobs." With unemployment at a record 11.5 percent and rising, is it any wonder that the right wing won? And with the petty bourgeoisie clamoring for a strong state to clean up corruption, to cut taxes, to drive down wages, they voted for the force that put forward a would-be strongman who told them what they wanted to hear. Now that he's in office, of course, Berlusconi will deliver "sweat and tears."

Fascism and Bonapartism in the "Second Republic"

The right-wing election victory accompanied by pictures of fascists giving the straight-arm "Roman salute" and chanting "*Duce, Duce*" in celebration sent shock waves around the world. Was fascism back in power? Various European bourgeois and reformist leaders, such as French president Mitterrand, postured as "anti-fascists" striking the alarm. Europoliticians in Strashourg wagged their fingers over the MSI ministers in Berlusconi's new government. But soon this died down, and various media began accepting Fini's self-definition as a "post-fascist." There was a rush to declare fascism a purely "historical" question. Now the *New York Times Magazine* (24 July) published an article, "Benito Mussolini: Back From the Dead," discovering that *Il Duce* wasn't so bad after all, especially before 1938 (when he joined Nazi Germany in the drive to World War II—this is the same kind of argument used by "respectable" German apologists for Hitler).

The electoral gains of the fascist MSI in part reflect the political vacuum created by the collapse of the Christian Democrats and their Socialist allies, who were so shot through by corruption that key sectors of the bourgeoisie decided to get rid of them in the interest of restoring the "competitiveness" of Italian business. The now-defunct parties that governed Italy throughout the whole postwar period had been cobbled together and fostered by the American CIA to serve the purposes of the Cold War. Over time, the Italian bourgeoisie can reconstruct "center" parties with new faces and configurations. As it is, large sections of the Italian and international bourgeoisie are far from convinced that the newly preponderant rightist and fascist formations constitute the best chance for consolidating stable capitalist rule. Thus, at the time of the March elections, PDS leader Occhetto received the OK of the American ambassador, the blessing of the Pope and the open support or tacit acceptance of prominent Italian industrialists.

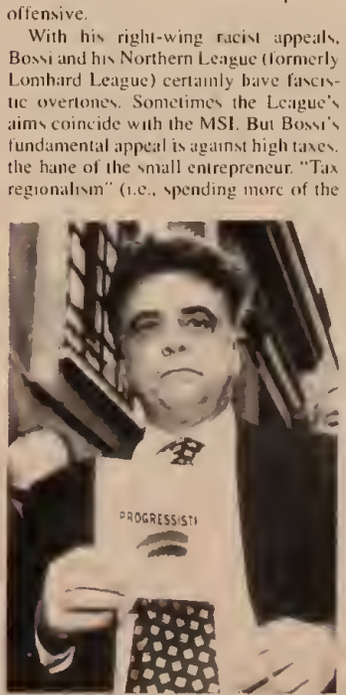
Shattered by their electoral defeat, some of the "progressives" raised a lament that fascism stood at the door. On the other hand, PDS leaders Occhetto and D'Alema (the new party secretary) during the campaign flirted with Fini during TV talk shows, treating the MSI leader as a "valid conversation partner." Even ostensible Trotskyists belittled the fascist danger. Livio Maitan, veteran Italian spokesman of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (Usec), declared that in judging the National Alliance "overly simplistic characterisations should be avoided. No doubt, the MSI was founded to organise those nostalgic for the Mussolini regime. But...it systematically integrated itself into the institutions, and appeared more as [a] right-wing or far-right conservative formation in which the weight of those nostalgic for fascism progressively diminished" (*International Viewpoint*, June 1994).

For leftists to take part in painting the heirs of Mussolini in respectable colors is foolhardy in the extreme. The National Alliance is nothing but a double-breasted electoral suit for the MSI fascists, quite a few of whom are not-so-neo at all. MSI Eurodeputy Pino Rauti was a fascist thug in Mussolini's 1943-45 "Salò Republic" in German-occupied northern Italy. And the *squadristi* are not just history. Leading MSI parliamentary deputy Teodoro Buontempo was long active with these gangs of goons. It was only a couple of years ago that blackshirted MSI squads marched in Milano to support rightist state president Francesco Cossiga. And galvanized by the victory of the right, bands of skinheads have begun openly attacking the workers movement. In Roma and Milano, skinheads have burned down offices of Rifondazione Comunista, and on May 14 a couple of hundred of these Nazi scum staged a provocative march in Vicenza.

As for AN/MSI leader Fini, this "post-modern" yuppie fascist not only proclaimed *Il Duce* "the greatest statesman of the century" but also declared: "It's necessary to give thanks to Benito Mussolini that Italy didn't become communist in 1922." He also praised fascism as a tradition of "honesty, correctness and good government" and came to the defense of skinheads, saying "Naziskins are not dangerous."

At the same time, it would be losing all sense of reality to consider the presence of fascist ministers in the government as the equivalent of a new march on Rome. Fascism means the military mobilization of the enraged petty bourgeoisie in the interests of big capital to prevent social revolution by utterly *destroying* the organized workers movement. This is not happening in Italy today, because the proletariat has not frightened the bourgeoisie by threatening its power. For now, the fascist gangs, guard dogs of capital, are being kept on a leash, mainly used to terrorize dark-skinned immigrants. What *is* happening, which is ominous enough, is the enlisting of petty-bourgeois *electoral* support as voting cattle for capitalist forces seeking to erect a "strong state" to *discipline* and decisively *weaken* the workers movement. But whether this succeeds depends centrally on the response of the proletariat to this concerted capitalist offensive.

With his right-wing racist appeals, Bossi and his Northern League (formerly Lombard League) certainly have fascistic overtones. Sometimes the League's aims coincide with the MSI. But Bossi's fundamental appeal is against high taxes, the bane of the small entrepreneur. "Tax regionalism" (i.e., spending more of the state's revenue in the "industrious" North rather than subsidizing the "indolent" South) is Bossi's rallying cry, not separatism.



Vezio Sabatini

PDS leader Achille Occhetto, leader of popular-front "Pole of the Progressives," promised the workers "sweat and tears."

When you strip away its medieval heraldry and costumery, the Northern League evokes the tax revolt led by Pierre Poujade in France in the 1950s. This, too, was mainly a crusade of small property owners demanding cheap government. The Poujadists were looking to sweep away the corruption and chaos of the French Fourth Republic (1947-58), where "revolving door" cabinets came and went just as frequently as in the Italian First Republic. Poujade himself recognized the affinity of his movement with the Italian Northern League. In an article last year titled "Bossi C'est Moi" in the weekly *Famiglia Cristiana* (No. 24, June 1993), Poujade expressed his sympathy for the "Senatur," saying that "your League is very similar to an updated version of Poujadism," and "they make the same criticisms of Bossi as of me: racist, xenophobe and so on."

In the French Fourth Republic, the petty-bourgeois proprietors grew increasingly unwilling to cough up the taxes to finance the losing colonial war against Algerian independence, while remaining staunchly pro-colonialist, which posed a national crisis. In rising up against the "republic of parties," the Poujadists were a movement for authoritarian rule. And when a strongman came along—General de Gaulle—Poujade's movement, although it had received 3 million votes (over 11 percent of the total) in the 1956 elections, disappeared almost overnight.

If comparisons of Bossi to Poujade come to mind, Berlusconi's most fervent fans picture him as a new de Gaulle—although he's a pretty poor excuse for one. The French general was a real bonapartist figure, but the "presidential" Fifth Republic he installed in 1958 was only a *semi*-bonapartist regime, in which the democratic trappings of a substantially weakened parliament were maintained. Berlusconi, with his years-long participation in the P2 "masonic lodge" (membership card number 1816), certainly aspires to de Gaulle's plebiscitary style of government.

For the last couple of years, key sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie have been demanding a "strong state" and a "second republic." In our article "Italian Capitalists Demand 'Strong State'," *Workers Vanguard* No. 554, 26 June 1992), we quoted Fiat boss Giovanni Agnelli's declaration that "a strong government that takes unpopular measures" is needed, particularly to cut pensions and health care. The present cabinet in Roma is not (yet) such a regime, witness the hesitations of Labor Minister Mastella to launch a frontal war over pensions in the middle of the uproar over Berlusconi's attacks on the magistrates. But neither is it just a continuation of the unstable parliamentary ministries of the First

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General Strike...

(continued from page 1)

power, particularly amid the turmoil of this "hot autumn" of class struggle in Italy. But by itself it would not resolve that question. There has never been a lack of militancy in the Italian working class. The key question is that of revolutionary leadership.

Berlusconi is widely despised. A typical poster on October 14 read, "I repent, I voted for Berlusconi." But what's needed to sweep away the Berlusconi government and smash his austerity program is all-out workers resistance, including strikes, plant occupations, the formation of workers councils and workers militias. This would pose a situation of dual power. And a genuinely Bolshevik vanguard party must be built in order to lead the workers' struggles beyond economic militancy in the direction of a fight for workers rule. For otherwise, decisive sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie are pushing for a "strong state" to destroy the workers' gains, whether under the aspiring Bonaparte Berlusconi (called "Berluskaiser" by his ally Bossi of the Northern League) or the "progressive" popular front led by the PDS (see "Italy: Popular Frontism and the Strong State," page 12 of this issue).

Corriere della Sera photos

Supporters of Leoncavallo leftist social center battle cop attempts to evict them, Milano, September 10.

Hot Autumn of Workers Struggle

Every day since late September, tens of thousands of workers took to the streets to protest against the deep and deadly pension cuts proposed by Berlusconi. On September 28, 200,000 workers struck and marched in cities around the country. From Palermo to Milano, workers held assemblies in the middle of highways and blocked railroad stations. Brescia had four de facto general strikes of 25,000 each. Fiat's giant Mirafiori works repeatedly struck and filled the streets of Torino. Massive daily protests semi-paralyzed Genova for two weeks; on the eve of the national strike an opera concert was held "for labor and culture" in the port city. "What better way...to fly to the biggest Genovan protest than on the wings of Verdi and Puccini?" commented *La Repubblica*.

On October 14, 350,000 marched in Milano, 250,000 in Firenze (Florence), 200,000 in Torino and Roma, 150,000 in Bologna, Napoli (Naples) and Genova, 70,000 in Palermo, 50,000 in Bari, etc. Seven special trains and 300 buses brought strikers to the regional Firenze demonstration. In many cities, the marches stretched for kilometers, and most demonstrators never made it to the end. All schools closed down for the day and hundreds of thousands of students marched in spirited contingents that arrived together from hundreds of high schools and universities. In Roma, youthful student demonstrators enlivened the marches by singing a rap version of *Bandiera Rossa*. Many pensioners marched and there were also large PDS and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) contingents.

Comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia and other sections of the International Communist League sold some 640 copies of the LTd'I paper *Spartaco* in Milano October 14, while another 80 were sold in Palermo.

The semi-anarchist Autonomia Operaia (Workers Autonomy) chose to have their own separate marches in Milano and some other cities. The syndicalist CUB/COBAS (rank-and-file committees) held a national demonstration of 50,000 in Roma in the afternoon. But many youth from the *autonomo* milieu and many COBAS members chose to march with the mass of the workers in their own cities. And *Corriere della Sera* (15 October) noted the spectacle, "never before seen," of the head of the COBAS at Alfa Romeo, Corrado Delle Donne, speaking from the same platform as the official union leaders. In Genova, workers carried signs saying, "Berlusconi, Remember Tambroni!" They were recalling the massive working-class mobilization there in 1960 when port workers closed down a fascist meeting and fought it out with the cops, eventually leading to the downfall of the Christian Democratic/fascist Tambroni government.

October 14 was not just a parade, like so many Italian "general strikes" in the past. One striker declared, "This is only the antipasto." A national mobilization has been scheduled for November 12, when the CGIL-CISL-UIL union federations are planning to bring one million workers in a march on Roma. In addition to the eight hours of officially authorized strikes leading up to the 12th, there are already other spontaneous strikes and actions all over the place. Already on October 22, some 50,000 students and youth from around Italy marched in Napoli.

In the March 27 elections, Berlusconi won many votes by promising a "new Italian miracle" to revive the economy and provide one million new jobs. Now the bitter reality of mounting unemployment, falling wages and brutal cuts is staring everybody in the face. The prime minister is increasingly isolated. He is presently immersed in what seems to be a battle with the magistrates over their corruption investigation into his Fininvest empire. The cabinet is beginning to fragment in the face of the demonstration of social power and combativity by the working class. Labor minister Mastella (whose son and wife joined the protests) wants to cut a deal with the unions on pension cuts. Meanwhile, fascist MSI deputies in parliament assaulted a left-wing speaker last week in the raging fight over the government's political purge in the RAI state television system.

Popular Front Chains Workers

The possibility of hard class struggle to bring down this reactionary regime—only months after the bourgeois elections—and smash the vicious austerity program is palpable. But the reformist leaderships—principally the two offshoots of the Communist Party, RC and PDS—are moving might and main to block this road by tying the working class to the bosses in a class-collaborationist front. The head of the CGIL, Sergio Cofferati, summed up the politics of the trade-union bureaucracy and the anti-Berlusconi popular front immediately after the general strike, saying: "Now the government must bargain with us." The RC and PDS want to use these massive strikes as a pressure tactic to modify the budget and make the "sacrifices more equal."

RC president and senator Armando Cossutta talks of waging a battle in parliament with the help of mass pressure in the streets. D'Alema, head of the PDS, says: "We are a responsible force, we don't want to damage the country and the markets," adding: "The days are over when the left thought that it could do it alone" (*L'Unità*, 15 October). In order to show its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie, the PDS is now pushing the "unity of all democrats," ranging from Rifondazione Comunista to the recycled Christian Democrats of the Popular Party (PPI), and is even flirting with the racist populists of the Northern League. RC says it has no "prejudices" against the PPI, and an interview with RC leader Bertinotti was recently run in the League newspaper *L'Independente* (21 August).

Sensing the possibility of bringing down Berlusconi, the "progressive" popular front is looking to the bourgeois state apparatus. Two days before the general strike, on October 12, RC, PDS and the COBAS of Alfa Romeo demonstrated shoulder to shoulder with the Northern League in front of the Milano courthouse in solidarity with the "anti-corruption" magistrates. Among their chants was "Maroni, Arrest Berlusconi"—a truly grotesque call on the Northern League minister of the interior to arrest the head of government. Such dangerous illusions in the *mani pulite* (clean hands) judicial operation that is jailing many leading politicians could help pave the way to a bonapartist crackdown *against the left*.

Also on October 12 there was a sinister police and prison guard "strike." As 20,000 cops rallied in Roma at the call of the cop "union" SIULP, Cofferati (CGIL) and D'Antoni (CISL) addressed the uniformed thugs from the platform as "fellow workers." On October 5, some of these same police violently charged into unemployed workers who were demonstrating in front of Palazzo Chigi (the prime minister's offices) with signs denouncing "BerluSSconi." And on October 11, police in Torino tried to beat up several hundred militant anti-fascist demonstrators at the university. A month earlier, on September 10, police in Milano waded into a demonstration in defense of the *autonomo* social center Leoncavallo, attacking everybody in sight and launching a massive manhunt.

During the October 14 general strike, an SIULP cop was allowed to speak from the platform in Roma, and received applause. The vice president of the CGIL, Guglielmo Epifani, said, "We thank the forces of order who are here to guarantee the peaceful carrying out of this extraordinary demonstration." But while the police were given a place of honor, one group that was notable by its absence in the demonstrations on the 14th was *immigrants*. The chauvinist reformist leaderships have criminally refused to mobilize the Italian workers movement against anti-immigrant attacks by fascists and police, while the PDS and RC have actually called for "cleaning out" immigrant squatters' camps. The Trotskyists warn that the cops and courts and capitalist politicians represent the class enemy. We demand cops out of the unions, and call for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror.

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

As the Stalinists and ex-Stalinists embrace the bourgeoisie and its state ever more openly, what's urgently needed is a struggle for authentic communism. Among those in Italy who falsely claim to represent Trotskyism, two leaders of an opposition current in RC, Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia, authored a half-page article in *Il Manifesto* (11 October) in which they never once mention revolution, communism, socialism or even workers power, nor do they warn of the popular front or class collaboration, or distinguish themselves from RC's support to racist killer cops and bourgeois magistrates. Ferrando/Grisolia's maximum program is for a general strike that would be a "political defeat for the government," as they call vaguely for "the liberation of forces and energy from below for the real alternative."

So while the PDS calls for a "democratic alternative" and RC for the "progressive alternative," these pseudo-Trotskyists call for a "real alternative." Yet in the March elections, Ferrando/Grisolia called for RC members to "participate actively in the front lines of the electoral campaign of the party in the central struggle against the right" and called to vote for all the candidates of the popular front, including the openly bourgeois politicians (*Proposta* No. 3, March 1994). They, along with the Stalinist rump in the RC, the born-again social democrats of the PDS and the syndicalists of the COBAS, perpetuate the belief, deeply rooted in Italy, that the only "alternatives" are either popular-front parliamentarism or a syndicalist ignoring of political struggle.

This heritage has been a curse of the Italian workers movement ever since the early 1920s, when militant socialist workers of the Northern industrial belt seized the factories...and sat there. What was needed then was a tempered Bolshevik leadership that could overcome this false polarization between parliamentary class collaboration and militantly apolitical workers struggle. That was also lacking in the workers insurrection betrayed by the Stalinists in 1943-45, during the militant worker and youth struggles in 1968-69, and again today. It is to the task of forging such a Leninist party that the Lega Trotskista d'Italia directs its efforts. ■

Strong State...

(continued from page 13)

Republic. The current fractious coalition, a government "uniting" the various components of the right-wing "party of order," is the intended antechamber to a Second Republic of considerably stiffened presidential powers, which are already being drafted.

But whether Berlusconi & Co. succeed in realizing their aspirations is quite another question. That depends centrally on the response of the proletariat to their capitalist offensive. There is a parallel to the victory of the Gaullist right in France a year and a half ago. After an election campaign whose hottest issue was unemployment, the French right won because Mitterrand's popular front, which had administered capitalist austerity for a dozen years, repelled decisive sections of the proletariat. The left was reduced to a small minority in the French parliament; Prime Minister Balladur's popularity soared. Yet within months, the Balladur government was reeling when the Air France workers rose in rebellion against plans to privatize the airline and cause thousands of layoffs. The victory of the workers inspired other sections of society to struggle. Last spring French students forced Balladur to abandon his plan to slash the sub-minimum wage for newly hired workers (which is an explicit model for Berlusconi's heralded "new Italian miracle").

Behind the *Tangentopoli* Affair

The economic program of the rightist triumvirate Berlusconi-Bossi-Fini is a derivative of Thatcherism/Reaganism, but Italy does not have the deep-seated, centuries-old Westminster traditions of bourgeois democracy, and it has the most militant working class in Europe. The fact that the labor mobilization in Italy against the cutback offensive has been the most widespread and militant in Europe is a main reason why the recent dramatic growth of fascist and rightist populist parties and the emergence of a new popular front both came about first in the peninsula.

It all goes back to the aftermath of World War II. Italy was the one place in West Europe where the smashing of the fascist regimes was accompanied by an actual working-class uprising, which was strangled with the decisive aid of the Stalinists. This is the "heroic" history of the *Resistenza* that the offshoots of the Communist Party, the PDS and RC, look back to. But since the Italian working class was so strong, the victorious imperialist Allies and the Italian bourgeoisie had to strike a deal with the PCI. In return for preventing the workers from going for power, the Stalinists would be integrated into subordinate positions in the state apparatus.

From the 1948 constitution to the "red belt" of PCI local and provincial administrations to the *lottizzazione* (patronage jobs) which gave the RAI 3 television channel to the PCI, these concessions were the price paid for the domestication and social-democratization of the Stalinists. While Berlinguer's project of a "historic compromise" between the PCI and the Christian Democrats was vetoed at the government (cabinet) level, it was a fact at the parliamentary level: it is estimated that since the late 1970s some *80 percent* of all laws passed had the support of the PCI/PDS, which for the last 18 years has held the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies.

But to set up this system in the aftermath of the demise of the fascist regime, the American occupiers had to scramble to put together the bourgeois machinery of state. In return for keeping the Communists out of the government, the Mafia was given free rein in controlling Sicily and the South, while De Gasperi's Christian Democrats were quickly cobbled together as a "party" by allowing the fascist functionaries to remain in place. Of the 64 provincial prefects in office in 1960, 62 served in the Interior Ministry under the fascist government; all of the 241 sub-prefects made their career in the bureaucracy of Mussolini's regime; and 120 of the 135 quaestors (provincial police chiefs) entered the police under fascism.

Similar operations were carried out by American military governments in Germany and Japan. The resulting all-inclusive bourgeois parties (Christian Democrats in Europe, "Liberal Democrats" in Japan) were characterized less by their program than for the fact that they served as institutionalized bulwarks against the Communists. The process of mediating between different factions of the ruling class was carried out through the maneuvering of tendencies within these hegemonic parties of the bourgeoisie. And to oil this machinery, patronage was spread about on the model of New York City's Tammany Hall political machine.

In large part because of the militancy of the Italian working class, Italy did not undergo lengthy military occupation. The Americans couldn't even afford to go through the motions of "de-Nazification" and cartel-busting that were carried out in postwar West Germany (only to be reversed with the onset of the Cold War). The old fascist state-owned business syndicates (and firms like Fiat and Pirelli) continued to operate without a hitch. As a result, roughly 40 percent of Italy's economy is in the public sector, going up to 90 percent in key sectors such as transportation, steel and banking. These state-capitalist enterprises then became the source of patronage jobs and bribes.

The pervasive graft which became the object of the corruption scandal and the *mani pulite* (clean hands) judicial operation was not due to any special avarice of Italian politicians. Rather it was the product of and necessary fuel for a whole system set up to deny the strongest CP in West Europe control of the state. Thus the IRI (the giant industrial holding company set up by Mussolini, with almost 500,000 employees) was staffed by right-wing Christian Democrats; ENI (oil) was run by left Christian Democrats, beginning with Enrico Mattei, and Sarragat's Social Democrats (PSDI). In the 1960s, when the Socialist Party (PSI) joined the coalition with the DC, the electricity industry was nationalized to create ENEL to give them jobs.

This payroll padding occurred on a truly massive scale, and contributed to the enormous budget deficits which steadily pushed up to over L160,000 billion (US$103 billion) this year, or about 13 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). By now, the accumulated public debt is up to L1,500,000 billion (US$1 trillion), or about *110 percent of the annual GDP*. In addition, the cost of bribes has been estimated about L15,000 billion a year, while organized crime takes in something like L26,000 billion yearly, according to the London *Financial Times* (30 June 1993). This tremendous overhead cost for Italian capitalists has become all the more burdensome as the collapse of the "threat" of the Soviet bloc since 1989 made it seem unnecessary.

Carlo de Benedetti, head of Olivetti and publisher of *La Repubblica*, summed up the causes of the demise of the Christian Democratic regime in an interview in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (29 November 1993):

> "The catalyst of this revolution was the fall of the Berlin Wall. Italy also had its internal Wall, and it collapsed just like the one in Berlin. As the Communist threat was finally gone, there was no more reason to accept the Christian Democrats' blackmailing with the Communists. With this blackmail, a lot of people made a huge lot of money. Corruption and state debt are the price that had to be paid for the political consensus. The rulers hollowed out Italy's financial stability for their private purposes. They didn't worry about the infrastructure and the educational system. They destroyed the administration and the state."

Competition from capitalist rivals is another important factor leading to the explosion of this system. While Italy had the largest Communist Party of West Europe, its industry was the least able to withstand the impact of the advent of the European single market at the end of 1992. Italy's few giant conglomerates are mostly state-owned and heavily in debt, while there are a multitude of small and medium-sized companies. Thus while three of the seven largest European companies are Italian (IRI, Fiat and ENI), after those three giants there was nothing until Ferruzzi (no. 43 on a list published by *Die Zeit*, 30 August 1991).

As the Bundesbank and German capital remake West Europe in their image, they have imposed a number of rules (e.g., budget deficits not to exceed *3 percent* of GDP, strict limits on government subsidies) which would cripple Italian big government holdings, while the tiny family-owned firms are not large enough to compete with much larger German *Mittelstand* (middle bourgeois) companies. So in order to become competitive, Italy's bourgeoisie, both small and large, are seeking to feed off the state-owned giants through *privatization*. Already in the last six months of the Ciampi government, three major public banks and other enterprises were sold off to the sum of L10 trillion (US$640 million). Now the Berlusconi cabinet has decided to put the state insurance company INA on the market, followed by STET (telecommunications), ENEL (electricity) and, in 1995, ENI (oil).

Berlusconi is an *affarista* (profiteering) adventurer who promises to produce a new "Italian miracle" like the 1970s and '80s by *"privatizing" the state* in the interest of himself and his cronies. (Louis Bonaparte similarly made fortunes by handing out concessions for railway construction while speculating on the Paris bourse.) In the *Azienda Italia* (Italy Inc.) which Berlusconi wants to establish, *he* is to be the *capo*. While complaining about an *assistenzialista* (welfare) state, he wants the state to assist business, or at least his business interests, and he isn't worried about damaging the other big shots of Italian capitalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

March Against Prop 187...

(continued from page 16)

among the leading organizers of opposition to Prop. 187. Although Asians are not the prime target of this anti-immigrant initiative, they understand that it is simply the opening shot of a racist campaign against *all* immigrants. And not just in California. On October 22, 5,000 mainly Salvadoran demonstrators marched in Washington, D.C. protesting against the impending cancellation of their residency status and chanting against Prop. 187.

California Republican governor Pete Wilson, who has made Mexican-bashing a key plank in his re-election campaign, was burned in effigy. But the name of the game for the labor bureaucrats and Democratic Party "community" leaders who headed the march was to channel opposition to Prop. 187 into votes for the equally racist Democrats and their gubernatorial candidate, Kathleen Brown. Following the lead contingent in the L.A. demo came a sea of placards with the slogan "Prop. 187—No! Kathleen Brown—Yes!" Echoing right-wing Republicans like William Bennett, this week Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein announced her opposition to Prop. 187, declaring that it "makes no provision whatsoever to deport illegal aliens and reduce their number"!

WV photo

Los Angeles, October 16: Contingent of construction workers and their families march in 80,000-strong march against Proposition 187. Mobilize California labor to smash anti-immigrant racism!

In counterposition, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club raised our banner declaring: "No to Proposition 187! Full Citizenship Rights for *All* Immigrants! Break with the Racist Democrats and Republicans! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!" Close to 400 copies of *Workers Vanguard* (14 October) with the back-page article calling to "Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" were sold, as well as nearly 200 issues of *Espartaco*, newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. As we wrote in the *WV* article, which was translated into Spanish for the demonstration:

> "The only action that can successfully resist this racist onslaught is *multiracial* class struggle which can unite the militant heavily Latino L.A.-area unions and others who have denounced Prop. 187 (including teachers, health workers and the California Labor Federation) together with superexploited Mexican workers just across the border in the U.S.-owned *maquiladora* (free trade zone) sweatshops of Tijuana. Such proletarian internationalist action would send a powerful message to the immigrant-bashers. *Down with Prop 187! Full citizenship rights for ALL immigrants!*" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Full Citizenship Rights for *All* Immigrants!

80,000 March Against Prop 187

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—It was the largest demonstration seen in decades in L.A. Upwards of 80,000 spirited protesters marched on City Hall October 16 in a powerful display of opposition to the racist, immigrant-bashing "Save Our State" initiative (Proposition 187). Prop. 187, on the ballot for the November 8 California elections, would deny welfare, medical care and education to undocumented immigrants. There was an impressive turnout of the huge Latino working class, who have been in the forefront of recent militant labor battles and who are particular targets of Prop. 187. Contingents from dozens of area unions, including SEIU Locals 660 (county workers) and 399 (Kaiser hospitals and "Justice for Janitors"), ILGWU (garment workers), UFW (farm workers), UTLA (teachers), HERE 11 (hotel and restaurant workers) and United Food and Commercial Workers, were there.

Youth came out in big numbers, capping a week of student walkouts at public schools stretching from L.A. to Orange County to Oakland in the Bay Area. Two days earlier, on October 14, more than 1,500 students bolted classrooms at L.A.'s Jordan and Fremont High Schools, Roosevelt in East L.A., and others in Bell, Huntington Park and South Gate. Students braved suspensions, police encirclement and, in Huntington Park, the drawn guns of the cops! Student walkouts against Prop. 187 continued this week. In Paramount, sheriff's deputies fired two "stingball" grenades—explosive devices that shoot out rubber pellets—at a crowd of 500 young protesters!

It is estimated that over 60 percent of the student body in some of these schools would face summary expulsion under the provisions of Prop. 187, which also mandates that teachers operate as finks for the hated *migra* immigration cops. At Sunday's demonstration several union teachers carried signs reading: "I'm a teacher—not an immigration agent!"

A contingent organized by the Korean Immigration Workers Advocates marched in the L.A. demonstration. In the Bay Area, Asian students have been

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Young Spartacus

Hitler-Lover David Irving Run Out!

Hundreds Rout Nazis in Berkeley

For years, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have exposed the sinister and dangerous role of David Irving, a Nazi apologist who hides his fascist brownshirt under "academic" robes. We've protested Irving's speaking tours as nothing other than platforms to mobilize the forces of racist terror and genocide around the world. In 1988, comrades who later went on to found the Dublin Spartacist Group were among the organizers of a 500-strong demonstration that stopped Irving at Ireland's Trinity College in Dublin. In 1989, the Berkeley SYC organized a militant protest against Irving when he was giving a fascist speech. So it's with considerable pride that we reprint below the Berkeley SYC leaflet describing our October 13 united-front demonstration which successfully thwarted Irving and his fascist pals.

The Spartacus Youth Club congratulates the hundreds of anti-fascist militants who answered our united-front call to "Stop Hitler-Lover David Irving!" last Thursday night. The Nazis who hosted Irving no douht thought they could cash in on the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up behind Proposition 187 to recruit and organize for their racist terror. Together we made sure that they didn't get away with it.

Irving, who was originally scheduled to appear at Alumni House on campus, was billed as an "author and historian." But as our leaflet, which was distributed in the thousands at Cal and other campuses, pointed out: "This isn't just some crackpot, raving right-wing 'academic.' Behind the white shirt and tie of this so-called 'historian' is the fascist brownshirt of Nazism. Irving denies the Holocaust in order to recruit and organize the perpetrators of new fascist depravities."

Irving has been a star attraction at meetings of fascist terror gangs from the British National Party, to the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensive" in Germany, to the white-supremacist Heritage Front in Canada, to the Klan and Nazis in the U.S. He whips up the fascist thugs who have been waging a campaign of terror and murder against immigrants, minorities, gays, blacks and anti-racist protesters around the globe.

Young Spartacus

Anti-fascist protesters march into Nazi rally site in Berkeley, California on October 13.

When Alumni House got wind of our protest call, they yanked Irving's event permit, citing the "potential for danger." But we and hundreds of others understood that the *real* potential for danger would be if Irving's appearance went unopposed. Chanting "Stop

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WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 610 11 November 1994

South African Workers Fight Mandela Austerity

Neo-Apartheid Regime Turns Guns on Strikers

Nic Bothma

South African police fire rubber bullets and tear gas at striking Cape Town municipal workers, October 24. Racist repression of black workers continues under ANC government.

Six months into the "Government of National Unity" between Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and former apartheid leader F.W. De Klerk, this "power sharing" regime has been graphically shown to be a front for continuing racist capitalist rule.

The ANC in office has broken strikes, evicted squatters and sent the apartheid army and police against black and union demonstrations. While President Mandela courts international capital, ANC ministers and parliamentarians have climbed on the "gravy train" of high salaries and government perks, and the ANC apparatus is now sitting pretty in the former Shell House. Meanwhile, close Mandela associates are trying to set up a fledgling black capitalist holding company with a hodgepodge of life insurance, media and communications companies ceded by the "*verligte*" (enlightened) apartheid capitalists like Anglo American, the giant mining conglomerate. But for the oppressed non-white majority there is no "gravy train"; tensions have grown along racial and ethnic lines as competition mounts for scarce jobs and resources.

The world bankers and business press are glowing over the ANC's conversion to "free market" economics and "fiscal responsibility." These now-bourgeois nationalists have ensconced themselves as junior partners in the exploitation of the black masses by imperialist and apartheid capital. In October, Mandela's top deputy, Thabo Mbeki, announced a sweeping austerity offensive, including massive layoffs with privatization of state-owned enterprises such as South African Airways, electrical utilities, railroads and oil explorations. Summing up the regime's first few months, a *Washington Post* (9 October) editorial hailed Mandela: "He has dealt with organized labor's strikes in a way that has cost him politically, since the unions are his allies, but has won him the essential respect and cooperation of the international banks."

In plain English, this has meant unleashing heavy repression and red-baiting against one of the biggest strike waves in South Africa's history. Thus the Mandela regime has set itself *against* the aspirations of the combative union movement which was the vanguard of the anti-apartheid struggle. In July, rubber bullets and police dogs were brought in against striking Pick 'n Pay supermarket workers in a hard-fought 24-day battle by the combative South African Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU). It was no surprise that the government called in the cops to back up the owners: Pick 'n Pay head Raymond Ackerman is a major financial backer of the ANC, and Mandela was "rankled" that Mr. Ackerman's stores had "borne the brunt of a raucous strike by store clerks" (*New York Times*, 12 September).

Shortly after came the 27-day auto workers strike in which 25,000 National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) strikers shut down the South African auto industry, including Mercedes-Benz, Volkswagen, Nissan, BMW, Toyota, Samcor and Delta. Workers were finally strong-armed by the government into going back to work only days before the opening of the fifth congress of the COSATU union federation. Simultaneously, police used stun grenades in an attempt to dislodge hundreds of striking miners occupying shafts of Anglo American's huge Kloof mine in Carltonville. But it was the bosses who were stunned when several thousand long-distance road haulers threw up blockades, paralyzing the major highways from Johannesburg to Durban and around Port Elizabeth in a wildcat truckers strike.

continued on page 8

A CENTRIST FOR ALL SEASONS

MANDEL FACT SHEET

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

HOLIDAY APPEAL FOR CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

The cops and courts seek to ensure that those who fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "safely" housed in prison hellholes or their graves. In 1986, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) revived an International Labor Defense (ILD) tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as an expression of solidarity. In addition to its regular monthly support, the ILD raised extra funds during the holidays for the prisoners and their families. Help build our program of monthly stipends to these victims of racist capitalist injustice.

Send your contributions for the Holiday Appeal to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Reforge the Fourth International!

Under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, the Fourth International was formed in 1938 as a proletarian vanguard fundamentally counterposed to the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies of the workers movement. Its cadre decimated during World War II, the Fourth International was destroyed in the early 1950s when its then-principal leaders, Michel Pablo and his lieutenant, Ernest Mandel, adopted a liquidationist perspective in response to the Cold War polarization between Western imperialism and the Stalinist-ruled workers states of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Our tendency originated in the early 1960s as the Revolutionary Tendency in the American Socialist Workers Party, fighting to reforge the Fourth International against Pablo-ite revisionism and other centrist groupings masquerading as Trotskyists.

For the past fifteen years the movement founded by Leon Trotsky has been rent by a profound theoretical, political, and organizational crisis. The surface manifestation of this crisis has been the disappearance of the Fourth International as a meaningful structure.... Superficial politicians hope to conjure the crisis away through an organizational formula—"unity" of all those grouplets willing to unite around a common-denominator program. This proposal obscures, and indeed aggravates, the fundamental political and theoretical causes of the crisis.

The emergence of Pablo-ite revisionism pointed to the underlying root of the crisis of our movement: abandonment of a working-class revolutionary perspective. Under the influence of the relative stabilization of capitalism in the industrial states of the West and of the partial success of petit-bourgeois movements in overthrowing imperialist rule in some of the backward countries, the revisionist tendency within the Trotskyist movement developed an orientation away from the proletariat and toward the petit-bourgeois leaderships. The conversion of Trotskyism into a left satellite of the existing labor and colonial-revolutionary leaderships, combined with a classically centrist verbal orthodoxy, was typified by Pablo—but by no means was confined to him or his organizational faction....

The essence of the debate within the Trotskyist movement is the question of the perspective of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard elements toward the existing petit-bourgeois leaderships of the labor movement, the deformed workers states, and the colonial revolution. The heart of the revolutionary perspective of Marxism is *in the struggle for the independence of the workers as a class* from all non-proletarian forces; the guiding political issue and theoretical criterion is *workers' democracy*, of which the supreme expression is workers' power. This applies to all countries where the proletariat has become capable of carrying on independent politics—only the forms in which the issue is posed vary from country to country.

—"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International" (July 1963)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 610 **11 November 1994**

no credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is fighting for his life. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist, "Voice of the Voiceless," MOVE supporter Jamal was framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and defiance of the racist capitalist order.

December 9, the date of this year's New York benefit, marks the 13th anniversary of the morning Jamal was shot by a Philadelphia cop. Jamal was tried before a nearly all-white jury and sentenced by the judge known as the "King of Death Row" for sentencing more men and women to death row than any other sitting judge in the country.

The "New World Disorder" has meant speedup on death row. Jamal's case is what the racist death penalty is all about. The state nurtures a vicious vendetta against this fighter for justice and his executioners await. This past spring the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police pressured National Public Radio to cancel a series of commentaries by Jamal. They are trying to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him.

Jamal continues to fight from behind bars with his biting columns which are published in newspapers across the country, and his powerful voice tapes that ring out against racist injustice. All opponents of the racist death penalty must mobilize now to fight to stop the execution. Join the campaign!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, 47 years old. Former Black Panther, highly decorated Vietnam vet—victim of racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. Geronimo has now served over 24 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit. In early January, FOX-TV in Los Angeles aired a three-part series which dramatically portrayed the compelling evidence of Geronimo's frame-up by the FBI and LAPD, including the likely perpetrators of the murder. The racist state fears him as a leader of militant resistance—a fighter for black liberation—and keeps him jailed despite the evidence of his innocence. He is at Ione, CA.

Charleston Gazette

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers (UMWA) member framed on federal charges in the 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia, is the newest addition to the PDC stipend program. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. He is currently at Charleston, WV.

Two more additions to our stipend program are **Jaan Laaman** and **Ray Luc Levasseur**. Arrested in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late '70s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, KS and Ray Luc Levasseur is at Marion, IL.

Ed Poindexter, 51 years old. **David (Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa) Rice**, 48 years old. Former Black Panther supporters, former leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Poindexter and Mondo were victims of racist FBI COINTELPRO, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both men were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. Poindexter was denied parole two years ago and is at Lino Lake, MN. Mondo is an award-winning writer and artist. He is at Lincoln, NE.

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. Militant anti-racist, leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson. In prison for over 29 years, currently serving a life sentence at Crescent City, CA.

We send stipends to nine MOVE members who are in prisons scattered throughout Pennsylvania. They are serving sentences of 30-100 years.

Chuck Africa, Somerset, PA
Debbie Sims Africa, Muncy, PA
Delbert Orr Africa, Dallas, PA
Edward Goodman Africa, Camp Hill, PA
Janet Holloway Africa, Muncy, PA
Janine Phillips Africa, Muncy, PA
Merle Austin Africa, Muncy, PA
Michael Davis Africa, Huntingdon, PA
William Phillips Africa, Bellefonte, PA

This spring Ravenswood striker **Bob Buck** was finally released from prison, where he'd been since January 1992. MOVE members **Carlos Africa** and **Consuewella Africa** were released in December 1993.

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15 Years After the Greensboro Massacre

Fifteen years have passed since the Greensboro Massacre. It was the bloodiest fascist attack in the U.S. in decades. In broad daylight, a KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. With cool deliberation, the killers took out their weapons, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others were wounded or maimed for life. These were the opening shots of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration.

Greensboro was a conspiracy of the fascists and their capitalist state patrons. From the outset, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the government, from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agent who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations, to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two successive all-white juries acquitted the Greensboro killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist system.

The Democratic Carter administration was up to its neck in the hideous crime in Greensboro. Today, it is Democratic president Clinton who sends in federal agencies to carry out state-planned and sanctioned killings. Clinton and Attorney General Reno launched the murderous 1993 BATF/FBI assault on the small, integrated Texas-based Branch Davidian religious sect, slaughtering over 80 men, women and children at their commune outside Waco. Once again, the state's professional murderers walk free while the survivors and victims are jailed on bogus charges.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals (who claimed it was a "shootout") say to ignore the fascists, when the lynchers say they want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro by mobilizing to stop them. Immediately after the 1979 massacre, when fascists sought to march in black Detroit, the Spartacist League organized a labor/black mobilization to stop them, as we have done from Washington and Philadelphia to Chicago and San Francisco. This past January, when the Klan called for desecrating a Martin Luther King statue in Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln's birthplace, we initiated and organized a labor/black mobilization against the fascists.

We honor the Greensboro martyrs—Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller—and rededicate ourselves to the fight against fascist terror. The working class in power, the third American revolution, will ensure there shall be *No More Greensboros!*

3 November 1979

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro survivor Nelson Johnson with comrade murdered by KKK/Nazis.

Defend Illinois Abortion Doctor!

CHICAGO—In an outrageous attack on civil liberties and the right to abortion, Dr. Richard Ragsdale, a Rockford, Illinois obstetrician-gynecologist, and his wife, Debra DeMars, are facing sinister child pornography charges. Their "crime"? Taking photos of their three-year-old foster daughter. This is a transparent attempt by a virulently anti-abortion state's attorney to close down Dr. Ragsdale's clinic, the only private abortion facility in northern Illinois.

At their November 1 arraignment, DeMars and Ragsdale, surrounded by bodyguards because of numerous death threats, pleaded not guilty to four bogus felony charges, which could result in as much as three years' imprisonment for Ragsdale and 15 years for his wife, who is accused of taking the pictures. The next hearing is scheduled for November 15; no trial date has yet been set.

These are the latest victims of the "family values" anti-abortion crusade which targets women, blacks, teens and doctors and clinic staff who provide abortions, contraceptives and sex information. The *Chicago Tribune* (24 September) noted that "ever since Dr. Richard Ragsdale initiated a lengthy legal battle to protect his Rockford abortion clinic, he has been simultaneously praised as a champion by women's rights activists and derided as a villain by abortion protesters." Dr. Ragsdale and his wife are fighting this grotesque attempt to criminalize and smear them as "child pornographers."

Police arrested Ragsdale and DeMars on September 22 after a local photo service in Rockford turned over photos allegedly depicting his foster child as "partially clothed and in lewd positions." The child was ripped out of their custody, while the Ragsdale home was "exhaustively" searched by cops who dug through insulation looking for more photos. Their ten-year-old son was also taken from them and placed in his grandmother's custody, but has since been allowed to return home.

Paul Logli, the Winnebago County state's attorney and head of the Republican Party in northern Illinois, "has made no secret of his anti-abortion stance in his election campaigns," the *Tribune* reported. During this reactionary bigot's eight-year reign, Logli has been going after abortion rights and closing down "X-rated" movie houses. Dr. Ragsdale's arrest was an orchestrated frame-up. Wayne Webster, owner of the building which houses the Northern Illinois Women's Center, told *WV* that when Debra DeMars went to the photo shop to pick up her pictures, she was told they weren't ready. Later, the photo shop called Dr. Ragsdale at the clinic and told him the pictures were ready; when he came to pick them up, they had four squad cars waiting for him.

Webster called Ragsdale's arrest on a kiddie-porn morals charge "the dirtiest, filthiest, rottenest thing I've ever seen done to any human being in my life." He told CBS' *Eye on America* (30 September), "this is a conspiracy to close down a clinic, plain and simple." Dr. Ragsdale has been fighting for over a decade to keep his abortion clinic open, facing government harassment and the constant threat of anti-abortion fanatics who target his clinic. He has further enraged the reactionaries by his outspoken opposition to rulings denying abortions to women when Medicaid would not pay for them.

For years, Dr. Ragsdale operated his clinic within Rockford Memorial Hospital, but the hospital refused to renew his lease because of picketing and other pressure tactics. When the clinic first attempted to relocate, the city of Rockford denied him a permit. After he defeated that attempt to shut him down, the state medical director tried to close down his clinic, claiming the outpatient facility failed to meet restrictive Illinois laws governing hospital procedures. Dr. Ragsdale won a legal challenge against this maneuver in 1989.

Of course, State's Attorney Logli claims that the reason for the frame-up arrests of Dr. Ragsdale and Debbie DeMars was "to protect children." So the state can steal your children and have you locked up for taking innocuous baby pictures of your kids. This is of a piece with the crusade against "satanic" day-care centers aimed at driving women back to the realm of *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church and kitchen), the program for women of Hitler's Third Reich. "Protecting the children" was also the battle cry used by Clinton and Attorney General Reno to justify the murderous immolation of 86 people, including 25 children, at a religious commune outside Waco, Texas in 1993.

The witchhunt against Dr. Ragsdale is part of a nationwide campaign against abortion rights, including the bombing of clinics and assassination of doctors, which has led to a massive cutback in available abortion services. Democratic Party feminists look to Clinton's "clinic access" law, calling on the racist, anti-woman cops to defend the clinics, which builds illusions in the very capitalist state which is going after Dr. Ragsdale. There must be mass mobilizations of women, blacks, workers and youth to keep the clinics open.

The outrageous frame-up of this courageous abortion provider must be fought by all defenders of women's rights and civil liberties. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter of protest to State's Attorney Logli, and supporters of Richard Ragsdale and Debra DeMars have set up a fund for their defense. *WV* readers are urged to send checks made payable to "Women's Defense Fund," c/o Atty. Jerrold Beger, 910 Second Avenue, Suite 110, Rockford, IL 61104. The PDC and the Spartacist League demand: Drop the charges against Dr. Ragsdale and Ms. DeMars! Keep Rockford's only abortion clinic open! For free abortion on demand! ■

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A CENTRIST FOR ALL SEASONS

MANDEL FACT SHEET

"A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings and is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to cover up their actions before the workers."

—Leon Trotsky, "Centrism and the Fourth International" (February 1934)

On November 11, the International Communist League (ICL) will be debating Ernest Mandel, leader of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). Mandel postures as, and is widely perceived to be, the foremost proponent of the views of Leon Trotsky. But for decades, Mandel has acted to *derail* the struggle for the revolutionary program of Trotsky's Fourth International.

The Fourth International, founded in 1938 as the world party of socialist revolution after the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International, declared as its key task the construction of a Leninist vanguard to lead the proletariat to power. Over the years, the hallmark of the politics of Mandel and the USec has been to reject the struggle for an independent proletarian vanguard party in favor of tailing a host of alien class forces.

Weakened by murderous Stalinist and Nazi repression during World War II, the Fourth International was destroyed from within in the early 1950s by a revisionist current led by Michel Pablo and his then-lieutenant, Ernest Germain (Mandel). Reacting impressionistically to the post-war resurgence of Stalinism and the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in East Europe and China, the Pabloites ordered the Trotskyist organizations to bury their program and dissolve into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, depriving the Fourth International of its reason for existence. After briefly opposing this liquidationist perspective, Mandel capitulated to Pablo.

The Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., along with groupings in France and Britain, fought Pablo's revisionism, although belatedly. Weakened by the McCarthyite witchhunting of the 1950s and the aging of its central cadre, the SWP reunited with the Pabloites in 1963 on the basis of political support to Fidel Castro. With the SWP moving rapidly in the direction of full-fledged reformism, this "United" Secretariat was a bloc riven by conflicting opportunist appetites. At times this was expressed by having two or three different sections in a single country.

Le Bolchevik

Ernest Mandel (left) with his mentor Michel Pablo at 1988 Paris meeting.

The Spartacist tendency originated in the fight against the SWP's abandonment of a Leninist perspective. As part of our political struggle to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own, we trace here Mandel's record on some key questions.

• 1952-53: Mandel alibis persecution of Chinese Trotskyists. The victory of the 1949 Chinese Revolution led by Mao Tse-tung created a bureaucratically deformed workers state akin to Stalin's Soviet Union. The Pabloites declared that "the Fourth International and Chinese Trotskyists will give critical support to Mao Tse-tung's government." Meanwhile the Chinese Trotskyists, who had earlier suffered severe repression under Kuomintang dictator Chiang Kai-shek, were being thrown into Mao's prisons and, in some cases, executed.

Pablo suppressed a May 1953 appeal from the Chinese Trotskyists submitted by exiled leader Peng Shu-tse. Pablo slandered the Chinese comrades as "fugitives from the revolution," while Mandel denounced Peng as a "hopeless sectarian." Peng was instructed not to tell a group of Vietnamese Trotskyists about Mao's witchhunt. These comrades went off to try to enter the party of Ho Chi Minh—which was responsible for the assassination of Trotskyists after the 1945 Saigon insurrection—and were never heard from again.

In a 30 December 1953 letter to SWP leader James P. Cannon, Peng had this to say about Mandel:

> "Today his taking a position completely on the side of Pablo[ism] in opposition to the struggle led by the SWP against revisionism and bureaucratism indicates how unconsciously he has fallen into Pablo's trap. I am still very sorrowful over his degeneration. In sum, I have to make the following conclusion from my observations and experiences with Germain during these two years. In many respects, especially in his temperament, he resembles Bukharin. He often wavers between revolutionary conscience and the momentary consideration of power. When the latter is satisfied for a time, the former is cast aside."

• 1960-61: Mandel helps derail Belgian general strike. In December 1960, Belgium was rocked by a general strike against the Christian Democratic government's austerity program. Mass workers' meetings raised the call, "Down with the Eyskens government!" In line with the Pabloite policy of "deep entry," Mandel was ensconced as editor of *La Gauche*, newspaper of the reformist Belgian Socialist Party's left wing, led by union bureaucrat André Renard. Where Trotskyists intervene with transitional demands that pose the need for workers to fight for power, Mandel's *La Gauche* (24 December 1960) called for "structural reforms" of the capitalist system and even endorsed the SP's joining a bourgeois coalition government if the austerity plan was abandoned.

Mandel shamelessly demonstrated his "spiritual dependence on rightist groupings." *La Gauche* (1 January 1961) headlined, "Organize the March on Brussels!" But when Renard objected, Mandel quickly capitulated. His tail between his legs, two weeks later Mandel wrote, "Since we find that the demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we submit; but we point out that at the moment our call appeared last week, no indications on this subject were yet known."

• Mandel's USec enthuses over Third World guerrillaism. While tailing the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies in West Europe, the Pabloites cheered petty-bourgeois guerrillaism in the Third World, from Castroism in Cuba to the FLN in Algeria. The basis for the 1963 reunification explicitly hailed the "guerrilla road": "Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasants and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial and semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War" ("For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement—Statement by the Political Committee of the SWP," March 1963).

In counterposition, the forebears of the Spartacist League/U.S., the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. SWP, argued in a June 1963 "Draft Resolution on the World Movement": "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat" ("Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964).

Carrying out the logic of the USec's line, Mandel visited Havana in the early '60s to advise the Guevara wing of the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy, while Pablo served as an official in the bourgeois nationalist Algerian FLN regime beginning in 1962, two years before his departure from the USec.

• May 1968: French workers launch general strike; Mandelites embrace "student vanguard." The titanic 1968 French general strike brought the proletariat into position for a direct struggle for power before their Communist Party misleaders betrayed this prerevolutionary situation in exchange for a handful of reforms. Again Mandel called for "structural reforms" of the capitalist state, arguing that "the masses cannot seize power in the factories and neighborhoods" (*Revolt in France* [August 1968]). Instead of advancing a program for proletarian power, the Mandelites fostered illusions in student vanguardism, later dubbed "Strategy of the 'Red University'."

• Mandelites capitulate to the popular front. The 1970 election of Chilean Socialist Salvador Allende at the head of the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition of workers and bourgeois parties was an acid test for the left. The Spartacists warned, "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready" (*Spartacist*, November-December 1970).

As evidence of his loyalty to the capitalist order, Allende vowed not to touch the bourgeois officer corps. Our warning was tragically confirmed three years later when General Augusto Pinochet (appointed defense minister by Allende) led a bloody coup against the UP government in which tens of thousands of workers, peasants and leftists were slaughtered. Writing about a similar popular front in Spain which paved the way for Franco coming to power in the late '30s, Trotsky stressed:

> "The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."
>
> —"The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

The USec's Chilean section hailed

Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- **Ernest Mandel**
  Spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International
- **Joseph Seymour**
  Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S., International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

11 November 1994

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New York City

Defend NWROC Anti-Fascist Protesters!

In an outrageous police witchhunt against anti-fascist fighters, Marvetta Davis, a young black woman, and Jodi Masley face up to ten years in prison for protesting against Ku Klux Klan nightriders. The two supporters of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) have been charged with "inciting to violence" for their involvement in a protest against a KKK "recruitment rally" in Bowling Green, Ohio on June 18. As was the case in another anti-fascist protest that day in Toledo, anti-Klan demonstrators in Bowling Green were corralled into a police pen along with Klan supporters. Now, on the basis of KKK "witnesses" and police photographs of the pen, the cops allege that Davis spit at a Klansman, who was instigating racist terror.

Masley, who is currently fighting extradition to Ohio, was seized by state police outside Decatur, Illinois on a "Jane Doe" warrant after attending a labor rally there on October 15. As we reported last issue, she is the third participant in the Bowling Green anti-fascist protest arrested on the basis of the cops' photographs of people entering the pen, and warrants are reportedly out for several others. This in itself is a compelling argument against submitting to the increasingly pervasive police tactic of setting up pens for anti-fascist protesters. The Spartacist League has consistently warned anti-fascist activists against entering these traps.

In contrast, NWROC and its sponsors, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), have done the opposite, repeatedly urging anti-fascists to let themselves be herded into the cop pens—thus fostering dangerous illusions in the racist capitalist state as an arbiter in the struggle against fascist terror. In Bowling Green, NWROC complains of "criminal stupidity" or "provocation" by local cops in putting KKKers together in the pens with anti-Klan protesters, while "in other cities, police have separated the two groups." This "criticism" of the Bowling Green police is an unconscious self-condemnation by the RWL/NWROC!

We urge all readers of *Workers Vanguard* to join in the fight to stop the racist frame-up of Marvetta Davis and Jodi Masley. We print below a protest sent by the PDC to the Bowling Green prosecutor.

* * *

November 7, 1994

Alan R. Mayberry
Wood County Prosecutors Office
Bowling Green, OH

Dear Mr. Mayberry:

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently condemns the felony charges lodged against Marvetta Davis of Detroit and Jodi Masley of Ann Arbor, Michigan in conjunction with the June 18 protest against a rally of the Ku Klux Klan. These two young women, supporters of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition, are accused of "inciting to violence" because they defended anti-Klan protesters (particularly blacks and other minorities) from dangerous fascists. We demand all charges be dropped immediately!

If there was any incitement to violence, it issued from the Klan, aided by a conscious police policy that ensured that anti-fascists would be either attacked, intimidated or trained up for defending themselves. Not surprisingly, the only witnesses your office can scrounge up are Klan members and sympathizers whose idea of a trial for blacks and leftists is a tree and a lynch rope.

In the midst of an epidemic of Klan rallies spewing vile racist provocations across the state of Ohio, your office is engaged in an interstate witchhunt of these young women—hitting them with crippling $15,000 bail and charges that could land them in prison for 10 years. Ten years because some Klansman ended up with some well-deserved spittle on him? Drop the charges against Davis and Masley and all anti-Klan protesters!

Yours truly,
Reta Herson
for the PDC

Allende's victory, denying that the UP was a popular front. In 1972, the USec admitted it was a popular front after all, only to reverse itself again the following year, as Mandel's faction in the USec lauded the UP because "it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter on the road of socialism, and that it openly based itself on the organized workers movement" ([SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, October 1973). Six years after the bloody Pinochet coup, at a public talk in Boston in 1979, Mandel still affirmed the UP popular front, claiming: "What was decisive was that the workers were not armed.... You can discuss with Chilean workers today and you will not find one worker among a hundred thousand who will raise the question of the Radical ministers in the so-called popular-front character of the government." But the presence of bourgeois parties in the Allende government was a *guarantee* that it would maintain capitalist rule, ensuring that it would disarm the workers, politically and militarily.

Following the bloodbath in Chile, the USec only *deepened* its popular-frontist appetites. Beginning in 1974, Mandel's French section called for a vote to Mitterrand as the candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left. When this Cold War "Socialist" was elected president in 1981, the Mandelites hailed this as a "first victory" for the workers. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste said, "No to the NATO Popular Front!"

• Iran, Afghanistan: Mandelites abet Islamic reaction. In 1979, the USec supported Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic "revolution," which imprisoned women behind the *chador* (veil), killed homosexuals, crushed militant trade unionists and bloodily suppressed national minorities. Months later, at the same meeting in Boston, Mandel even dismissed the jailing of his own Iranian USec comrades: "So, some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal. Our paper is legal.... Did you have legal demonstrations of tens of thousands of women in the street under the shah? You have that today."

In Afghanistan, where Soviet troops were fighting to prop up the reform-minded regime in Kabul against an Islamic fundamentalist rebellion backed to the hilt by the CIA, the Mandelites did not even have the fig leaf of Khomeini's supposed "anti-imperialism." We Spartacists greeted the December 1979 Soviet military intervention which opened the possibility of liberating Afghan women, declaring: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" In contrast, significant sections of the USec joined U.S. president Carter and West European Social Democrats in demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. By 1981, Mandel and the USec as a whole had embraced this Soviet-defeatist line. From Iran to Algeria, as women and leftists have been persecuted by Islamic fundamentalists, Mandel & Co. cheered their tormentors.

• Mandel's "Solidarity with Solidarność." In the fall of 1981, Lech Walesa's Solidarność, supported by the CIA, Vatican and Western bankers, made a bid for power in Poland on a program of open capitalist restoration. We said, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" The Mandelites lined up with pro-imperialist social democrats like Mitterrand against the Polish deformed workers state. An article in the 1 March 1982 *Intercontinental Press* signed by Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan praised Walesa's supposed "political revolution" as "one of the highest forms of proletarian activity and self-organization which the world has seen since the Russian revolution." This "self-organization" included millions of CIA dollars laundered through the AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy and German Social Democracy. Mandel's supporters boasted of their participation in this imperialist campaign.

Solidarność' victory in the 1989 Polish elections ushered in capitalist counterrevolution, bringing massive unemployment, the banning of abortion, racist attacks on Gypsies and other minorities. The USec hailed Solidarność' election, demanding the elimination of the remaining Stalinist ministers in the government with the call in the monthly journal of its French section for "all power to Solidarność." Later that year, the USec's unwavering support to anti-Soviet nationalist movements led it to publish a grotesque article in *International Viewpoint* (18 September 1989) describing the World War II Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers" as "liberation" fighters against Stalinism! The USec's praise for these fascists is no accident: "democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR has been violently *anti*-democratic, unleashing every sort of vile, racist, chauvinist bigotry.

• Mandelites on Yeltsin's barricades. Boris Yeltsin's 1991 counter-coup against a failed putsch by the "gang of eight" former Gorbachev lieutenants brought an openly capitalist-restorationist government to power in Moscow. The ICL said, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Mandel, on the other hand, hailed the forces on Yeltsin's barricades, arguing that the putschists "had to be opposed by any means available" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, May 1992). An article in *International Viewpoint* (16 September 1991) made this pro-Yeltsin stand crystal clear: "It was necessary without hesitation to oppose the coup, and in this respect to struggle alongside Yeltsin."

Trotsky always linked the struggle for political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy with intransigent Soviet defensism, insisting that "in the hour of mortal danger," the Fourth Internationalists "must remain on the last barricade" in defense of the gains of the October Revolution. The USec instead vicariously jumped on the barricades of counterrevolution. This is the dismal outcome of Mandel's abandonment of the Trotskyist program decades before. His tendency's *modus operandi* has always been to tail every "mass movement" of the moment, from the Stalinist bureaucracies in the 1950s to "anti-Stalinist" capitalist restorationists in the 1980s.

Although the United Secretariat claims to *be* the Fourth International, for years Mandel has offered to junk the "label" of Trotskyism in pursuit of unity with larger reformist organizations. In 1991, he sought to broker another reformist realignment by calling for "overcoming all the differences that separate the Communist parties and the ex-Communist parties on the one hand, and the Social Democratic parties on the other" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, April 1991). Mandel dismisses "Trotskyism" and the "Fourth International" as expendable "labels," because for the last 40-plus years he has been fighting against the *program* of Trotsky's party. But for those who seek to struggle for world socialism, Trotskyism represents the only road forward for humanity. *Reforge the Fourth International!* ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

ATLANTA
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.
November 17 *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; Georgia State University, University Center, Room 204
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BERKELEY
Tuesday, November 22, 7 p.m.
Building the Revolutionary Party, 204 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m., November 19: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; Sever Hall, Room 101, Harvard University, Harvard Yard, Cambridge
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 17: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; Spartacist Public Office, 161 W. Harrison, 10th floor
For more information: (312) 663-0715

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m., November 15: *The Russian Revolution of 1917—How the Working Class Took Power*, November 29: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, Rolfe Hall, Room 3118, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
November 19 *The Revolution Betrayed*, Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St., between Church St. and West Broadway
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 17 *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, Student Union, Room B112, San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 777-9367

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
November 12 *The Russian Revolution*, November 26 *The Revolution Betrayed—How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste Forum

VANCOUVER
For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism! Stop the Deportations!
Speaker: John Masters, Editor, *Spartacist Canada*
Friday, November 25, 7:30 p.m., Britannia Community Centre, Room L3, 1661 Napier Street (off Commercial Drive)
Friday, November 25, 12:30 p.m., University of British Columbia, SUB, Room 211, sponsored by the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club.
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Popular Frontism and the Strong State

ITALY

Livio Senigalliesi

350,000 workers demonstrate in Milano during October 14 general strike against Berlusconi government's austerity attacks.

The Working Class Under Attack

The following article is adapted from Spartaco *No. 44, September 1994, published by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia. Part One appeared in* WV *No. 609 (28 October).*

The main aim of the Italian capitalists is to go after the hard-won gains of the workers movement. As part of the deal

PART TWO OF TWO

to piece off the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the unions in the postwar period, Italian capital agreed to various mechanisms to ensure labor peace. These have grown increasingly expensive, and now they urgently want to do away with them. The *scala mobile* (inflation adjustment escalator) was introduced in 1946, immediately after the defeat of the workers' near-revolution the year before. Similarly, after the 1969 "hot autumn" of worker and student struggles, there was a huge expansion of social services, introduction of the *cassa integrazione* (supplemental unemployment benefits) for temporary layoffs, etc. This was paid for with budget deficits, financed by huge emissions of BOTs (treasury bills). The interest costs on this debt continue to rise, contributing to inflation.

The result was that in 1992 total labor costs (wages plus social benefits) in Italy were US$21 an hour, the *second highest in the Common Market after Germany* ($27/hour) and well ahead of the U.S. ($16), according to the Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft. But the lira was chained to the D-mark through the European Monetary System (EMS), making it impossible to devalue, and pricing Italian exports out of the market (since with a relatively low level of automation, Italian labor costs per unit of output became correspondingly much higher). The bourgeoisie declared war on the workers in mid-late 1992. The *scala mobile* was eliminated, the lira was unhooked from the EMS and devalued by 25 percent against the D-mark, and industry carried out hundreds of thousands of layoffs.

The result has been a massive assault on the living standards of the Italian working class. Even according to official figures, unemployment is currently at a record high of 11.6 percent of the workforce—over 14 percent according to the Economist Intelligence Unit—and rising. From mid-1992 (before the Amato government's austerity package) to the end of 1993, the civilian labor force lost more than 1.5 million jobs, a whopping 7 percent of the total, the highest recorded job loss of any West European country in the last 15 years.

The result of this onslaught was an induced recession that led to a fall of the Gross Domestic Product in 1993 for the first time since 1975. Private consumption fell by over 2 percent, real wages by 3.7 percent. But the most significant aspect of this attack on the workers' livelihoods is that it was negotiated with the full cooperation of the reformist union tops. This *betrayal* is what gave rise to the militant outbursts of bitter anger by the trade-union ranks, pelting their own leaders with worthless coins, rotten vegetables and bolts in the "hot autumn" of 1992. And that response is what the sellout bureaucrats and bosses fear today.

So the onslaught against the Italian working class was already well underway when the right-wing coalition triumphed in the March elections. Now business interests want to escalate the attack, particularly against pensions and the National Health System. Meanwhile, massive unemployment (over 20 million jobless in Europe according to official statistics) is blamed on the supposed "rigidity" of the labor market. What these capitalist ideologues are saying, in their economist jargon, is that they want to break the unions' power to raise wages. They want to consign youth to poverty-level jobs, to slash unemployment insurance, social security, health and welfare benefits, in fact to *increase* "cyclical" unemployment, so that wages would fall to the point where, supposedly, with the price of this commodity cheap enough, the labor market would "clear" and unemployment would disappear.

In fact, this would not eliminate unemployment at all, but create a mass of impoverished workers who can then be used as potential scabs to batter the unions and *raise profits*. This plan for massive wage-gouging has become official policy for the leading capitalist powers. And it is already being implemented in the U.S., from Reagan to Clinton. Thus according to the OECD statistics from 1982 to 1993, the profit rate (rate of return on capital in the business sector) in the U.S. rose from 12.5 percent to 18.3 percent, *almost a 50 percent rise*, while in Italy it remained pretty much unchanged, going from 11.9 percent to 12.3 percent.

Now Italian bosses (at the head of the queue of the West European bourgeoisies) are pushing to climb on the gravy train. In the name of "competitiveness," the imperialist bourgeoisies are competing with each other to counter the long-term tendency to decline in the rate of profit by jacking up the rate of exploitation through driving down wages and eliminating every form of social welfare benefits and gains for workers. "Globalization" of the economy means a global war on the working class.

Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

The Europe-wide capitalist offensive against the "welfare state" is built on the lie that if social benefits for the masses are slashed, the trains will run on time—as they mythically did under

Reuters

Spartaco

10,000 demonstrate in Rome (left) on April 25 on 49th anniversary of the overthrow of the fascist regime. Italian rulers now seek strong state, unleashing police against militant workers movement.

Mussolini—and cheaply. We say: the working class must throw back the attacks against wages, pensions, the health system, education, the privatizations and the assault on the unions. But the answer is not to return to a nonexistent "social" capitalism, with its bloated state apparatus of legions of ticket-punching officials, but to set up a regime based on the power of soviets, of democratically elected workers councils which combine deliberative and executive functions. This could truly provide the highest quality health care for all, and ensure a dignified old age in comfort and prosperity rather than penury.

The fact that a bonapartist danger is posed does not at all mean that it can be fought with a simply (bourgeois) "democratic" program. That an "anti-party" and anti-political mood could gain such force is evidence of the perceived bankruptcy of the Italian parliamentary regime. The working class can offer the prospect of relief for the hard-pressed petty bourgeoisie from the crushing weight of state parasitism (of which the Mafia is a concomitant element), but not in the manner of the PDS and RC reformists with their fantasies of a "judicial road to power." The Paris Commune, the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the answer to Louis Bonaparte's tawdry Second Empire, not a return to the exhausted Second Republic. As Marx wrote:

> "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure—the standing army and State functionarism.... But neither cheap Government nor the 'true Republic' was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants."
>
> —*The Civil War in France* (1871)

It is by overturning capitalism that this oppressive state machinery can be removed. Thus today the fight must be for an Italian republic of soviets in a Socialist United States of Europe. A workers revolution in Italy must be extended throughout Europe, particularly to the industrial powerhouse of Germany, and the other imperialist centers, which will do everything they can to crush it. The dogma of building "socialism in one country" was a nationalist lie when put forward by Stalin/Bukharin as the "program" of the conservative bureaucracy that betrayed the internationalist program of the October Revolution. Today, following the collapse of Stalinist rule throughout East Europe under the economic pressure of imperialism, its bankruptcy must be clear to all.

The counterpart of "socialism in one country" in the USSR was the "popular front" abroad, binding the working class to supposedly "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie. This was used to head off workers revolution in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the Italian *Resistenza*, and has blocked sharp class struggle ever since. Thus today the "Pole of the Progressives" led by the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) is acting as a loyal parliamentary opposition to the right-wing government, trying to establish its credentials as an alternative leadership for the "strong state" the bourgeoisie seeks. The first thing that D'Alema did after replacing Occhetto at the head of the PDS was to totally surrender to the new government's anti-worker program, saying "yes" to the sub-minimum "starting salary" for youth, "yes" to financing private education, "no" to defending jobs "to the end."

Then there are the COBAS (Rank and File Committees), bringing together some of the most combative sections of the working class in strategic factories in the North. At Alfa Romeo, the COBAS even outvoted the candidates of the FIOM/CGIL leadership in union elections. Yet although during the March parliamentary elections Rifondazione Comunista dropped COBAS candidate Calmi (an oppositionist inside RC) in order to further class collaboration, the COBAS still decided to vote for the coalition of the "Progressives"! These union opposition forces try to box in the workers' struggles within the limits of militant syndicalism. But in this period of economic decay, every important demand of the working class inevitably goes beyond the limits of capitalist property relations and comes up against the bourgeois state. And thus the COBAS have no program, either electorally or through labor struggle, to fight the reformist misleaders. This made it possible for the CGIL Metal Workers federation to sign a sellout contract this year without even a token strike, for the first time since World War II.

To answer the provocations by this government pledged to war on the workers' gains requires a revolutionary program. Berlusconi himself understands this well. In the uproar over the "conflict of interests" between his role as premier and his ownership of the three main private TV chains, he challenged the opposition to put up or shut up: "One way for me not to remain the owner of Fininvest would be to collectivize it, to expropriate it. If someone wants to, let them put this forward" (*La Repubblica*, 4 August)! But, of course, none of the leaders of the pusillanimous "progressive" left accepted the challenge, for like Berlusconi they are committed to privatization rather than collectivization, to defense of the interests of capital rather than defense of the workers.

La Repubblica

Anti-fascist partisans celebrate fall of Mussolini, April 1945. Stalinist PCI disarmed resistance fighters, quelling workers revolution.

It's not that the will to fight is lacking among the working masses and youth. In June, tens of thousands demonstrated to protest attacks on public education, and over 50,000 health workers went into the streets to defend their contract. On July 2, some 10,000 demonstrated for gay pride, which should be a message to despots like the fascist Buscaroli, who campaigned for the European Union elections calling for concentration camps for gays. A few days earlier, on June 28, porters in the port of Genova went on strike, refusing to unload the *Achille Lauro* (infamous as the cruise liner where an elderly Jewish man was killed by Palestinian nationalists) when Fini and his fascist pals returned from a Mediterranean cruise in which they revisited the site of the El Alamein WW II battle.

But such combative anti-fascist and working-class actions do not have the support of, and are often actively opposed by, the PDS and RC leaders. Where the popular front tells workers to take thousands of layoffs in the name of "shared sacrifices," a class-struggle leadership must put forward a program of transitional demands and slogans to transform defensive struggles into a proletarian offensive capable of smashing the right and leading the way to a workers government. Against the mass unemployment and attacks on the living standards of the working class, it's necessary to defend every job and to fight not just to win back the *sliding scale of wages* (protection against inflation) but also to institute a *sliding scale of hours*, to divide all available work with no loss in pay among those needing it, both Italian and immigrant.

This would also answer Berlusconi's demagogic attempts to impose a lower starting wage for new hires. This is an open invitation for the employers to sack older workers who have a family to feed and have sweated for decades; it would be a way of driving out of the factories the unionized workers and particularly those militants who have played a leading role in workers' struggles. But a concerted fight against this, raising such a program to *unite* the interests of young and old workers against capital, could bring hundreds of thousands into struggle as the marches against the sub-minimum "youth wage" in France did this spring. In marches and strikes, the *organization of pickets and workers defense guards* can protect against cops and scabs and open the way to militant workers mobilizations to disperse the fascists.

The need for massive *working-class mobilizations to stop fascist terror* was sharply posed in Vicenza in May. The PDS and RC leadership were utterly indifferent, limiting themselves to verbal protests. When a number of *autonomi* (semi-anarchist) militants responded to the Nazi skinhead provocation, attacking the local offices of the MSI and denouncing the fascists in the government as the inspirers of the killer skinheads, RC president and "anti-fascist partisan" Armando Cossutta responded by denouncing the *autonomi*. We demand: *Hands off Autonomia Operaia and other anti-fascist militants!*

The defense of immigrant workers is a crucial issue for a revolutionary party acting as a tribune of the people in defending all victims of oppression. While the PDS and RC have even joined in the racist anti-immigrant furor, and are not to be seen in protests over fascist assaults on darker-skinned "foreigners," Marxists call for *full citizenship rights for immigrants*. With the upsurge in irredentist demagogy, especially against Slovenia and Croatia over Istria, it is especially important to *defend autonomy for national minorities*, such as German-speakers in the South Tirol (Alto Adige) and Slavs in the Friuli-Giulia and Trieste areas. (The PCI was notorious for its chauvinist attitude toward Slavs in Trieste.) Genuine communists must also *mobilize against the foreign adventures of ragtag Italian imperialism*, in Somalia, Mozambique and now Rwanda.

As well, for a party that seeks to promote the participation and leadership of women in the class struggle and the fight for women's liberation, it is urgent to fight for free abortion on demand, including for minors and immigrants; for quality free public health service for all; and for the *complete separation of church and state*—rip up the Lateran Treaties, no extraterritoriality for the Vatican, the Roman Catholic church should have the same democratic rights as all other religious institutions. The working class must take up the demands for full and free access to all public education, with adequate stipends for students. In short, it is necessary to put forward a program to guide social struggles of all the oppressed toward the fundamental question of proletarian power.

But the entire panorama of the Italian pseudo-left, from the PDS/RC reformists to the opposition inside Rifondazione Comunista led by the ostensible Trotskyists Marlan, Grisolia and Ferrando, limit themselves to a program of economism and are unable to put forward an alternative to class collaboration. The supporters of the "second motion" (against joining the "Pole of the Progressives") at the January RC conference grouped around the magazine *Proposta* (edited by Grisolia and Ferrando) subsequently placed themselves to the right of sectors of the working class, saying it "would be an error" not to vote for the candidates of the popular front, including the openly bourgeois candidates.

The absence of a genuinely Bolshevik party in Italy has meant that the most militant working class in Europe has remained trapped in the false "alternatives" of class-collaborationist parliamentarism and militant syndicalism, which has no program for revolutionary *political* struggle against the bourgeoisie and its reformist labor lieutenants. The centrists and reformists of the second order disarm the working class and keep it tied to the popular front. What is necessary is to build a Leninist party which relentlessly fights for working-class political independence, seeking to split the base from the tops of the bourgeois workers parties, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. The workers must be organized to fight for their own *class* rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, as Marx said, in freeing itself frees society as a whole. The Lega Trotskista is dedicated to building such a party. ■

SPARTACO

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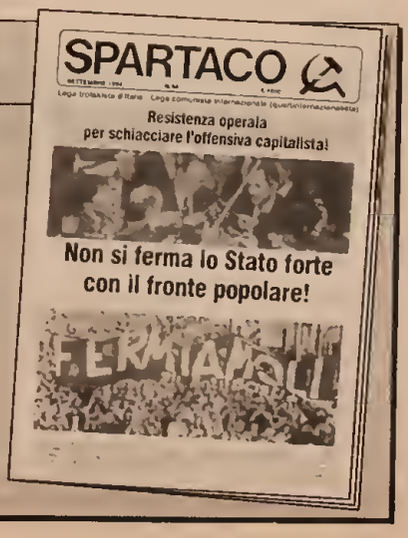

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

We have written that the "ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom" (*WV* No. 599, 29 April). The bloody reality of the "new" South Africa was brought home when, on October 24, a phalanx of police in Cape Town stormed a demonstration of 5,000 striking municipal workers outside the civic center, firing tear gas, rubber bullets and birdshot pointblank into the crowd. Some 60 strikers, members of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) were injured, but ten police were also sent to the hospital as marchers fought back with their fists, stones and bottles.

While ANC members of parliament have protested the shooting and "investigations" have been launched into the Cape Town assault, this incident graphically shows that the structures of white supremacy are still intact. Like a page out of a Marxist textbook, these bloody incidents demonstrate how the nationalist "popular front" alliance of the ANC, COSATU and the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) shackles the workers movement *in the interest of the capitalist masters of neo-apartheid*. There is no "power sharing" between the black toilers and a capitalist state defending the interests of the white Randlords. It is urgently necessary to break the COSATU/ANC/SACP class-collaborationist "alliance" and to forge a revolutionary workers party which can champion the cause of all the oppressed in a fight for *workers revolution*.

Truckers' Blockade

The fourth part of our series, "South Africa Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 606, 16 September) quoted the *Weekly Mail*'s description of the August truck drivers' blockade as "a remarkable sign of worker solidarity, cutting across racial lines as black, white, Indian and coloured workers vented their frustrations jointly." This action, which mobilized the largely unorganized black truckers, was led by the militant "Turning Wheel International Workers' Movement," a split-off from the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). As we go to press, Turning Wheel is mounting a "go slow" protest and refusal to work overtime in an effort to win an 8-hour day in the trucking industry. On November 3, the owners' association obtained a court order interdicting any "interference" with or "obstruction" of road traffic, and many drivers are being threatened with dismissal.

In a series of dramatic actions, beginning on August 22-24, some 2,000-3,000 truckers blockaded the main N-3 highway at the Mooi River toll plaza in Natal. Their demands were for a big pay increase, an industrial bargaining council and reinstatement of fired drivers. The media screeched about the "highway siege" led by shadowy "revolutionaries" cutting off the "lifeline" to the cities. Trucks containing highly inflammable substances "sat like powder kegs on the N-3 highway between Durban and Johannesburg," wrote the *Weekend Argus* (28 August). The blockade was lifted after an agreement with the trucking industry bosses, as the TGWU tops scrambled to climb on board.

As striking Natal truck drivers blockaded key highway at Mooi River toll plaza on September 20, Mandela/De Klerk government called out cops and troops to break workers' protest.

Jodi Bieber

Weeks later, charging the Motor Transport Owners association with bad faith in carrying out the Mooi River Accord, on September 19 the truckers again launched a blockade, this time blocking both the Johannesburg-Durban and Port Elizabeth-Cape Town routes. On September 20, cops and soldiers in troop carriers descended on the unarmed striking drivers at the Mooi River plaza and sealed them off. Using tear gas and rifle butts, placing pistols with silencers at the heads of sleeping drivers, they forced the workers to lift the blockade. At least one striker was shot, and a number of workers were arrested. A Turning Wheel press release angrily declared, "The Government of National Unity has shown its true colours. It is a government which sides with the rich against the poor. It is a bosses' government."

The truckers' bold actions ignited a redbaiting frenzy stretching from the government to the press to COSATU union bureaucrats. The *Sunday Tribune* (28 August) denounced "The Heavy Lefties" and declared, "Mooi River Blockade the Brainchild of Clandestine Extremists." The *Weekend Argus* vituperated about "Militant, ultra-Left Trotskyites—many with international revolutionary connections." Turning Wheel was "allegedly linked to the Workers List Party and the Workers Organisation for a Socialist South Africa [sic]." The paper "discovered" that "Ultra-leftists believe in the theory of 'permanent revolution' and would regard the ANC government as 'sellouts'."

We gave critical support to the Workers List Party (WLP) in the April elections, noting that it drew a crude class line and that a vote for it was seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than for the ANC. While the ANC/SACP have viciously redbaited the WLP, its platform is nothing more than left-reformist. It did not call for socialist revolution, or even clearly state opposition to the ANC. The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), the centrist organization which initiated the WLP, projects a broad Lahourite party embracing "all pro-worker, pro-democracy, and pro-socialism forces."

Meanwhile, COSATU bureaucrats called the truckers' demands "selfish" and warned of "agents provocateurs." TGWU national organizer Thulani Dlamini reportedly charged that the blockade was "linked to a revolutionary party that aimed to bring down the government" and "undermine the Reconstruction and Development Programme." Nonetheless, support for the action at the base of the trade-union movement was palpable. Even COSATU's *Shopsteward* (October/November 1994) reported favorably on the August action, noting that Turning Wheel was formed as the official union "acknowledged certain organizational weaknesses" in addressing the needs of long-distance truck drivers and their grievances.

Turning Wheel leader Richard Madime said, "Maybe what angers our detractors is that we are aligned to the Workers List Party—which is seen as 'communist inspired.' If that is what they are beefing about, tough luck. We have a right to exist just like all other unions" (*Sowetan*, 23 September). The government repression of the truckers is a blow against the entire South African union movement. What's posed is the need to mobilize all of labor—including, in particular, fighting within the unions in COSATU to break the straitjacket tying them to the ANC—to support the truckers and other strikers against the bosses and their government.

Break the ANC/COSATU/SACP Alliance!

At the COSATU Congress in early September, Nelson Mandela told the workers to ease up on strikes, because they are frightening foreign investors. "Tighten your belts," he told them. Black workers don't have belts to tighten, one worker retorted. COSATU president John Gomomo criticized the line coming from the media and the government which denounces the union federation as "a labour elite, a small, well-paid group of workers protecting our interests against the millions of unemployed and rural poor." Gomomo responded, "Tell that to our unemployed families in the townships and villages, with whom we share our meagre wage packets" (*Weekend Star*, 10 September).

While Mandela escaped the wrath of angry workers at the Congress, sparks flew against Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel. COSATU general secretary Sam Shilowa launched a blistering attack on Manuel for being "provocative, contemptuous, a destroyer of jobs, a union-basher and a strike-breaker" (*Financial Mail*, 9 September). On Friday, September 2, Manuel announced that import duties would be cut by 20 percent. This was a major blow to the four-week-old auto strike, greatly strengthening the hand of the employers. NUMSA and COSATU denounced the move, but by Monday the strike had folded.

Everyone saw behind the government's action the spectre of plant closures. And as COSATU deputy president Connie September said, "When you close down a plant in the motor industry, you close down a township." In fact, slashing tariffs could put the entire auto industry in jeopardy, given the relatively higher pay of South African auto workers—won through sharp class battles—compared to Thai or Brazilian workers, for instance. Indeed, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the ANC is prepared to deliberately sacrifice this industry in order to get rid of the most radical, combative and strategic union in South Africa. Already NUMSA has seen its membership plummet from 275,000 to 170,000, and its leaders such as SACP Central Committee member Moses Mayekiso have been co-opted into parliament or the government.

At the Congress, and for the last few months, there has been constant debate over the ANC/SACP/COSATU "triple alliance." The *Weekly Mail* (14 October) recently discussed deep-going rifts within the ANC itself, saying, "it is predicted that 'a lot of heads will roll'—mostly those of people seen as 'leftwingers,' including members of the South African Communist Party and former trade unionists." The right wing around Thabo Mbeki, loyal to the International Monetary Fund bankers' cartel, are reportedly prepared to purge even such conservative elements as Cyril Ramaphosa, who was promoted by Harry Oppenheimer and Anglo American to be head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Going into the COSATU Congress, *The Shopsteward* (August/September 1994) ran a special section, "The Alliance: What's in It for the Workers?" The editors argued the SACP line that the unions must be centrally involved in the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in order to get the workers' "voice" heard. But it also reported NUMSA's position that formal coalition with the ANC government should be terminated, and the Workers List Party's call for breaking the alliance and building a "mass workers party." Disputes over the nationalist popular front may come to a head at COSATU's "conference on socialism and the RDP," finally being held as we go to press. While there is much talk of junking the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, this impulse toward class independence must be directed to forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary workers party.

Contradictions of Neo-Apartheid

We have repeatedly stressed that the ANC-led nationalist movement could not achieve any semblance of "democracy" for the nonwhite masses while maintaining South African capitalism, which has always (long before the formal institution in 1948 of the apartheid system euphemistically known as "separate development") been based on the *super-exploitation of black labor*, centrally in the (increasingly depleted) gold mines, where this is the only way to realize any profit. This is the economic bedrock of white supremacy, and the fundamental reason why apartheid could not be reformed away through negotiations and elections. The impossible contradictions of the *neo-apartheid* system are nowhere so sharp as when it comes to the army and police, those "special bodies of armed men" (Engels) who constitute the heart of the capitalist state. In defending the present property system, they necessarily enforce the subjugation of the black majority.

A blow-up over "integration" of the

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former black guerrilla "armies" into the apartheid army has been brewing. Some 21,000 soldiers of the ANC armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation," or MK), and 6,000 Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerrillas are due to be assimilated into the "reformed" South African National Defence Force (SANDF) by 1996. Foot-dragging by the SANDF top brass over rank, salaries, housing and other issues for thousands of their former enemies sparked a mutiny of some 7,000 former guerrillas who were AWOL in mid-October, refusing to return to base. On November 7, ANC/SACP defense minister (and former MK commander) Joe Modise ordered dismissal of more than 2,200 soldiers who refused to return despite the intervention of Mandela.

The incongruity of trying to "integrate" black anti-apartheid activists into the army and police of their historic oppressors was brought home in an incident reported in the London *Independent* (1 November). An Afrikaner traffic policeman was only doing what came naturally when, riding down a busy Pretoria street on a Saturday night, he spotted a car double-parked outside a Kentucky Fried Chicken take-out restaurant. He stopped and rudely shouted at the black driver to "Remove the bloody car!" When the man complained there was no need for such rude behavior, the policeman grabbed the driver by the throat and packed him off to the police station. Only at the precinct did the white cop make the appalling discovery that his black victim was none other than Sydney Mulamadi, the minister of police!

In addition to brutal repression, white minority domination was maintained by the manipulation of racial, ethnic and tribal divisions. This legacy is everpresent, particularly from the bloody feuding pitting Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu paramilitary Inkatha movement (armed and instigated by the apartheid authorities) against the ANC, whose leadership is heavily Xhosa. Buthelezi is currently home affairs (interior) minister in the Government of National Unity, from which position he has been leading a chauvinist campaign (also supported by the ANC leadership) against "illegal" immigrants. This has included placing electric fencing along the borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe. But Buthelezi's hold on the rural Zulu population has been challenged by the ANC (already dominant in the urban townships around Durban), which has allied with the traditional Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini. This conflict blew up in late September, when Buthelezi and his armed entourage roughed up the king's man, Prince Sifiso Zulu, on a live SABC television broadcast.

Ethnic tensions have escalated particularly over the question of housing. On September 15, the townships west of Johannesburg exploded in demonstrations, strikes and running street battles with police as residents demanded lower rent and service charges and for their arrears to be wiped off the books. These were townships formerly designated as "coloured" (mixed-race) areas under the apartheid regime's Group Areas Act. Rent boycotts in black townships were a major tactic in the anti-apartheid struggle. For at least a decade, residents in Soweto and Sharpeville and scores of other townships have made no payments for rent or utilities, in protest against the miserable shacks with meager or no water and electricity services to which apartheid rule consigned black people. Now, under the Mandela regime, they're still living in the shacks, but the ANC, rather than leading the protests, is trying to get the rent paid.

Joe Slovo, head of the South African Communist Party, is now the minister of housing, from which position he has been vituperating about "ending the culture of non-payment." The government, in agreement with the banks, has already agreed to write off debts in black townships like Soweto. So residents in the "coloured" townships were simply demanding the same. When the provincial housing minister, after condemning the protests, agreed to scrap rent arrears in black, coloured and Indian townships, Slovo went ballistic, warning that people who boycott rent or mortgage payments would be evicted from their homes. The *Weekly Mail* (21 October) headlined, "Slovo, the Boycott-Buster" and asked, "Can He Win?"

The battle over the boycotters has exacerbated ethnic tensions. Provincial premier Tokyo Sexwale tore into coloured community organizers, saying their rent protests were an excuse for "racism" and that he wanted to "vomit" when "others try to use (our) legitimate grievances" (*Cape Times*, 19 September). The coloured townships resounded

Jacqob Rykliff

Glyn Genin

Johannesburg family left homeless after their shantytown was razed, as ANC government housing minister, Communist Party head Joe Slovo, oversees eviction of township squatters.

in a justified cold fury against these obscene remarks. A letter to the editor from coloured residents in Coronationville noted:

> "Our children also burnt the flag and were detained without trial. Many still bear the scars of those turbulent years ... "It is disturbing that our actions should cause you to vomit when we are only following (mildly) the precedent you have set for many years.... "We did not vomit when we voted you into power, knowing there would be no instant solutions, but you promised equality for all, except it seems us (the shadow people)."
>
> —*Johannesburg Citizen* (28 September)

As tensions mounted, the government backed down and agreed to scrap the demand for payment of arrears in the townships.

The coloured townships in the Witwatersrand voted for the ANC, but in the Western Cape province, including Cape Town, the country's second-largest city and site of the national parliament, the ANC lost badly to De Klerk's National Party because the coloured population voted for the Nats. An article in the *New York Review of Books* (20 October) by William Finnegan probes the reasons underlying this major defeat for the ANC. In the election, the party of violent, racist Afrikaner nationalism which had ruled the country since 1948 became, according to its own publicity, a party of "liberal reformers." At the same time, the Nats launched a smear campaign against the ANC, stressing its traditional theme of the "black peril" (*swartgevaar*), but this time appealing to the coloureds' rather than whites' fear of black Africans.

At the same time, Finnegan writes, the ANC made a number of "serious political mistakes." Thus, many coloureds in the 1980s joined the United Democratic Front (UDF), which they saw as a broad umbrella organization generally supportive of the ANC. They were upset when the ANC leadership summarily dissolved the UDF without consulting its constituent groups, as if it were merely an ANC front. But the most important factor was the flood of new black African arrivals in the Western Cape, spurred by repeal of the pass laws in 1986. Cape Town's black population more than tripled between 1982 and 1992. Many in the Afrikaans-speaking coloured population, who had been given precedence over blacks in employment and housing under apartheid laws, felt threatened. While the ANC did nothing to reassure them, and Xhosa tribalists like Winnie Mandela whipped up tensions with the relatively conservative coloured community, at bottom what is going on is a sharp competition for scarce resources in capitalist South Africa.

The ANC was perceived as an organization dedicated to advancing the black African population, and so long as the struggle is confined to the limits of capitalism—which means grinding poverty and excruciating shortages of housing and other services (such as education) for the masses—it will be seen as "us vs. them" *along ethnic and national lines*. This engenders the sort of raw racial hatred that led to the vicious murder last year of a white American student supporter of the ANC, Amy Biehl, in the Guguletu township near Cape Town by black youths associated with the ultra-nationalist PAC. And it stokes the flames of hostility between coloured and black, between Zulu and Xhosa and Indian, over and above the basic divide between the privileged white caste and the oppressed nonwhite majority. The "divide and rule" practices inherited from British colonialism are still at work today, and will generate even more deadly feuding and "ethnic cleansing" until the national framework is transcended and the enormous wealth, land and resources of South Africa are taken from the white capitalist ruling class.

The way out of this cruel dilemma can only be through building an integrated Bolshevik workers party that fights for a workers revolution centered on the black majority. Its ranks and leaders must be drawn from throughout the multiracial and ethnically diverse South African society, including those whites who are prepared to live in a black-centered workers republic based on genuine equality and integration. And despite the treachery of the SACP, whose leaders now hold key ministries of the *capitalist* state, South Africa is one of the few places in the world today where the workers and poor identify with the goal of communism. But the struggle cannot be limited to a narrow national framework or it will be defeated. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent, and indeed many of those who toil in the hellish mines producing its wealth are "foreigners." It is only by aiding the famine- and poverty-stricken masses throughout Africa to build up their own production that a workers South Africa can cease to act as a besieged fortress.

Above all, particularly in this epoch of "globalization," a socialist revolution must be extended to the imperialist centers and their other "production sites." The government's slashing of tariffs during the recent auto strike underscores not only the role of the new ANC rulers but also the futility of limiting the workers' struggles to the national terrain. And Western imperialists would respond to workers revolution in South Africa with military intervention and economic blockade, just as they did to the Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. To defeat the inevitable imperialist onslaught would require mobilizing the working masses in North America and West Europe.

The internationalism symbolized by South African miners' aid to their British class brothers and sisters during the 1984-85 British coal strike is what is needed to win against the tremendous power of international capital. And this solidarity must go in the other direction as well: it is the duty of American and European workers to come to the aid of their South African comrades in struggle. So long as the workers are pulling the cart of nationalism, they cannot achieve *amandla* (freedom). ANC Ltd will not be their liberators. The South African workers revolution shall inscribe on its red banners: *those who labor must rule*. ■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Prop 187...

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body at some schools could be summarily expelled as "illegals" for the "crime" of struggling to get an education in the decaying California schools. The protests have included organized rallies and marches initiated by high school MEChA chapters and other student groups, but more often they have been spontaneous walkouts. At one school after another, students have scrambled over gates locked by administrators, unfurled Mexican or Salvadoran flags and marched chanting to nearby schools to rally support. L.A. students carried signs reading, "No to 187, No to Ethnic Cleansing!" while a San Diego march featured signs that read, "Nazis Out of Office!" and "Governor Adolf Wilson?"

On November 7, just one day before the vote on Prop. 187, garment workers from a dozen shops joined with students and others in a midday demonstration of up to 2,000 at L.A. City Hall. The Latin American Truckers Association (LATA) tied up traffic at the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, cutting the number of truckloads by a third to a half. Later, a 70-strong convoy barreled down the freeways, their air horns blaring, and circled City Hall. The *troqueros* festooned their cabs with signs reading (in Spanish), "No on Prop 187!" "For Workers Unity!" and "The Working Class Has No Borders!" Addressing the protesters, one trucker vowed that LATA will shut down the port of Los Angeles if Prop. 187 passes.

This is a small taste of the labor action that's needed to combat the anti-immigrant backlash in California. Whatever the outcome at the polls, the racist onslaught against immigrants won't go away. While calling to vote "no" on Prop. 187, we emphasized the need to "Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" (*WV* No. 608, 14 October). It is necessary to overcome the ruling class' efforts to "divide and rule," and to break with the capitalist parties to which the labor bureaucracy chains the unions. The Democrats, from Clinton to Kathleen Brown, as well as right-wing Republicans like Pete Wilson, are enemies of minorities and labor. And for the past two years there has been a *bipartisan* campaign of immigrant-bashing.

As we go to press, California goes to the polls under threat of police-state measures against anti-Prop. 187 protests. The notorious racists of the LAPD are on "tactical alert," and Chief Willie Williams has ordered a "maximum deployment" of forces. The California National Guard has activated its units throughout the state to be "ready" for election day. With SWAT teams and red-white-and-blue bunting, this jingoist U.S. election day looks rather like the typical gunpoint "democracy" of less stable regimes south of the border. Yet despite these tactics and the threat of firings, hundreds of undocumented garment workers walked out of the sweatshops today to join protests against Prop. 187. These gutsy workers produce millions in profits (and taxes!), yet are deprived of the elementary right to vote. They certainly can't win through the ballot box but only through class struggle, united with other sectors of the multiethnic working class.

Break with the Democrats!

With racist pro-187 organizers baiting the majority Latino student demonstrators as "un-American" and "violent," Democratic politicians like L.A. County supervisor Gloria Molina and City Councilman Richard Alatorre scolded students for "alienating voters" and urged them to go door-to-door for the Democrats instead of walking out of school. As politicians on both sides shed crocodile tears about students missing class, they give the green light to the cops to attack protesters. A Belmont High organizer said: "The students have been beaten, batonned, stepped on and pepper-sprayed." But the protests continue to spread. On October 29, several hundred students who marched to the Van Nuys Civic Center were met by an LAPD SWAT team and scores of riot cops armed with shotguns, who roughed up protesters and then herded them onto buses. On November 2, a dozen students in Compton were arrested for "inciting a riot." In Moreno Valley, the school board ordered police to conduct a "truancy sweep" of neighborhoods and malls, detaining 180 youths.

The provisions of Prop. 187 would attempt to make teachers act as finks for the hated *migra* immigration cops. Over 1,000 teachers in the L.A. Unified School District have already signed a pledge refusing to finger students if Prop. 187 passes, and teachers have participated in many of the protests with signs reading, "I don't want to be an agent for the INS!" But instead of joining with the student protests, the UTLA union tops have ordered teachers "not to involve yourself in any way with organizing a student walkout." To mobilize the union, a struggle must be waged to dump the bureaucracy which seeks to divert the outrage over this racist referendum into support for the Democratic Party.

The October 16 anti-Prop. 187 demonstration brought out over 80,000 largely Latino workers, as well as Asian, black and white people, and included contingents from key unions like SEIU Locals 660 (county workers) and 399 (Kaiser Hospitals and "Justice for Janitors"), ILGWU (garment workers) and HERE 11 (hotel workers). But politically, the rally featured scores of Democratic speakers, a former INS district director, and former right-wing Republican gubernatorial candidate Ron Unz. United Farm Workers union leader Dolores Huerta led chants of "Viva Kathleen Brown!" from the podium. Reformist groups, including the Workers World Party and Socialist Workers Party, have gone all out doing donkey work for the coalition endorsed by L.A. County sheriff Sherman Block, whose deputies terrorize and murder minorities and beat protesting students.

The California bourgeoisie, aware that the proletarian and plebeian masses are seething, is always trying to divide the population along racial and ethnic lines (including trying to line up "legal" immigrants against newer arrivals). The multiethnic upheaval that L.A. experienced following the 1992 acquittal of the cops who brutally beat black motorist Rodney King sent shivers down the bourgeoisie's back. And when it comes to racist immigrant-bashing, the Democrats are every bit as venal as the Republicans who overtly campaign for a whiter America. The Democrats oppose Prop. 187 as *not tough enough* on illegal immigration. California Democratic Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein both support the militarization of the Mexican border, and Feinstein says she opposes Prop. 187 because it "makes no provision whatsoever to deport illegal aliens and reduce their number"!

While Republican governor Wilson hopes to ride a tide of anti-immigrant racism back to the governor's mansion and threatens to institute an apartheid-style pass system, his Democratic opponent Kathleen Brown revved up her flagging campaign by bringing the nation's chief immigrant-bashers, President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, to California to hype "Operation Gatekeeper"—which threw a line of Border Patrol cops behind a 12-foot-high metal fence along the San Diego border area. And the "official" racism emanating from the Republicrats has emboldened murderous racist youth gangs in rural San Diego county to run nighttime raids on camps of undocumented farm workers in the area.

WV Photo

A 70-truck convoy of Latino truckers formed up at the Port of Los Angeles, November 7. Sign on cab reads: "Long Live the Immigrant Workers' Struggle—United Against Racism and Discrimination."

Students: Ally with Labor!

What is urgently posed is the need for united class struggle to defend immigrant rights. Students need to ally with the militant, heavily Latino L.A.-area unions and others who stand against Prop. 187, such as health workers, teachers and the California Labor Federation. In San Jose on November 4, an anti-Prop. 187 rally and march initiated by SEIU Local 1877 ("Justice for Janitors") and other unions turned out 5,000 demonstrators, including 500 high school students who walked out to join the protest. But in L.A., SEIU Local 399 has focused its energies on "getting out the vote." The rights of *all* immigrants and minorities are under attack, and labor has the muscle to turn the spirited student protests into a broader working-class offensive to smash the bourgeoisie's war on immigrants.

The Reaganite politicians and California's agribusiness billionaires literally amassed their riches off the sweat of immigrant labor in the fields. They needed cheap labor and they got it. Now, with California's economy in depression, "illegal" immigrants are being scapegoated, just as they were in the 1930s and '50s. But the difference now is that Latino immigrants work not only as migrant farm laborers at the mercy of the growers but in many other industries as well. In the last decade, Mexican and Central American workers have engaged in militant, somewhat successful union organizing in Southern California. These include the Local 399 janitors which organized the Century City complex, drywall and other construction workers, hotel workers and independent truckers.

While the ruling class has put up with some boisterous youth protests, they are very vigilant about repressing attempts to organize labor struggles which might affect the source of their profits. But the Prop. 187 threat affects the entire Latino population, not just the most directly targeted students. If passed and implemented, it could throw over 100,000 students out of L.A.-area schools, more than 400,000 statewide. For immigrant workers, the obstacles to struggle are much greater, from the constant threat of *migra* raids to the opposition of their own union leaderships which are tied to the anti-immigrant Democratic Party. A class-struggle opposition must be forged in struggle against these sellouts, to defend the unions against the cops and courts of the capitalist state. In addition to the predominantly Latino service industry unions, the heavy battalions of labor in longshore and the Teamsters, which have a growing Latino component, must join the fight.

Since Prop. 187 is widely understood to be directed against Mexicans and Central Americans, Mexican and Salvadoran flags have been prominent in the anti-Prop. 187 demonstrations as a sign of pride in the face of the racist anti-immigrant frenzy. But the dominant theme has been anti-racist rather than nationalist. At the November 7 City Hall protest, some Chicano nationalist "Brown Berets" initially tried to block a Spartacus Youth Club member from speaking on the grounds that "This is a Latino struggle." This narrow-minded sectoralism was quickly squelched by youthful demonstrators who countered, "Bullshit! This is blacks and whites and everyone together against 187 and racism!" Later a Spartacist League spokesman addressed the crowd calling for integrated class struggle against the Democrats and Republicans. Representatives of Progressive Labor (who helped mobilize the garment workers) and the Revolutionary Communist Party also spoke.

Other organizations have pushed demonstrators to carry American flags—the symbol of U.S. imperialist oppression around the globe! Yesterday, however, American flags on the steps of City Hall appeared *upside down*—to the chagrin of those who wish to harness this wave of protest to the Democratic Party. Prop. 187 has sparked angry demonstrations of thousands in Mexico City as well as in border cities from Tijuana to Reynosa, posing the immediate possibility of struggle that spans the border. But the ruling PRI and populist PRD opposition parties seek to channel this anger into a Mexican nationalist campaign of empty gestures. What's needed is *internationalist* working-class struggle, linking the fight for immigrant rights here to the fight for workers revolution throughout the Americas.

While the student protesters have been mostly Latino, the walkouts and rallies have included some black, white and Asian students and workers. One Japanese American anti-187 organizer noted, "I worry that the kind of anti-ethnic hysteria driving 187 is akin to the anti-ethnic hysteria that swept the country after Pearl Harbor" (*New York Times*, 1 November). Recognizing that anti-immigrant racism and a strengthening of cop repression means increased racist terror against blacks first and foremost, black organizations such as the Urban League and the L.A. branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have also been actively opposing Prop. 187.

The Spartacus Youth Club has participated in the anti-187 demonstrations, raising our class-struggle program. When Kathleen Brown appeared recently at UCLA, SYC members raised a banner outside the event reading, "No to Proposition 187! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Break with the Racist Democrats and Republicans! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!" At a rally called by "The Student Movement" in L.A.'s Elysian Park, SYC supporter James Fitzgerald said: "This racism isn't going to be defeated at the ballot box! The only way we're going to destroy this racism is by breaking with the Democrats, by breaking with the Republicans. The only way we're going to destroy this blatant and flagrant racism of the bourgeois ruling class is through a unified class struggle!" ■

News Strike...

(continued from page 12)

focus to the Army Street plant in San Francisco. SF mayor (and former city police chief) Frank Jordan has his cops out in full force gooning for the newspaper bosses. All leave for the SFPD has been canceled. Early in the strike, four Mini buses full of riot cops were deployed at the Army Street plant, where picketers have been penned in with police barricades. A court order, which union tops already pledged to honor before the strike, limits pickets to four, who are supposed to stay 10-20 feet away from the plant entrance.

Cops single out union spokesmen—a union rep who works in the plate room at Army Street was handcuffed and thrown in a paddy wagon while attempting to retrieve picket signs from his car. More than a dozen strikers have been arrested, including four on felony charges. Yet the union bureaucrats lecture strikers that "if the cops tell you to move, then move, and remember they are on our side." Like hell! The cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state and they exist to guard the bosses' property and profits against the workers.

Sock 'Em with the Muscle of Bay Area Labor!

This is class war, and for labor to prevail means going up against the press barons, their mayor, their cops, their strikebreaking thugs, their judges, their anti-labor laws. To do that requires bringing to bear the muscle of Bay Area organized labor in mass picket lines that no scab would dare to cross, to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) newsprint and ink headed for the struck newspapers, to stop the printing and distribution of any scab papers. Labor's power is there for the asking—mobilizing it is a question of leadership.

When the strike deadline passed at midnight on October 31, the union tops still kept workers on the job. But workers got the jump hours earlier when rallying outside the newspaper offices in downtown SF. Longshoremen brought word that newsprint was being unloaded at Pier 27. Pressmen, Teamsters and other unionists quickly set up a picket line at the pier, and members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 stopped working the ship. When the strike was delayed and the lines came down, however, the rest of the cargo was offloaded to the warehouse. Labor must see to it that not one roll of newsprint leaves the harbor.

Union workers on garbage trucks, utility service vehicles and city buses honk their horns in solidarity as they pass the picket lines. Workers across the city understand that this is their fight. Hotel and Restaurant Local 2 is currently on strike at the fancy Mark Hopkins Hotel. Just a month ago, BART workers were in open rebellion, as their union misleaders colluded with BART management to ram a sellout contract down their throats. Mini public transit drivers are in negotiations with a city government—from SF mayor Jordan to the "liberal" Board of Supervisors—that wants to drive down their wages and conditions.

The Army Street printing plant is within easy reach of tens of thousands of organized workers: SF airport workers and Machinists from the United Airlines maintenance base, longshoremen, transit workers, Teamster truckers, city and hospital workers. A mass picket that seals off the plant and terminates their scab paper would be greeted with enthusiasm by the Bay Area working class. What stands in the way of organizing the power of labor in San Francisco—which has been known as a strong union town since the 1934 SF General Strike which smashed employer strikebreaking and murderous cop assaults against longshore picket lines—are the labor misleaders.

A field representative of the AFL-CIO from Washington who runs newspaper strikes, George Curtin, was quoted saying, "If unions are busted in San Francisco, it will send a message across this country that even in a strong union town, you can bust your unions." That's right. Yet over the last year, the union tops of the Conference of Newspaper Unions (CNU), with the direct intervention of the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," gave the newspaper bosses the high ground before labor's troops were even allowed to enter the battle.

While keeping newspaper workers chained to the job without a contract, the CNU criminally allowed management all the time they needed to prepare their strikebreaking. Offices and printing plants have been turned into armed camps complete with barbed wire, video cameras and legions of security guards. Just before the strike deadline, nearly 200 Huffmaster Security thugs were flown in from Detroit.

The union bureaucrats allowed these professional scabherders to move into the 5th and Mission editorial offices and the SFNA's three printing plants. Months ago, they allowed management to pressure pressmen to withdraw from the union. CNU union officials have tried in every way to deflect strike sentiment with scare tactics, retailing company threats that one of the papers might buy out the other or go under, and that half the workforce would be laid off.

Now they appeal to the "good graces" of Mayor Jordan—whose cops are mobilized in full force—to operate as the "mediator" in meaningless negotiations. They use the death of striker Kent Wilson to preach for "peace" on the picket lines and "compromise" with the bosses, whose strikebreaking tactics led to the death of this union militant. But Wilson died desperately fighting the scab distribution that the union tops should have cut off at the source—the printing plants.

What is needed to win this strike is a leadership with the determination to fight, armed with a political understanding of what that takes. The CNU and AFL-CIO union bureaucrats, who are lying prostrate before the press bosses, their strikebreakers and the government's union-busting laws, are leading the strike down the tubes. There is no shortage of courage, determination and militancy on the part of the strikers. But the treacherous union tops fear this militancy and are deliberately dispersing the strike forces all over the Bay Area. What is vital at this point is to stop the printing and distribution of the scab rag. Right now that means concentrating forces at the Army Street printing and distribution plant. The striking SF newspaper unions should hold a mass meeting to elect a strike committee of those militants who want to fight back and win!

For Class-Struggle Leadership of the Labor Movement!

Jack Henning of the state AFL-CIO and SF Labor Council head Walter Johnson—the darlings of the reformist left—mouth empty "solidarity" slogans while not lifting a finger to mobilize Bay Area labor on the picket lines. The "corporate campaign" and consumer boycott being pushed by the union tops are impotent and dangerous diversions. So far it has meant collecting pledges to cancel subscriptions, while begging big corporations to withhold advertising.

While the union tops tout the pulling of advertising by some major retailers like Macy's, this is only because militants on the picket lines have cut into circulation by going after the scabs. If there were no scab paper, there would be no place to advertise! Now, at the height of the holiday advertising season, the unions should shut down the San Jose *Mercury News* as well! The union-produced *San Francisco Free Press* must be turned into a daily strike paper. Instead of a sheet promoting the fortunes of the Democratic Party's candidates in the November 8 elections, it should be an organizing tool for winning the strike—with no capitalist advertising!

It's not just that the union bureaucrats are incompetent; the problem is political—they are in bed with the capitalist class. They aim to "mediate" the conflict between capital and labor in order to maintain the status quo. But today, with the ruling class on a drive to slash wages and boost "productivity" over the body of organized labor, "mediating" means helping to drive down the living standards of the workers. From knifing the PATCO and Greyhound strikes in the '80s to today, the bureaucracy acts as labor cops for the companies. The consequence has been a 20 percent drop in real wages and a decline in unionization to less than 16 percent of the workforce.

The SF newspaper strike takes place in the context of large protests of high school and college students as well as unions against the viciously anti-immigrant Proposition 187—which would deny education, welfare and health care to "illegal" immigrants. On November 7, a two-mile-long convoy of Latino truck drivers in Los Angeles—with signs reading "No on Prop. 187," "For Workers Unity" and "The Working Class Has No Borders"—shut off much of the traffic at the L.A.-Long Beach ports. Worried about a repeat of the multiracial explosion that erupted after the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, the National Guard has been put on alert to put down any opposition if Prop. 187 passes.

Union-busting and anti-immigrant racism go hand in hand. It's all part of the racist, strikebreaking rulers' game of keeping those at the bottom divided and pitted against each other. To win, labor must champion the rights of all the oppressed. The anti-immigrant racism pushed by both Republicans and Democrats is aimed at poisoning and defeating working-class struggle. A fighting alliance must be forged with black, Latino and Asian workers to counteract the bosses' cynical attempts to pit unemployed minority workers against the newspaper unions (particularly in the historically job-trusting printing trades). A class-conscious labor movement would fight to create jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—and for union-run, minority recruitment and training programs at full union scale and at the bosses' expense. Make the unions one united fist—for one industrial union in the printing industry! Organize the unorganized!

The union tops have preached reliance on the capitalist state and appeals to so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party—like Kathleen Brown, Democratic candidate for governor. Brown showed up at the newspaper picket lines to pronounce herself "solid with the workers"—and tell them to keep the peace, while scabherding police break their strike. Meanwhile, Brown and Democratic Senators Feinstein and Boxer are competing with labor-hating Republican Pete Wilson in immigrant-bashing, calling for militarizing the border with Mexico. Now the newspaper unions' *Free Press* (7 November) has endorsed Brown.

The labor bureaucracy are the agents of capitalist rule. That's why they can't and won't fight for the working class. Instead, they seek to tie labor to their exploiters through support to the Democratic Party. The workers need their own party, one which will fight for their interests and the interests of all the oppressed. Working people created all the wealth of this country. To claim the fruits of their labor and employ them to benefit the majority of this society, rather than for the profits of the few, requires breaking the power of the capitalist rulers. The multiracial working class has the numbers and the social power to do this. What's needed is a leadership that will fight as a tribune of all the oppressed, organizing the power of labor in its own interests and for its own rule through socialist revolution ■

Honor Kent Wilson—Labor Martyr

SAN FRANCISCO—The vicious union-busting drive by the SF newspaper bosses has claimed its first victim. Forty-five-year-old Kent Wilson, a newspaper driver for 23 years and a member of Teamsters Local 921, was killed defending his union on the picket line.

At 1:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 6, during heavy rains, strike pickets from the Conference of Newspaper Unions confronted scabs delivering papers to a distribution center in Mountain View, about 35 miles south of San Francisco. During the confrontation, Wilson was hit with a high-voltage shock from a power transformer in what police say was an attempt to cut power to the building. He is survived by his wife, Carol. His father was a union distributor for 40 years.

We extend our deepest sympathies to Kent Wilson's family and his union brothers and sisters. We share their outrage against the arrogant media harems who trample on the working people whose labor created their wealth. Kent Wilson died in the line of duty, courageously fighting as best he could to thwart the strikebreakers and their criminal plans. Mobilize the power of Bay Area labor to shut the scab papers down tight! Honor the memory of Kent Wilson, labor martyr!

WV Photo

Line of cops protects scab trucks at Evans Street *Chronicle* plant.

WORKERS VANGUARD

California: Explosive Protests Over Anti-Immigrant Prop 187

LOS ANGELES, November 8—Nearly every day for the last three weeks, thousands of college, high school and junior high students have streamed out of Southern California schools and campuses in militant walkouts and marches against the racist, anti-immigrant Proposition 187. This reactionary ballot initiative, which is being voted on in today's California elections, would deprive "illegal" immigrants of government social services, including medical care and education. The largest student protests to date took place on November 2, as over 10,000 from L.A., particularly the San Fernando Valley, as well as students in San Diego and the Bay Area took to the streets, braving massive police mobilizations as well as disciplinary action by school administrations. And now local rulers are getting nervous, carrying out a citywide police alert in L.A. in response to a march by garment workers and a convoy by Latino truckers against Prop. 187.

Latino, Asian, black and other high school and college students are outraged by the threat of Prop. 187. If it passes, up to *60 percent* of the student

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WV Photo

Los Angeles: Up to 2,000 high school and junior high students and garment workers marched to City Hall on November 7 to protest racist Prop. 187.

Mobilize S.F. Labor to Win the Newspaper Strike!

For Mass Pickets to Shut Down Chronicle/Examiner!

SAN FRANCISCO, November 7—The 2,600 newspaper workers who produce and distribute the only two major dailies in this city went on strike November 1 to defend their livelihoods against a calculated union-busting assault. The rich and arrogant owners—the Hearsts of the afternoon *Examiner* and the Thieriot/DeYoung families who own the morning *Chronicle*—have invested heavily in strikebreaking preparations and are trying to put out scab rags under the protection of out-of-town rent-a-thugs and cops. Already, one striker, Kent Wilson, a 45-year-old Teamster driver, has died in the fight to save his union (see box, page 11).

The employers have targeted especially the delivery drivers of Teamsters Local 921 with plans to slash 150 to 200 jobs. They want to introduce part-time work, low wages and benefits, speed up drivers with multiple duties, and fire hundreds of youth carriers who work with the Teamsters. In short, it's an out-and-out case of union-busting. The press barons brought in the notorious Tennessee firm of King and Ballow, who ran strikebreaking operations for the Tribune company at the New York *Daily News* during a hard-fought strike in 1990-91. The same bosses used similar tactics in 1986 to smash a strike by craft unions at the *Chicago Tribune*.

This strike is a showdown battle for the working class in the Bay Area and nationally. After a year of being kept on the job without a contract, the newspaper workers were itching to fight back. At the main printing plant for the *Chronicle*, across the bay in Union City, unionists took care of business the night the strike finally began. Outnumbered cops were unable to protect the scab trucks. The next morning, the president of the San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA), which puts out the two papers in a joint operating agreement, whined that his scabs were injured and their cars damaged

WV Photo

Workers picketing *Chronicle/Examiner* editorial offices as November 1 strike deadline expired.

Reportedly, transmission lines to the Union City plant are down, and striking unions are calling on the Communications Workers repairmen not to cross their lines. As one veteran of some tough newspaper strikes put it, winning a strike is more than waving around a picket sign—you have to take the scabs and "throw them overboard." What's needed is to mobilize the full power of Bay Area unions in mass pickets to shut the papers down!

Having difficulty getting the scab sheets out at Union City and the smaller Richmond plant, the bosses shifted their

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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PLO Massacres Palestinians in Gaza

Arafat's Ghetto Enforcers for Zionist Tyranny

NOVEMBER 20—The "Gaza-Jericho first" accord signed last year between Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasir Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin is now sealed with Palestinian blood. On Friday, November 18, in the impoverished wasteland that is Gaza City, police of Arafat's Palestinian Authority leveled automatic-weapons fire into hundreds of demonstrators, many of them supporters of the Muslim fundamentalist Islamic Jihad and Hamas movements. At least 15 people were killed, including one cop. Another 240 were reported wounded and 300 arrested as running battles continued throughout the day. As news of the massacre spread, protests in the West Bank and Jerusalem were met with a brutal crackdown by Israeli security forces in which four more Palestinians were killed.

From the balconies, outside the Shifa Hospital in Gaza, enraged Palestinians shouted "Abu Ammar (Arafat's *nom de guerre*), you have betrayed your people," and "Arafat must hang for this!"

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Judah/AP

Palestinian youth shot by PLO police in Gaza, November 18.

Yuppie Democrats Paved the Way

Right-Wing, Racist Sweep in Elections

Der Spiegel

Jaffe/JB Pictures

Gingrich's army marches on Capitol to sign reactionary "Contract with America." Election '94 signals more death sentences, assault on welfare as Clinton offers partnership with Republicans. Down with the racist death penalty! Break with Republicans and Democrats—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY!

The 1994 elections were marked by a grotesque competition over which candidates would be tougher on welfare mothers, send more black youths to jail and crack down harder on "illegal" immigrants. From Austin, Texas to Albany, New York, pushing the death penalty was the ticket of entry into state houses around the country. In California, the anti-black onslaught was augmented by a hysterical racist crusade targeting all immigrants and Latinos.

The Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Clinton's yuppie racist "New" Democrats going out of their way to spit on the party's traditional black and labor constituencies, the field was open for a rout by the more openly racist Republican right. The Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years, captured a majority of state houses, and now dominate the once-solid Dixiecrat South.

Republican standard-bearer and soon-to-be House Speaker Newt Gingrich summed up the GOP platform: "I believe in replacing welfare. I believe in locking up criminals." So does Clinton, who vows to "end welfare as we know it" and boasts of his draconian "anti-crime" legislation, which will send tens of thousands more minority youth to prison and vastly expand the scale of capital punishment. As one stockbroker commented, "All Republicans are in mean-spirited Democrats" (*New York Times*, 10 November).

The right wing scored a major electoral victory. Liberal Democrats are in despair. The reformist left is disoriented. But bourgeois elections are at best a distorted reflection of what is going on in society. Although the Christian fundamentalist right aggressively mobilized its voting base, it still represents a rather narrow layer of the American population. As has been the case for a couple of decades now, nearly two-thirds of the electorate didn't even bother to vote. Especially among the most dispossessed, there is an intuitive understanding that whether a racist Democrat or racist Republican wins, their lives will change little, and certainly not for the better.

Both capitalist parties are dismissive of black people and other minorities, and even trade unionists—written off as "special interests" and declared outside the pale of what Gingrich calls "normal Americans." As anti-abortion terrorists take their toll, in an increasing number of states it is virtually impossible for women to find an abortion provider. Workers find it increasingly impossible to survive with even two incomes in the family, while blacks find themselves

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Drop the Charges Against Black NYC Transit Worker!

James Frazier Faces January Trial

New York City transit workers and other supporters gathered outside the Brooklyn Criminal Court on October 28 to fight the persecution of black transit worker James Frazier. In October 1993, the cops shot Frazier in the head from behind and later brutally beat him in the hospital while spitting racial epithets. He was charged with gun possession to cover up their racist crimes. The Transit Authority joined the attack, firing Frazier from his job as a track worker while he lay in his hospital bed.

Frazier lost his left eye in the assault. For over a year he has been dragged through the courts on these bogus charges. At the October 28 hearing, the judge ruled against a defense motion to suppress prosecution "evidence"—the gun the cops claim to have found in Frazier's car. Now he will face trial, with jury selection to begin on January 3. James Frazier must not stand alone! All out to demand: Drop the charges! Reinstate Frazier now!

Divisions of Frazier's union, Transport Workers Union Local 100, have passed motions demanding that the charges be dropped, that he be reinstated immediately and that the entire union be mobilized in his defense. Members of the TWU and other unions, students and socialists have come out repeatedly to the court. They know that Frazier is being put through this ordeal because *he survived*. Blacks and Hispanics, even 11-year-old children, have repeatedly been shot down with impunity by the NYPD. As Mayor Giuliani slashes social services and decimates city unions, he heefs up the cops and prisons to enforce racist capitalist "law and order."

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense has been mobilizing for Frazier's defense. As the League stated in a leaflet for the October 28 hearing, "James Frazier must not become another nameless, faceless victim of bloody cop terror in this city! His ordeal is a message to the entire labor movement and all victims of racist oppression—and that's who must rally to his defense, now!" The Labor Black League is organizing to fill the courtroom in January. The mobilization in the courtroom of unionists and other supporters can be the difference between Frazier spending 15 years in jail or walking out of court a free man. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025.■

WV Photo

Transit workers and other supporters turn out for James Frazier (center) at October 28 Brooklyn court hearing.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Engels on the Fight Against Opportunism

Throughout the history of the socialist movement, there have been sharp political struggles between the revolutionaries and their opportunist detractors. Over a century ago, Friedrich Engels emphasized this point in a letter to the German Marxist August Bebel, in which he discussed the fight being waged by the revolutionary wing of French socialism against the Possibilists, represented by Malon and Brousse, who advanced a reformist program of gradually transferring the means of production to public ownership through parliamentary means.

The point at issue is purely one of principle: ought the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to be waged as a *class struggle*, or ought it to be conceded that, in good opportunist (or Possibilist, as the socialist translation has it) fashion, the programme and the movement's class character be dropped wherever this would enable more votes or more 'supporters' to be won? Malon and Brousse have come out in favour of the latter, thereby sacrificing the proletarian class character of the movement and making a division inevitable. Well and good. The development of the proletariat takes place everywhere to the accompaniment of internal struggles, and France, which is presently forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have passed beyond the first phase of the internal struggle (with the Lassalleans) and others still lie ahead of us. Unification is perfectly all right provided it works, but there are things which take precedence over unification. And when, like Marx and me, one has spent a lifetime fighting harder against the self-styled socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie simply as a *class* and hardly ever took issue with individual bourgeois), one cannot feel unduly perturbed just because the inevitable struggle has broken out.

—Friedrich Engels, Letter to August Bebel (28 October 1882)

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NATO Imperialist Air Strike in Balkans

U.S./UN/NATO Get Out!

NOVEMBER 21—Today 50 NATO warplanes carried out an air strike, the biggest ever in the history of the Western alliance, on a Serbian military airfield. While the damage was reportedly limited, the attack is part of mounting U.S. intervention and imperialist squabbling over the bloody nationalist civil war that has engulfed the former Yugoslavia. The bombed air base was at Udbina, in the Serbian region of Krajina that has declared itself independent of Croatia. The NATO strike was in retaliation for recent Serbian attacks against the Bihac pocket, currently held by the Bosnian Muslim army. On Saturday, the United Nations Security Council had voted to extend the UN/NATO area of operations beyond Bosnia.

Once again, as so often in the past, bloody nationalist conflict in the Balkans has embroiled the major imperialist powers, setting the stage for broader inter-imperialist conflict. Two days after the Republican sweep in the U.S. midterm elections, the Clinton White House, breaking openly with its West European "allies," announced it would no longer adhere to the UN-sanctioned embargo of arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo. Also, the U.S. would no longer share military intelligence on arms movements in the region with its NATO partners, who have thousands of troops on the ground there in the guise of UN "peacekeepers." "The United States has just taken sides," declared one ranking NATO commander.

Washington's latest move is unlikely to have an immediate impact on the Balkan war, since the arms embargo had already become pretty porous. In recent months, the Bosnian Muslim regime has managed to obtain in large quantities Russian-made rocket-propelled grenades from Germany, Chinese anti-tank weapons from Pakistan and ammunition from Iran.

The U.S.' scrapping of the Bosnia arms ban is, however, a *political challenge* to the West Europeans as well as the Russians. Clinton didn't even inform the European NATO governments in advance; they learned about it from the *New York Times*. French foreign minister Alain Juppé announced that his government is "deeply worried by this unilateral decision." The Russian parliament denounced the U.S. for "lack of respect for world opinion."

Washington's Bosnia bombshell has enormously strengthened sentiment in European ruling circles to replace NATO with a new military alliance based on the West European Union. The British head of the Union's parliamentary assembly, Dudley Smith, argued: "This proves just how much Europe needs to be autonomous where intelligence gathering, satellite reconnaissance and logistical support are concerned."

This is the first time Washington has cut off intelligence information to Britain since WW II. At a summit meeting late last week, British prime minister Major and French president Mitterrand decided to set up a "Euro-Air Corps" for surveillance and intervention outside the NATO command, to give them some independence from the U.S. This will augment the expanding French-German armored "Euro-Corps" as another step toward a German-dominated West European military force autonomous of the American connection.

During the Cold War, mutual hostility to the Soviet Union suppressed to some degree conflicts of interest between the American, West European and Japanese ruling classes. But with the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and destruction of the USSR, the Cold War system of imperialist alliances is bound to break apart. The bloodiest chapter of this counterrevolution to date—the nationalist/communalist wars which ripped apart the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—has also produced ever-deepening fissures in NATO.

All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now! Down with the starvation blockade of Serbia!

...er - piegel

U.S. warplanes aboard aircraft carrier Saratoga in Adriatic. U.S./UN/NATO, hands off Balkans!

Imperialist Rivalries in the New Balkan Wars

Before World War I, German imperialism exercised dominance over Croatia, Bosnia and Slovenia, which then constituted the southernmost provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire. During World War II, Hitler's Third Reich set up a clerical-fascist puppet state in Croatia, which massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). Tito's Communist partisans fought all of the forces of genocidal nationalism—the Croatian Ustasha, Serbian royalist Cheniks and Nazi Wehrmacht—thus laying the basis for the postwar Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

When Titoist Yugoslavia was being rent by resurgent nationalism, Germany saw and seized the opportunity to regain its political overlordship of the western Balkans. In 1991, Helmut Kohl's Germany strong-armed its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, thereby unleashing the Serbian-Croatian war and leading directly to the three-sided war between Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims in Bosnia.

Historically, Russia has been the great-power protector of the Serbs. It was tsarist Russia's military blows against the decrepit Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century which restored the Serbian and Bulgarian kingdoms in the Balkans. Today, the capitalist-restorationist regime of Boris Yeltsin dreams of recapturing Russia's imperial glory. Thus would-be tsar Boris has joined hands with his Russian nationalist opponents as lawyers for the Serbian cause in the international diplomatic arena, while working hand in hand with the German Fourth Reich to broker an imperialist deal in the Balkans.

During the interwar period of the 1920s and '30s, Yugoslavia, then ruled by the Serbian monarchy, was the principal Balkan ally of British and French imperialism. London and Paris are now open to restoring some such ties with Serbia as a counterweight to German influence in the western Balkans. So the British and French—who have provided the bulk of the 13,000-man UN "peacekeeping" force—maneuver between the contending Balkan nationalists, trying to maintain a posture of evenhandedness.

Characteristically, U.S. imperialism wants to play power broker in the Balkans without risking the life of a single American soldier, especially after last year's Somalia debacle. Washington politicos and the American media have engaged in shrill anti-Serb warmongering, while Bush and then Clinton conspicuously refused to provide U.S. troops for the UN contingent in Bosnia. At the same time, Washington has increasingly taken on the role of protector of the Bosnian Muslims.

Bosnia Bloodbath Produces Rift in NATO

Having decided to continue a war they cannot win on their own, the central strategy of the Bosnian Muslim regime of Alija Izetbegovic is to *provoke* Western intervention against the militarily stronger Serbs. A few months ago, the British commander of the UN contingent, General Michael Rose, accused the Muslim army of trying "to create images of war for the world, to get us to respond with air power." The British general also lashed out at Washington: "If someone wants to fight a war here on moral or political grounds, fine, great, but count us out."

For the time being, the Americans are continuing to count themselves out, too. Instead they've encouraged and abetted the Izetbegovic regime in beefing up its military capacity. Over the past year, the Bosnian Muslim army has doubled in size, and is now equipped with more modern weaponry despite the sham arms embargo. Paul Beaver, a military analyst for *Jane's Defence Weekly* in London, described Washington's approach to the Bosnian Muslims' "illegal" importation of arms as "not quite connivance, but almost."

Late last month, the Muslim army launched an offensive in northwestern Bosnia which at first succeeded in driving back the Serbs. The Americans' role in this was something more than that of an innocent bystander. According to the London *Independent* (12 November):

> "UN military officials in Sarajevo say that the Americans are already helping the Bosnians, and provided Muslim military commanders with aerial photographs of Bosnian Serb troop dispositions around the north-western city of Bihac at about the same time as the Muslims launched their offensive two weeks ago."

But this American help proved not enough. A Serb counterattack has retaken most of the territory gained by the Bosnian government offensive. In this offensive the Serbs are aided by dissident Muslim forces who were driven out of Bihac last August for refusing allegiance to the Muslim-nationalist regime in Sarajevo.

So the Muslim leaders and military commanders went back to their old tricks of staging provocations in order to appeal to Western public opinion. On November 8, a mortar shell in Sarajevo wounded a Muslim child. Amid the usual outcry over Serbian attacks on defenseless civilians, UN military officials revealed that the mortar shell had been fired *by the Bosnian Muslim army* at its own territory. And this isn't the first time.

The *New York Times* (11 November) reports that UN military officials say there is "a secret, never-released crater analysis" that "proved that the Bosnian Government was responsible for the explosion in a Sarajevo open-air market that left 68 people dead on Feb. 5." That bombing provoked an imperialist hue and cry, providing the pretext for the first NATO air strike against Serb forces.

The cynical bombing of one's own people to gain international sympathy symbolizes the savagery of this war in which 200,000 have been killed and three-quarters of a million—Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats alike—have

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Dutka/Reuters

Secret UN report says Bosnian government carried out February 5 mortar attack on Sarajevo marketplace, used as pretext for NATO air strikes against Serbs.

NYC Transit: Death on the Tracks, Bosses Blame Victims

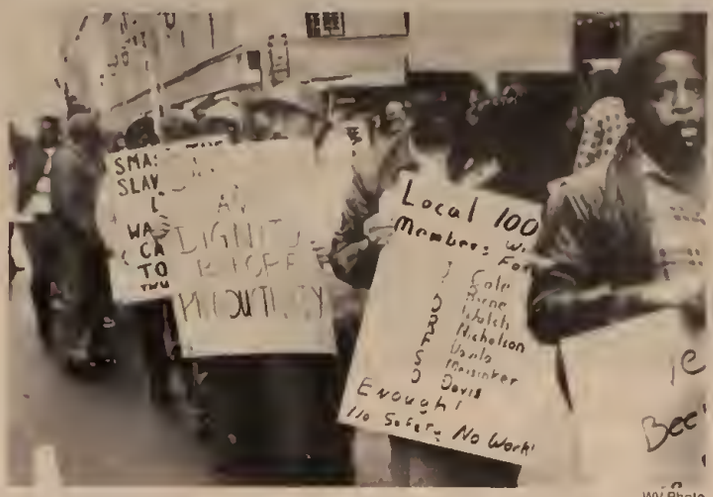
Drug Witchhunt Against Transport Workers

For over 7.5 million transport workers, New Year's Day 1995 will bring little cause for celebration, and every reason to fear being hauled in, tested and fired for what they did the night before. On January 1, federal regulations require the implementation of a massive new drug and alcohol testing program on "safety sensitive" occupations in the transportation industry, handing the bosses potent new weapons for terrorizing workers on the job and invading their private lives.

The intensified drug and alcohol witchhunt is mandated by the Omnibus Transportation Employee Testing Act of 1991, which requires a *tenfold* increase in the number of random drug and alcohol tests—to upwards of *5 million* tests a year—currently imposed on transport workers around the country. The new rules will affect 6.6 million bus and truck drivers, 34,000 pilots, flight attendants and mechanics in the aviation industry, 200,000 mass transit workers, 120,000 pipeline workers, 80,000 rail workers and 120,000 maritime workers. Not surprisingly, almost all supervisory staff are excluded from the new provisions.

The "war on drugs," which has served as a pretext for massive cop occupations and racist assaults in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, is also a *war on labor*, targeting some of the most unionized, and heavily minority, workers. It is intended to regiment the working class, allowing the bosses to target union militants and minorities and alibiing the capitalists of their responsibility for the maiming and death each year of thousands of workers and passengers on the railroads, subways, buses and airplanes.

In New York alone, October was a deadly month for the workers in the subway tunnels and bus barns of the city's transit system. On October 3, Ronald Elliot, a 62-year-old station cleaner with over 20 years on the job, was struck by a train in upper Manhattan. His body was found wedged between the second car and the platform. On October 21, a 37-year-old conductor, Darcy Brewster, was smashed to death by an uptown "D" train while working as a flagman. Then



WV Photo

New York City transit workers protest deaths of coworkers on the job, demand safe working conditions, October 1990. Government's "war on drugs" means war on labor.

nine days later, Kim Man Tseung, a bus mechanic at the Fresh Pond Depot in Queens, was crushed under a bus when an air bag under its front wheel suddenly collapsed.

After the death of any transit worker in New York City, the *first* response of the Transit Authority management is to test everyone in sight for drugs and alcohol, including the dead body. If there's one thing the TA bosses know, it's that dead workers can't talk. Then malicious rumors are spread about the victims in order to alibi the deadly work conditions. After Darcy Brewster's death, the company grapevine spread rumors that he was drunk, sleeping on the 600-volt third rail. But most loathsome of all was the story spread about the death of Kim Man Tseung, a 12-year veteran mechanic whom coworkers describe as a model safety-conscious worker.

The right-wing tabloid *New York Post* headlined, "TA: Mechanic Killed Sabotaging Bus to Collect OT," a story which management spread like wildfire but virtually no bus mechanic believes. The Transit Authority's story is a cover-up for its feverish push to squeeze more out of its workers. The latest contract, signed in June, opens the door to one-person train operation (OPTO) and specifically targets bus mechanics in a "timed-repair" scheme.

The Fresh Pond Depot where Tseung worked was the site of an intense campaign of harassment by a slave-driving management. On October 28, Mike Schmidt, the depot's hated general superintendent, who was assigned to crack down on the mechanics, suspended union steward David Pessirilo for insisting on safe working conditions. Tseung was appointed by the union to replace Pessirilo, and two days later he was dead.

Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is holding a memorial service for Tseung at the Fresh Pond Depot on Tuesday, November 22

UPI

Firemen remove body of subway motorman Jesse Cole. Cole bled to death in 1981 wreck caused by faulty signals as TA bosses held press conference only feet away.

"Are You Now, or Have You Ever Been..."

The new tests announced by Clinton's Department of Transportation are ominous not only for their sheer numbers, but also because of additional alcohol testing and the draconian penalties which the law imposes. The new law requires testing *half* of all "safety sensitive" workers for drugs and another 25 *percent* for alcohol every year. "Safety sensitive" workers means just about everyone, from airline flight attendants to bus mechanics. Unlike previous testing, when urine samples were usually demanded at the beginning of the workday, now workers will be hauled off for tests, unannounced, at any time during their shifts.

At least four million transport workers already have to piss in a cup whenever the bosses demand it. Now, teams of mobile drug and alcohol testers will show up to have you huff and puff into a tube. Any worker found with .02 percent alcohol on their breath will be pulled from the job for up to 8 hours. If you test positive for only .04 percent, you're kicked off the job and referred to a "substance abuse" program for evaluation. In most states, that's only two-fifths the blood alcohol level (one-tenth of 1 percent) legally required to convict a motorist!

In San Francisco, the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) management has been greasing the wheels for "zero tolerance" drug and alcohol testing for several years. A Latino train operator was fired after a fatal accident in which a 5-year-old was run over by a train. A BART official stated in the local press that the operator "followed all the rules and then some," but was sacked for violating "post-accident" drug testing rules. A black maintenance worker in his mid-fifties was forced to resign for "personal reasons" after a positive drug test, but was then denied unemployment benefits because his record showed that he was fired for drug use.

BART recently issued a new testing policy based on the new nationwide law. They prohibit even the "possession of alcohol, which shall include over the counter and prescription medication containing alcohol" at work. In other words, Robitussin cough syrup will get you fired. Anyone who refuses to submit or "fully cooperate" with this witchhunt gets immediately suspended without pay.

Drug tests are also grossly inaccurate. False positives have been attributed to everything from Ibuprofen pain reliever to poppy seed bagels to ginseng tea. Another cause of false positives is the skin pigment melanin which shows up as marijuana—meaning the darker your skin, the higher your chances of being victimized by the drug witchhunters! In any case, the racist bosses victimize black and minority workers first and foremost. In 1992, the New York Transit Authority agreed to compensate up to *4,500 people* who were fired or never hired due to false positives for marijuana.

"Random" drug testing is meant to terrorize the unionized workforce and alibi the bosses. Transport workers are killed and maimed at far higher rates than most occupations, and not only because of the inherent dangers of these industries. Rotting American capitalism has turned roads, bridges, subways and railways into deathtraps, and everybody knows it. From 1980 to 1989, 18 percent of the nation's work-related fatalities occurred in industries like trucking, shipping and aviation, where massive drug testing has already been implemented.

The talk about safety coming from the government and companies is just a pretext. If anyone has a direct, immediate interest in providing safe transportation, it is the workers whose lives are at risk every day. When a train crashes, the motorman is almost always the first to be killed. To fight for safety on the job, there must be elected union safety committees and representatives who will shut down unsafe working conditions on the spot!

The new testing program is a vicious invasion of workers' private lives—lives already straitjacketed by falling wages, rising unemployment and a "Big Brother" government which peers into every aspect of an increasingly miserable existence in decaying capitalist America. What people drink or smoke or do in private should be none of the government's damn business!

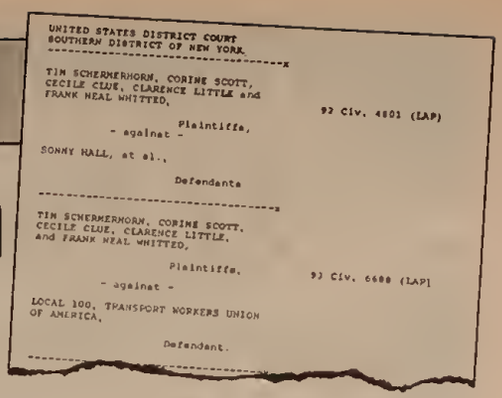
These days, the crusade against communism has been replaced with a "new morality" campaign against drugs, alcohol, smoking and sex as the refrain of the ruling class' campaign to regiment workers and youth. The new drug policy fits right in with right-wing Republican Newt Gingrich's war on the "counterculture." But it is the Democrats who have pushed the racist "war on drugs" hardest, where inner-city roundups of black and Hispanic youth have led to a 22 percent increase in the prison population since 1989. There are now *1.5 million inmates* rotting in American jails.

TWU Tops Exonerate TA for Death on the Tracks

In New York transit, the response of the union bureaucracy to the new drug policy was a limp complaint, "It certainly is overkill." But more than that, the TWU Local 100 and International

Government Out of the Unions!

New Directions' $12 Million Union-Busting Suit



UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

TIM SCHERMERHORN, CORINE SCOTT, CECILE CLUE, CLARENCE LITTLE and FRANK NEAL WHITTED,

Plaintiffs,

- against -

SONNY HALL, et al.,

Defendants

92 Civ. 4801 (LAP)

TIM SCHERMERHORN, CORINE SCOTT, CECILE CLUE, CLARENCE LITTLE, and FRANK NEAL WHITTED,

Plaintiffs,

- against -

LOCAL 100, TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,

Defendant.

93 Civ. 6688 (LAP)

NYC Transit

The 35,000 members of New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 are potentially among the most powerful workers in the country. They can cripple the financial nerve center of imperialist America, and the ruling class knows it. That's one reason New York has the hated Taylor Law, which makes public sector strikes illegal from the get-go. The more powerful the union, the more critical the industry, the sooner working people come up against the whole repressive machinery the bosses can deploy: the cops, the courts, the laws.

A hard-fought, winning strike by the TWU would shred the Taylor Law like a scrap of paper, and could spark some much-needed workers' resistance right across the country. But TWU Local 100 is saddled with a bureaucratic leadership that will do just about anything to avoid a confrontation with the bosses. And to make matters worse, there is an "opposition" of wannabe bureaucrats called "New Directions" which has dragged the union into the bosses' courts, suing Local 100 for $12 million!

Transit workers should ask themselves what kind of "opposition" looks to the courts to help out working people. Aren't these the same racist courts that are victimizing black transit worker James Frazier, while the NYPD killers who blew out his left eye go on terrorizing black and Hispanic New Yorkers? Aren't these the same capitalist courts that enforced the strikebreaking Taylor Law in 1980, imposing fines of two days' pay on TWU members for every day they stayed out?

The capitalist state is not a neutral umpire to be swayed by pleas for "justice" and "democracy." It is the bosses' weapon, and theirs alone. Inviting it to "intervene" in the unions is a criminal betrayal of labor struggle.

New Directions: "Nobody's Talking Strike Here!"

The New Directions (ND) lawsuit against Local 100 cites instances in which top union officials harassed ND members leafletting and attending union meetings. The suit is also based on a confrontation during the 1992 contract negotiations, when hundreds of angry transit workers, led by New Directions, marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to union headquarters in protest against the sellout deals of then-president Sonny Hall. Hall's vice president, Herbert Jones, called out the NYC cops to throw union members out of their own hall.

The incumbent bureaucracy's use of the brutal, racist NYPD against the membership was a genuine outrage. But the New Directions outfit demonstrated they are just the flip side of the same coin, appealing to the capitalist courts to enforce "union democracy," and trying to raid the union treasury to the tune of $12 million. ND leaders like "socialist" Naomi Allen and Steve Downs try to sell the lie that the suit wasn't against the union, just individual officers. This is a smokescreen, and in any case the complaint by five leaders of New Directions was filed "against Local 100, TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, Defendant."

Last week, the courts found in favor of New Directions. The bureaucrats-in-waiting were awarded...one dollar each. In yet another lawsuit, a federal judge recently ordered Local 100 to mail out an ND leaflet with the local election ballots. This outfit runs to courts so often that the New Directions newspaper, *Hell on Wheels*, might more appropriately be called *Lawyers on Wheels*.

New Directions postures as an alternative to Sonny Hall and his hand-picked successor Damaso Seda. But the "new direction" is right up Hall's alley. In the 1992 contract meeting, the Hall/Seda bureaucracy and its house "opposition" were on the same side when it came down to the question of a strike. When the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition in Local 100, demanded a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden to plan a strike, New Directions leader Corine Scott declared, "Nobody's talking strike here!"

New Directions' idea of a "strike" is the "job action" by prison guards at Rikers Island in 1990. New Directions *praised* the vicious screws, themselves a wing of the capitalist state, when they carried out a bloody, racist rampage against black and Hispanic prisoners and union EMS workers!

The *Hell on Wheels*/New Directions gang models itself on Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). From Democrat JFK to Republican Bush, the federal government has been hell-bent on smashing Teamster power. Under the cover of fighting "mob influence," TDU sued the union and collaborated with the feds in subjugating the Teamsters to government control. And TDU got a lot of help from a federal prosecutor named Rudy Giuliani, today the racist, union-busting mayor of New York.

Like the TDU, New Directions' appeals to "the law" reflect their faith in bourgeois justice and their fear of mobilizing the enormous power of the TWU against the Wall Street profiteers who have run New York City into the ground. New York transit workers can lead the city's unions, minorities and poor in a fight against the Democrats and Republicans, with their cutbacks, union-busting and racist cop terror. The elementary precondition for this is working-class independence from the ruling class and its parties.

But this can never be won with the kind of "leadership" offered by pro-Democrat "alternatives" like New Directions. By urging reliance on the state, the bosses' instrument of repression, New Directions betrays the aspirations of all the oppressed, which can only be achieved by sweeping away the decaying capitalist system. For a class-struggle leadership of the trade unions! Courts and cops out of the unions! ■

WV Photo

3 March 1992: Local 100 tops called on NYC cops to seal off TWU union hall against union membership. New Directions calls for bosses' courts to intervene in the union.

leaders paved the way for the new testing. Five years ago, drug and alcohol testing of 10 percent of NYC transit workers was imposed without a peep of opposition by the Local 100 tops. In fact, the TWU bureaucrats tried to palm off the drug witchhunt as a "health benefit" they'd "won" because they asked the company to test for cholesterol at the same time!

Whenever there is death on the tracks, the TWU tops have always exonerated the TA for the murderous conditions which cause these "accidents" in the first place, often joining the bosses in blaming the workers. In 1981, when Transit Authority bosses left motorman Jesse Cole bleeding to death in his train cab after a crash caused by faulty signals, thousands of transit workers demanded a workday protest to attend his funeral. The union tops spread false rumors that Cole's family didn't want them there, then held an "official" lunch-hour protest at TA headquarters the next day to blow off steam.

The labor tops act as the bosses' lieutenants in the war on drugs. They are in the hip pocket of the Democratic Party, which under Clinton is imposing the drug witchhunt and has carried out Wall Street's hellish austerity on the working people of New York. Today, NYC Republican mayor Rudy Giuliani is slashing city workers' jobs by the tens of thousands and making huge cuts in the city's mass transit budget.

Labor has the power and a life-and-death interest in stopping this new drug and alcohol witchhunt. Transportation and industry will never be safe in this country until the workers run it. Cities like New York must be rebuilt from the ground up—and underneath—with a massive program of public works providing jobs for all. That requires the abolition of the profit system and its replacement by a workers government which will rebuild industry through a socialist planned economy. ■

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Defend Teamster Jobs! Total Amnesty for All Strikers!

S.F. Press Bosses Hammer Newspaper Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, November 22—For eleven days, 2,600 newspaper workers at the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Examiner* struck together against a union-busting assault by the Hearst/Thieriot/DeYoung media barons. In the early morning hours of November 12, the labor tops of the Conference of Newspaper Unions (CNU) sealed a deal with management under the gun of SF mayor Frank Jordan. Admitting the economic package (a paltry 3 percent wage increase) was "modest," the bureaucrats claimed that they had won "Teamster job protections" for the drivers, whom management had targeted for 150-200 layoffs.

The newspaper unions' *Free Press* (12 November) proclaimed the "dramatic early morning agreement" a "victory for unions." But in the words of the *Liberated Free Press* (18 November)—which rightly notes that the *Free Press* was no strike paper but rather a newssheet about the "rich and famous"—the question on all newspaper workers' minds now is, "Are we going to LOSE the Newspaper Strike of 1994, AFTER we supposedly WON it?"

There is a seething sense of betrayal among the union ranks, particularly the Teamsters, as management spits on even the conditions of the rotten contract deal that was supposedly sealed. Several newspaper workers have told *WV* that they are sure that the press unions will go back out on strike, they are just waiting to get the call from their union leadership. Don't bet on it! While the bureaucrats cry that they were hoodwinked by the bosses, it was they who opened the door for management's union-busting assault.

The ink had barely dried on this sell-out deal when the press bosses' chief negotiator, Richard Jordan, announced that it allowed management to ax hundreds of Teamster jobs by simply not calling them back to work. To date, only 150 of the 635 Teamsters have been called back—many for only a day at a time. Drivers with over 15 years' seniority are still on the street. When Teamster Local 921 secretary-treasurer Andy Cirkelis went out to a newspaper warehouse in SF last week, he was surrounded by scabs and Huffmaster goons and hit in the face by a scab! Plainclothes Huffmaster strikebreakers equipped with cameras continue to patrol the lobby of *Chronicle* headquarters.

Management is going after union activists with a vengeance. Two unionists were fired (then changed to suspension pending arbitration) for "insulting" scab managers in the composing room. A member of the Newspaper Guild was suspended for a week (later changed to a day) for the same "crime." Reportedly one Teamster has been fired, and one union member said that 22 others have their necks on the line. Another Teamster was suspended with no reason given. Yesterday, the editor of the *Liberated Free Press* was fired.

The presses are running with half crews, as union members are subjected to harassment and speedup. A shop steward was sent home for using the word "scab." Even the boys and girls who deliver the papers are being fired! Some 35 strikers were arrested on the picket lines. Pressmen's Local 4 member Ed Rosario, singled out because he was a union spokesman at the Army Street picket line, was slapped with a frame-up felony charge of throwing a brick. At least two other strikers, who were provoked and assaulted by Huffmaster thugs, are also up on felony charges.

San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA) bigwig James Hale arrogantly sneers that the strike was a losing proposition for the Teamsters, who he says will lose even more jobs than had originally been threatened. But it doesn't stop with the Teamsters: management is waging an all-out war on *all* of the newspaper unions. Behind this are stories of maneuvers for a "one paper town." An article in the *Bay Guardian* (November 16) reports that in "an internal memo written by *Examiner* managing editor Phil Bronstein not long before the strike, Bronstein referred to 'the new world order' as a euphemism for a newspaper merger." The newspaper owners are out to decimate the unions so that they can reallocate the workforce *any way they want*.

WV Photo

***Chronicle/Examiner* Teamster strikers picket Pier 27 on October 31, successfully calling on longshoremen to "hot-cargo" scab newsprint.**

Bureaucratic Betrayal

The union tops even admit that *they knew of the companies' plans to cut jobs before the ratification meetings*. Northern California Newspaper Guild president Bill Wallace told the San Jose *Mercury-News* (17 November) that the companies' chief negotiator "told union officials that the newspaper agency, under the new contract, could eliminate 100 Teamster jobs by simply not calling all striking drivers back to work." Now management is driving a steamroller through contract language which they say gives them the right to determine how many workers are called back. At the same time, the bureaucrats' phony "amnesty" agreement—which outrageously excluded any striker convicted of a felony or who had "committed acts with the intent to cause bodily harm or serious property damage"—was a green light for management to set up, fire and harass union militants.

Speaking bitterly of the deal that went down in Frank Jordan's office, one union activist told the *Liberated Free Press*:

> "Too many decisions were made at the Mayor's Office after it shifted into that milieu. The contract wasn't really our choice. It was a done deal and we weren't in a position to say no. In general we won a defensive battle and we prevented the company from smashing us. In that, we won. But in so many of the things we wanted, we lost... It gives the company a hunting license to get us for doing absolutely nothing."

It is stark testimony to the endless sell-outs of the union tops that workers consider it a victory to emerge from a strike with their unions still intact. But even on this score, the SF newspaper workers are now finding out that they lost.

To defend the very existence of the unions requires the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that built them. But that is not going to happen under the current leadership. The newspaper union tops are yet again looking to the "good graces" of SF mayor Frank Jordan. They never wanted a strike, keeping the workforce on the job for over a year without a contract. When the strike finally began, they allowed scabs to cross picket lines at the printing plant on Army Street and preached that the strikebreaking cops and ex-police chief mayor Jordan were on labor's side.

As we wrote in our article, "Mobilize S.F. Labor to Win the Newspaper Strike!" (*WV* No. 610, 11 November):

> "This is class war, and for labor to prevail means going up against the press barons, their mayor, their cops, their strikebreaking thugs, their judges, their anti-labor laws. To do that requires bringing to bear the muscle of Bay Area organized labor in mass picket lines that no scab would dare to cross, to 'hot-cargo' (refuse to handle) newsprint and ink headed for the struck newspapers, to stop the printing and distribution of any scab papers."

Copies of *Workers Vanguard* were eagerly picked up by strikers. The program that we put forward for the newspaper unions laid the basis to fight back and *win*. In particular, the call for mass pickets intersected a felt sentiment among the strikers. Last Friday, a call was put out for strikers—and reportedly other unions as well—to mobilize at the Army Street plant on Saturday at 5 p.m. But picket lines were quickly disbanded in the early morning hours on Saturday—despite the fact that scab newspapers were still being produced and the union members had yet to vote on the settlement!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

What's needed is a mass meeting of the membership of all the newspaper unions. Press workers who went out together and fought in solidarity on the picket lines understood that they were fighting to defend their unions against an assault which they knew began with the layoff of Teamster drivers. Teamster Kent Wilson died on the picket line trying to shut down the distribution of the scab papers. There are plenty of good union militants who taught the scabs a lesson or two during the strike. But militancy is not enough. To really fight back and win requires a leadership that is imbued with the understanding that Frank Jordan, the cops and courts are not any "friends of labor"; that knows that real labor solidarity means labor *action* based on the old Wobbly slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all"; that understands that if labor is to win it must champion the rights of all the oppressed.

During the newspaper strike, a protest march of 600 largely Latino high school students demonstrating against the viciously anti-immigrant Prop. 187 joined the picket lines at 5th and Mission. This was a real act of solidarity, and it had better not be lost. The rulers whip up anti-immigrant racism in order to poison united labor struggle. Their claim that "illegals" are stealing jobs and are otherwise a "tax burden" on working people is a flat-out lie. They want to make immigrants the scapegoats for the capitalist economic crisis, which is particularly acute in California because of the collapse of "defense" production.

Many immigrant workers, who have been part of bloody battles against death squad dictatorships in their own countries, have led hard-fought battles for unionization in the United States. The bosses will no doubt try to use other, more atomized, immigrants to distribute the *Chronicle* and *Examiner*, as a club against the unions. Fight for their

continued on page 14

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Young Spartacus

L.A. SYC Speakout Against Racist Prop 187 Demands:

Drop the Charges Against the UCLA 26!

Steve Kim/Daily Bruin

Hundreds marched across UCLA campus November 17 to protest implementation of anti-immigrant Prop. 187. Below: After march, protesters seized Murphy Hall. Riot cops stormed sit-in, arresting 26.

On November 22, protesters rallied at UCLA against the cop assault and arrests of 26 demonstrators during a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall. The recent sit-in against racist Prop. 187 was attacked by UCLA riot police who dragged several activists out in handcuffs. The Spartacus Youth Club called for a speakout in the wake of the arrests, which included two members of the SYC. The earlier protest against the implementation of anti-immigrant Prop. 187 was initiated by the Human Rights Coalition, which includes MEChA, Asian Pacific Coalition and other groups. We reprint below the SYC leaflet.

Justin Warren/Daily Bruin

On November 17, a multiracial group of 80 demonstrators staged a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall against the implementation of racist Prop. 187. Acting upon Chancellor Young's orders, UCLA police in full riot gear descended on the protesters, handcuffing and arresting 26 including 2 members of the Spartacus Youth Club. Twenty-five of the UCLA 26 will stand trial at the WLA Courthouse on December 19th at 8:30 a.m. on charges of "failure to disperse." One protester is also charged with "trespassing."

This is an outrage! The SYC demands: Drop all charges against the UCLA 26! All opponents of anti-immigrant racism should come to this speakout to put forward their views and protest this political repression!

Before and after the passage of Prop. 187, high school and college student protesters have staged militant demonstrations against this racist anti-immigrant measure which, along with the racist "Three Strikes" Prop. 184, is a threat to all workers and minorities. **But to effect real change students must ally with the social power of the labor movement.** The multiracial working class produces the wealth of the capitalists and makes this city and country run. It has the social power to beat back the Democrats' and Republicans' racist war on immigrants through class struggle. The SYC is calling on campus and local unions, as well as student protesters from Cal State L.A. (some of whom were arrested in a recent protest) and other campuses to join in this speakout. A campus protest that united L.A. students with militant trade unionists would make a powerful statement.

Pleading with the administration to fight 187 is a dead end. University administrations under capitalism exist to run the campuses for the capitalist class as training grounds for the ideologues and administrators of their system. That means smashing student protest and increasingly making college a place for the rich and white. Remember the brutal cop attack on the Chicano studies protests in '93.

You can't wage class struggle in coalition with the racist anti-immigrant Democratic Party. From militarization of the border to South Africa-style pass law proposals, the Democrats, from Clinton to Brown and Feinstein have done their best to outdo the Republicans in immigrant bashing. The current labor misleaders are working overtime to funnel anger to keep a lid on struggle and push the dead end of electoralism as the solution. What is needed is a fight to oust the current labor leadership and build a class-struggle workers party that will mobilize labor's power in defense of all the oppressed and that will fight for a socialist revolution that can put an end to anti-immigrant racism for good.

- **Hands Off Anti-187 Protesters!**
- **Full Citizenship Rights for *All* Immigrants!**
- **Break with the Racist Democrats and Republicans!**
- **For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!**
- **For Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán!** ■

Join Us!

"I Will Fight for Communist Revolution..."

Attention comrades of the SYC:

We are in complete political agreement on the issues covered in the *Young Spartacus* section of *WV* 605. Furthermore, we agree on issues covered in your party line.

These are the primary reasons that I should join: The first is that I am a revolutionary communist and you are a revolutionary communist party. The question that could be posed to me, "Well comrade, there are a lot of self-proclaimed revolutionary communist parties, you could just as easily join them on the same basis that you say you should join us." But where your party is different is that you are the party of the Russian Revolution. And your party is the only one that is truly in the light of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. And unlike the SWP, your party does not rally behind reformist figures and reformist politics. And unlike the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, you have not applauded capitalist counterrevolution in the workers states. On the contrary, the SL/ICL gives full military support to all existing workers states, though they are deformed and in need of political restructuring.

I am set on being a professional revolutionary. I will fight for communist revolution until the working class liberates itself. There is not a single thing that is more important to humanity and its future than a revolution that will put the ownership of production in the hands of those who labor for production.

Because we both agree that this is true, there seems to be no reason that I should not join. Therefore, I should.

Joaquin (student and worker)
Los Angeles

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

ATLANTA
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.
December 1: *Building a Revolutionary Leninist Party*; Georgia State University, University Center, Room 204
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m., December 3
The Fight For Women's Liberation; December 17 *We Need an International Workers Party*; Sever Hall, Room 101, Harvard University, Harvard Yard, Cambridge
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
December 1: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; Spartacist Public Office, 161 W. Harrison, 10th floor
For more information: (312) 663-0715

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m., November 29: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Rolfe Hall, Room 3118, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
December 3: *Fight for the Communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky!*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St.
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
December 1: *Building the Revolutionary Party*; Student Union, Room B112, San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 777-9367

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m., December 3: *The Revolution Betrayed—How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Howard University, Blackburn Center, Room 142
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing

CHICAGO
Tuesday, November 29, 12:30 p.m.: "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal"; Circle Center, Room 324, University of Illinois at Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.

Continued from page 16

poor, Herrnstein and Murray recycle the discredited work of racist eugenicists like Arthur Jensen, who, beginning in 1969, sought to "prove" that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites. Then, in a breathtaking attempt to claim their findings are not racist, Murray and Herrnstein write, "We cannot think of a legitimate argument why any encounter between individual whites and blacks need be affected by the knowledge that" the difference in "measured intelligence is genetic instead of environmental."

Tell that to Rodney King or the millions of black people who are victimized every day by a society that "justifies" a whole system of racist degradation and state repression with the myth that blacks are "inferior." *The Bell Curve* serves to legitimize treating an entire generation of black people as a *surplus population*—an ideology for a government *policy* that can only be described as "Genocide U.S.A."

Shames/Matrix

From Clinton's vow to "end welfare as we know it" to *Bell Curve*'s call for "voluntary" sterilization of welfare mothers, there is a *bipartisan* consensus for war on the ghetto poor.

Follow the Money to the Third Reich

There is no "race gene." The genetic variation within any given ethnic group is as diverse as between one group and another. As R.C. Lewontin, an evolutionary geneticist and co-author of *Not in Our Genes* (Pantheon, 1984) remarked: "If the holocaust comes and a small tribe deep in the New Guinea forests are the only survivors, almost all the genetic variation now expressed among the innumerable groups of our four billion people will be preserved." Lewontin's 1972 study showed that *only 6 percent* of the genetic variations among human populations could be accounted for by "race," such as exist between Europeans and Asians. In other words, *race is meaningless as a "scientific" category*—Newt Gingrich or Jesse Helms may be genetically closer to an Australian aboriginal or a "gangsta rapper" in South-Central L.A. than to each other.

The egalitarian implications of Darwin's theory of evolution and the discovery that there is no biological basis for the supremacy of one class, nation or ethnic group over another is a powerfully dangerous idea to the capitalist rulers. Lest the producers of wealth recognize that they have a common enemy and it is not each other, the rulers strive to define the exploitative relations between people by ethnic groups and skin color. Thus ideologues for the American ruling class persist in seeking a "scientific" or "natural" reason for the ordering of capitalist society with whites on top and blacks on the bottom.

That science is not free from the taint of prejudice was most shamefully exposed in the "Piltdown Man" scandal. Some English paleoanthropologists thought the "white man's burden" of brutally colonizing vast expanses of India, Asia and Africa would be served by proving that, if man were descended from ape, at least the earliest *Englishman* was blessed with a brain remarkably larger than any other skulls unearthed in archeological research. This "scientific truth" endured for *40 years* until the Piltdown skull was proved to be a hoax involving a modern human cranium attached to the jaw of an orangutan!

The sources behind Murray and Herrnstein are as tainted as the artfully stained Piltdown Man. Murray and Herrnstein conducted no original research in genetics or biology for their book—nor could they. Herrnstein was trained in psychology and Murray has a degree in political science. Their arsenal of "facts," graphs, charts and tables is all based on research done by others. A devastating exposé in the *New York Review of Books* (1 December) by Charles Lane reveals the nest of neo-Nazi apologists and ultrarightist crackpots who constitute the all-important sources for *The Bell Curve*.

The sources cited most frequently in *The Bell Curve* are associated with a racist fraud masquerading as an "anthropological journal" called *Mankind Quarterly* which was founded to combat "Communist" and "egalitarian" influences. *MQ*'s founder, Robert Gayre, was a champion of South African apartheid and white supremacy in Rhodesia and has publicly stated that blacks are "worthless." *MQ*'s other founders include Columbia University's Henry E. Garrett, a former pamphleteer for White Citizen's Councils, who argued for racist segregation in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit. Corrado Gini, a leader of the eugenics movement in Mussolini's Italy, and Ottmar von Verschuer, a mentor of Nazi Dr. Mengele, round out the list of *MQ*'s founder-"scholars." Today *MQ* is run by Roger Pearson—a man whose résumé includes the astonishing achievement of being elbowed out of the Moonie-infested World Anti-Communist League for being too far to the right! The linkheaded thugs of the fascist British National Front recommend *MQ* as a rattling good read.

Richard Lynn is an associate editor of *Mankind Quarterly* and is cited 24 times in *The Bell Curve*. Lynn is a mouthpiece for fascist genocide. In 1972 he wrote, "Evolutionary progress means the extinction of the less competent. To think otherwise is mere sentimentality." He also argues that the Holocaust may have improved the Jewish gene pool by providing "intermittent persecutions which the more intelligent may have been able to foresee and escape" (*Mankind Quarterly*, Fall/Winter 1990). The Canadian crackpot J. Philippe Rushton is cited eleven times in *The Bell Curve*. Rushton believes blacks are genetically predisposed to sexual excess and argues, "It's a trade-off: more brain or more penis. You can't have everything" (*Rolling Stone*, 10 November). Murray and Herrnstein have declared Rushton's work "convincing" and "plainly science."

Mankind Quarterly is bankrolled by the Pioneer Fund, an ultraright New York-based foundation. The Fund's founding president, Harry Hamilton Laughlin, crusaded and convinced Congress to adopt the Immigration Restriction Act on the grounds that Jews and other immigrants were "feeble-minded." Laughlin was also instrumental in pushing for the law under which tens of thousands of "unfit" U.S. citizens (i.e., the homeless, the poor, the "insane") were sterilized. In his 1927 Supreme Court decision upholding Virginia's sterilization laws (*Buck v. Bell*), Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes thundered:

> "It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind.... Three generations of imbeciles are enough."

This law served as the model for 1933 Nazi legislation which resulted in the sterilization of more than two million people deemed subhuman *Untermenschen*. Charles Murray echoes the racist eugenicists of the Third Reich in arguing for sterilization of welfare recipients today:

> "The most efficient way to raise the IQ of a society is for smarter women to have higher birth rates than duller women . . . The United States already has policies that inadvertently social-engineer who has babies, and it is encouraging the wrong women.... The technically precise description of America's fertility policy is that it subsidizes births among poor women, who are also disproportionately at the low end of the intelligence distribution."

Murray likes to portray himself as an All-American corn-fed boy straight out of a Norman Rockwell painting, but it's another Rockwell—George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi Party leader—who comes to mind upon hearing tales of Murray's youth. Just for "kicks," the young Charles Murray staged a huge cross-burning in his hometown of Newton, Iowa, terrorizing the only two black families in town. Murray served as a counterinsurgency expert for U.S. imperialism in Thailand during the Vietnam War, a country that was virtually transformed into a laboratory for U.S. techniques in genocide. Now from the comfort of an armchair at the American Enterprise Institute, Murray contemplates sterilizing the poor and closing America's borders to immigrants who flunk racist "competency" tests.

The hereditarian rightists cited in *The Bell Curve* have received some four million dollars from the Pioneer Fund. *The Bell Curve*'s main source for its racist IQ theories is the notorious Arthur Jensen who has already received $1.1 million from the Pioneer Fund. The Pioneer Fund's current goals include ending racial integration in America and stopping the flow of immigrants. The Pioneer Fund subsidizes the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and anti-Hispanic (and anti-Catholic) racist "English Only" groups. Bankrolling the ultraright ideologues is the Pioneer Fund's investment in an "Aryan" American future. In Charles Murray they've found a dangerous propagandist and demagogue for social engineering.

In his definitive debunking of the hereditarian theory of IQ, Stephen Jay Gould exposed how Murray's predecessors built the scaffolding for a government policy which abetted the genocide of Hitler's Third Reich. Discriminatory screening of immigrants meant:

> "The quotas stood, and slowed immigration from southern and eastern Europe to a trickle. Throughout the 1930s, Jewish refugees, anticipating the holocaust, sought to emigrate, but were not admitted. The legal quotas, and continuing eugenical propaganda, barred them even in years when inflated quotas for western and northern European nations were not filled. We know what happened to many who wished to leave but had nowhere to go. The paths to destruction are often indirect, but ideas can be agents as sure as guns and bombs."
>
> —*The Mismeasure of Man*
> (W.W. Norton, 1981)

The Uses and Abuses of IQ Tests

Intelligence is not quantifiable as a single trait, nor can it be measured as a single quality. The "hard science" of hereditarians like Charles Spearman, who claimed to discover what he dubbed the "g" factor as a measure of intelligence, is as fuzzy as a cotton ball. Mostly what IQ tests measure is...how well an individual can take an IQ test and how well they are accustomed to the culture of the test givers.

The intellectual competence of immigrants arriving at New York's Ellis Island, for instance, was tested by asking them to fill in what was missing from a series of pictures. A Sicilian man, logically enough for someone from his cultural background, drew a crucifix on the roof of the house pictured on his test. Yet the only "correct" answer was a chimney! One can imagine the bewilderment of East European peasants faced with pictures of women in bowling alleys. The idiocies of intelligence testing were humorously captured by the educator and social reformer John Dewey:

> "This intelligence-testing business reminds me of the way they used to weigh hogs in Texas. They would get a long plank, put it over a cross-bar, and somehow tie the hog on one end of the plank. They'd search all around till they found a stone that would balance the weight of the hog and they'd put that on the other end of the plank. Then they'd guess the weight of the stone."

The IQ test was based on the Binet scale, a series of questions designed by French psychiatrist Alfred Binet to evaluate cognitive and reasoning disabilities in children *in order to design remedial programs to assist them*. Binet argued *against* the notion that intelligence could be measured as a single quantity and showed through his work that intelligence could be improved with opportunity and instruction. Yet the Binet scale was popularized in America as a means

to *limit, segregate* and *control* perceived "threats" to the white Anglo-Saxon ruling class. Against a background of an increasingly discontented working class, the IQ test also became a method for "justifying" *class* boundaries.

In 1917-1919, Lewis Terman and Richard Yerkes turned the Binet scale into a multimillion-dollar test industry in the United States by convincing employers that without proper placement and training, "dumb" workers could "drift easily into the ranks of the anti-social or join the army of Bolshevik discontents." The mass testing of Army recruits in World War I served to whip up a hysteria over becoming "a nation of morons" with successive waves of immigrants. Headlines screaming, "Can Democracy Survive an Average Age of 13?" are an indication of the climate that led directly to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924.

Biological determinism is a bogus theory to limit opportunity and justify the inequalities of the status quo. According to determinists like Murray and Herrnstein, the laboring masses were made for drudgery while the ruling class was, conveniently, born to rule. Whatever role genetics plays in intelligence, it has been shown again and again, and in opposition to the biological determinists, that environment and opportunity literally change the score.

Today, Murray and Herrnstein argue that remedial programs for inner-city children like Head Start should be scrapped because "public policy towards the disadvantaged starts from the premise that interventions can make up for genetic or environmental disadvantages, and that premise is overly optimistic." What a false *but convenient* "theory" for a ruling class that no longer wants to spend money educating poor black children because there are no jobs to train them for—the ruling class only invests what it can reap back in profit. The determinists' "theory" is refuted by the example of black workers during World War II. When the ruling class needed labor for the war industries, millions of blacks migrated from the rural South to the North and West, were taught to read and write in a matter of months and went on to become high-grade shipbuilders and mechanics.

Moreover, the Head Start program *works*! Murray and Herrnstein argue that the supposed inherent inferiority of the poor is seen in the evidence that children who benefit from these programs fail once they return to the hellholes that pass for schools in the ghettos. If anything, this is an argument that environment, not genetics, is critical to intellectual development. Indeed, it appears that the most heritable quality about IQ may be a big bank account, because if you're born rich then you will get good schooling and be better able to score well on IQ tests! Imagine a social experiment—let's call it "Head Down"—in which all the children from all the poshest private schools swap places with all the children crammed into crumbling classrooms in the mean cities across America. Of course, if there's any merit to the biological determinist argument, there would be no change in IQ test scores. But wanna bet which kids make it to Harvard and Yale as a result of this experiment?

Murray and Herrnstein also resurrect the Italian eugenicist Cesare Lombroso's "theory" of the "born criminal" which was used to justify the death penalty in the last century. As American prisons fire up electric chairs from coast to coast, Murray and Herrnstein pop up with a theory of inherent criminality which could be used to justify "legal lynching" by the capitalist state today. They write:

> "To a person of low intelligence, the threats of apprehension and prison may fade to meaninglessness.... They find it harder to understand why robbing someone is wrong...and are accordingly less inhibited from acting in ways that are hurtful to other people and to the community at large... The people who lapse into criminal behavior are distinguishable from the population at large in their distribution of intelligence."

By these lights, the ruling class must be inherently criminal—and stupid. The millionaire WASP politicians who inhabit Capitol Hill and the halls of Congress have hilked millions through the savings and loan scandal, gutted Social Security, destroyed schools and hospitals, wrecked the industrial infrastructure of this country through their own corporate greed, and generally robbed from the poor to give to the rich any way they can. But we have a different proposal for dealing with this: *break the power of the ruling class by fighting for a society where those who labor rule.*

Frederick Douglass on "Scientific" Apologies for Slavery

"Pride and selfishness, combined with mental power, never want for a theory to justify them—and when men oppress their fellow-men, the oppressor ever finds, in the character of the oppressed, a full justification for his oppression. Ignorance and depravity, and the inability to rise from degradation to civilization and respectability, are the most usual allegations against the oppressed. The evils most fostered by slavery and oppression, are precisely those which slaveholders and oppressors would transfer from their system to the inherent character of their victims. Thus the very crimes of slavery become slavery's best defense. By making the enslaved a character fit only for slavery, they excuse themselves for refusing to make the slave a freeman. A wholesale method of accomplishing this result, is to overthrow the instinctive consciousness of the common brotherhood of man. For, let it be once granted that the human race are of multitudinous origin, naturally different in their moral, physical, and intellectual capacities, and at once you make plausible a demand for classes, grades and conditions, for different methods of culture, different moral, political, and religious institutions, and a chance is left for slavery, as a necessary institution."

—from "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered"
(address delivered at Western Reserve College, 12 July 1854)

Frederick Douglass House

Young Socialist

Memphis, 1968: Black sanitation strikers declared, "I Am a Man," protesting racist degradation in face of National Guard repression.

The Legacy of Slavery

The ideology of racial inferiority and a master race originated in the American antebellum South as the justification for chattel slavery. The Civil War smashed the slave system, and Radical Reconstruction was about the freest and most egalitarian period in American history. But the systematic oppression of black people as a forcibly segregated *race-color caste* is fundamental to the American capitalist system in every sphere: in jobs, housing, education, and even personal relations. Thus the obsession with race and the ideology of white supremacy endured.

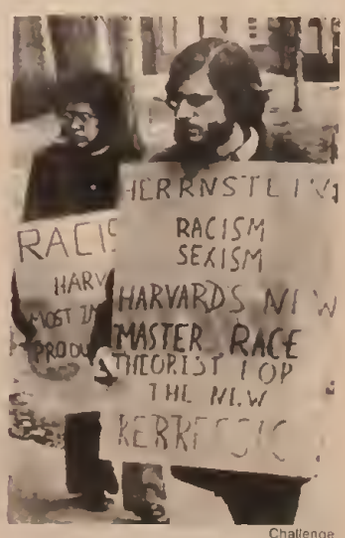
Just as the myth of the master race was copied by German fascism, so too did the Nazi Party and Hitler's stormtroopers find their historical antecedents in the Ku Klux Klan. The gruesome experiments of the Nazi doctors in testing for "pure Aryans" and sterilizing those labeled "genetically inferior" are known and reviled as war crimes. But what of the forced sterilization of *60,000* Americans on the pretext that they were genetically inferior? At what is now called the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, disease among black people was deliberately spread in the infamous Tuskegee experiment in which 400 sharecroppers and laborers with syphilis were watched for *40 years*—and untreated for 30 years after a cure was found! These men suffered hideously and were lied to that their problem was in their genes, that they had "bad blood."

In a 1954 lecture on "Race and Capitalism," veteran American Trotskyist Richard Fraser laid bare the legacy of slavery in capitalist America as "color discrimination buttressed by segregation and race prejudice." Fraser noted:

> "Race thus became a fetish of American capitalism, a system of special exploitation based upon the social relations and customs of a previous mode of production, which had itself been an abomination to society. Stripped of scientific justification, what then remains of *race*? Race is a relation between people based upon the needs of capitalist exploitation. The race concept in anthropology grew out of the social relations of slavery. It was congealed by the adaptation of these obsolete social relations to the needs of capitalist production.
> "The concept of race has now been overthrown in biological science. But *race* as the keystone of exploitation remains. Race is a social relation and has only a social reality."
>
> —"In Memoriam: Richard S. Fraser: An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," *Prometheus Research Series 3 (1990)*

The yawning gulf of inequalities and devastation of human life cannot be redressed with piecemeal reforms. Today the liberals try to outdo the conservatives with "get tough on crime" rhetoric—and the result was the 1994 midterm elections, a triumph of the far, far right. Yesterday the liberals pleaded to "throw money" at problems...and you can certainly ameliorate many problems with money. But the fundamental inequality of this society cannot be redressed through reforms, because you cannot have a radical redistribution of wealth in a system based on private ownership of the means of production. The vast majority who *produce* the wealth of society are robbed of the fruits of their labor by the capitalist ruling class.

To do away with the system of racial oppression and class exploitation requires a thoroughgoing proletarian socialist revolution. Only then will the ideal of equality held out by the French Revolution, and the promise of black freedom held out by the victory in the Civil War against slavery, be realizable. By smashing the color line once and for all through revolutionary integration into a socialist America, we can forge a society dedicated to an expansion of human freedom and potential. It is to this task that the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■



Challenge

Publication of Herrnstein's racist views prompted protests of his lectures at Harvard in 1971.

Young Spartacus Corrections

We would like to make a few minor corrections to articles that appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 609.

In "Mississippi: Racist 'Desegregation' Scheme Threatens Black Colleges," striking rubber workers from Huntsville, Alabama were erroneously placed in Huntington.

In the article, "Trouble in SWP Over 'Federal Troops to Pensacola'," we incorrectly referred to Little Rock High School; it is Central High School.

In the report from the Columbus anti-fascist conference, supporters of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition had their car pulled over in Illinois, not Ohio, as we had misstated.

Spartacist League Debates Ernest Mandel

WV Photos

United Secretariat spokesman Ernest Mandel (left) and Joseph Seymour of International Communist League debate before 400 people in New York City, November 11.

Some 400 people packed the auditorium of Public School 41 in New York City November 11 for a rare and important debate on revolutionary strategy featuring the International Communist League, represented by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, and Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). This was the largest gathering here in years of those claiming adherence to Trotskyism, which was the continuation of the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

Organized by the Spartacist League and co-chaired by representatives of the ICL and the USec, the meeting was organized in the best traditions of workers democracy. The main speakers had equal presentation and rebuttal time. Twenty speakers from the floor alternated between supporters of the USec, the ICL and other tendencies present, including the League for a Revolutionary Party, Bolshevik Tendency, Freedom Socialist Party and International Trotskyist Opposition.

From the ICL's inception as the Revolutionary Tendency, expelled from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963, we have insisted on the need for a political fight to the finish against the revisionist current authored by Michel Pablo and backed up by Mandel, which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Reacting impressionistically to the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in East Europe and China and the growth of Stalinist parties in Europe following World War II, Pablo and his followers decided to dump the Trotskyist program. As international secretary of the Fourth International, Pablo directed Trotskyists to liquidate organizationally and programmatically into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, with the aim of pressuring them onto a "roughly revolutionary" course. This perspective denied the very basis for the Fourth International, founded in 1938 as a Leninist vanguard to provide revolutionary leadership to the international proletariat, whose Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders had betrayed workers' struggles on behalf of "democratic" capitalism.

In our struggle to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International, we welcomed this opportunity to politically confront Mandel, the foremost exponent of Pabloism today. The centrist Mandel, while making ritual genuflections toward Marxist phraseology, has in his practice moved far to the right. Speaking first in the debate, Mandel in his presentation wrote off any possibility of proletarian revolution in the coming period. "The crisis of mankind, of human civilization," he remarked, "will last for a long time." For Mandel, this is only logical, as he long since abandoned the key tenet of Trotsky's Transitional Program, which declared that "the crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

Mandel objected to our statement that "The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe" (from "Workers Struggle Across Europe," *Workers Vanguard* No. 592, 21 January 1994). "This is wrong," he said. "The principal feature of the world situation is the worldwide offensive of capital against labor," ignoring the connection between the anti-labor offensive and the collapse of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. In his typical objectivist fashion, Mandel claimed the key was "the current long depressive wave of capitalism." As always, he writes off the role of the revolutionary party and its program.

Having taken proletarian revolution off the agenda, Mandel lapsed into pure reformism: "The strategic goal should become the one of avoiding, at all costs, a nuclear war, and suppressing all nuclear power stations." This remark reveals more than the "greening" of Ernest Mandel. Here he echoes the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky, whose pacifist claim that imperialist war can be stopped short of the working class coming to power was powerfully refuted by Lenin.

In his presentation, comrade Seymour noted that Mandel's USec, formed in 1963 as a bloc between Pablo's tendency and the rightward-moving SWP, "has always been and only aspires to be a pressure group on various reformist, petty-bourgeois radical and bourgeois nationalist currents. In fact, over the decades Mandel has tried literally everything *except* building a proletarian vanguard party." In the present period, the United Secretariat "has liquidated itself into and seeks to build up international Social Democracy, which now includes the many ex-Stalinist parties."

"They long to be comrades with the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who are now joined by the heirs to the murderers of Trotsky," Seymour continued. "Well, we of the International Communist League have taken a different road." He quoted from the Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarcho-syndicalist Internationals, as on their centrist satellites." "We aim," he summarized, "to reforge a Fourth International that will politically destroy once and for all the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky."

Program Is Key

For Trotskyists, the key to the debate topic, "The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today," is *what program* can lead the working class to power. Yet one of the main themes of Mandel and his supporters was ridiculing the ICL's insistence on building a programmatically firm party. In listing an "inextricable knot of contradictions" supposedly besetting the Spartacists, Mandel included our "obsession with correct formulas."

One of his jabs echoed the old canard: if you're so smart, why aren't you rich? "If after more than half a century of revolutions and counterrevolutions, real Trotskyism, which the Spartacists claim to be the only ones to represent, is reduced to a couple of hundred people in the whole world, with no real implantation in the working class of any country, this would prove the basic historical failure of Trotskyism as a political movement." This "argument" is drawn straight from the Stalinists' cynical arsenal against Trotskyism.

Mandel contrasted the ICL's supposed "irrelevance" to the USec's "influence." "We have two MPs [members of parliament] elected in Europe," although, he admitted, "comrade Winnie Wolf" resigned from the USec once he was elected to the German Bundestag on the ticket of the PDS—the party that sold out the East German deformed workers state in 1990! "We have many MPs in Brazil.... We have dozens of municipal and regional councilors." What they clearly have is an appetite for the "big time" of reformist parliamentary politics.

Mandel did finally touch on some of the programmatic issues in dispute. He portrayed our defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution as "pro-Stalinist," denouncing in particular our support to Polish general Jaruzelski's countercoup against Lech Walesa's Solidarność when it attempted to seize power in December 1981.

He closed by noting "a victory of truly historical dimensions": the "complete political rehabilitation" of Trotsky and his followers by the Soviet military and the newspaper *Izvestia* in 1990. The ICL argued at the time that Trotsky is in no need of a certificate of good conduct from the heirs of his Stalinist assassins, who were, moreover, at that very moment paving the way for Yeltsinite counterrevolution!

Comrade Seymour focused on key strategic issues for communists today: the popular front—a coalition tying the workers parties to the bourgeoisie—and the "Russian question," i.e., the Marxist analysis and program on the degenerated and deformed workers states. Trotsky fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration and for workers political revolution

to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On these and other questions, Seymour remarked, "Mandel has prostituted the moral authority of Trotskyism." The USec was founded on the basis of political support to Castro's Stalinist regime in Cuba and championing the petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla war exemplified by Che Guevara. The Spartacists fought the USec's abandonment of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, which holds that only the proletariat, leading the peasantry, can carry out the democratic tasks in colonial countries through socialist revolution. We upheld the need for a Leninist vanguard party, while the USec looked to the petty-bourgeois nationalists as a substitute for the working class. While fighting for unconditional military defense of Cuba against Yankee imperialism, we called for workers political revolution from Moscow to Havana, and extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers as the only real defense of the revolution. While Mandel espoused armchair guerrillaism, some of his comrades actually tried to put the USec's stated program into practice, and perished in Bolivia and other countries.

Following this debacle, in 1970 the USec hailed Salvador Allende's Chilean Unidad Popular, a classic popular front. Seymour noted how the USec's star French section openly hailed Allende's election, while the Spartacist League, basing itself on Trotsky's lessons of the disastrous experience of the 1930s popular fronts in France and Spain, warned against any support to this bourgeois coalition, which politically disarmed the working class. Tragically, the Chilean popular front proved even more suicidal than Guevara's guerrillaism, with tens of thousands of militants killed after the 1973 Pinochet coup.

The Russian Question, Front and Center

The ICL spokesman pointed to Mandel's support to pro-imperialist dissidents in the guise of supporting "democracy" in the Soviet bloc. This reached the point that in 1989 the USec's *International Viewpoint* uncritically published an article praising the Estonian "Forest Brothers," fascists who fought alongside Hitler's SS in World War II. Seymour noted, "During the period of Cold War II, Mandel and his cothinkers never met a non-Russian, anti-Communist nationalist in East Europe they didn't like...of course, in the name of democracy, national independence and anti-Stalinism."

In the late 1970s, the USec jumped aboard U.S. president Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" offensive, which conditioned the rise of pro-capitalist Solidarność in Poland. "Mandel and his cothinkers supported Solidarność with a fervor equal to that of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher," Seymour noted. In his quest for "influence," Mandel was swimming *with the stream*, getting into bed with Cold War social democrats like France's Mitterrand and the German and Swedish union bureaucracies. Seymour recalled that Mandel dubbed Walesa & Co. "'the best socialists in the world'—doubtless because they openly rejected socialism." In contrast, we said: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" Seymour quoted from a 1981 *Workers Vanguard* article that portrayed the likely outcome of Solidarność' coming to power:

> "Foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale.... Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off.... Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of 'Western-style democracy.'"
>
> —*WV* No. 289,
> 25 September 1981

"What honest and objective person would today deny that what we predicted would happen in 1981...has in fact happened," he asked.

When the fate of the deformed and degenerated workers states hung in the balance in Germany in 1989-90, Seymour continued, the ICL mobilized all the forces at its disposal, intervening with a program for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils. We stood unconditionally against the imperialist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the DDR. And we initiated the call for the January 1990 united-front demonstration that brought out 250,000 against the fascist defacing of the Treptow Soviet war memorial in East Berlin and in defense of the DDR.

In contrast, the United Secretariat was totally paralyzed. An ICL speaker subsequently noted from the floor USec right-winger Matti's description of their *two* lines on German reunification: "One section wanted to drink champagne; the other section wanted to have Alka-Seltzer," she remarked. "But nobody wanted to have a revolutionary intervention into that nascent political revolution."

Having supported counterrevolutionary forces from Walesa to the capitalist-restorationist rabble on Yeltsin's barricades in front of the Moscow White House in August 1991, the USec now denies that capitalism has been restored in these countries. Their criteria is the social-democratic rationale that most industry is still nationalized. After noting that the USec refused to defend the Soviet Union over Afghanistan, and indeed even called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops fighting CIA-backed, woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists, an ICL speaker remarked in the discussion, "Strangely enough, the USec defends the Soviet Union when it doesn't exist as a workers state. Think about that."

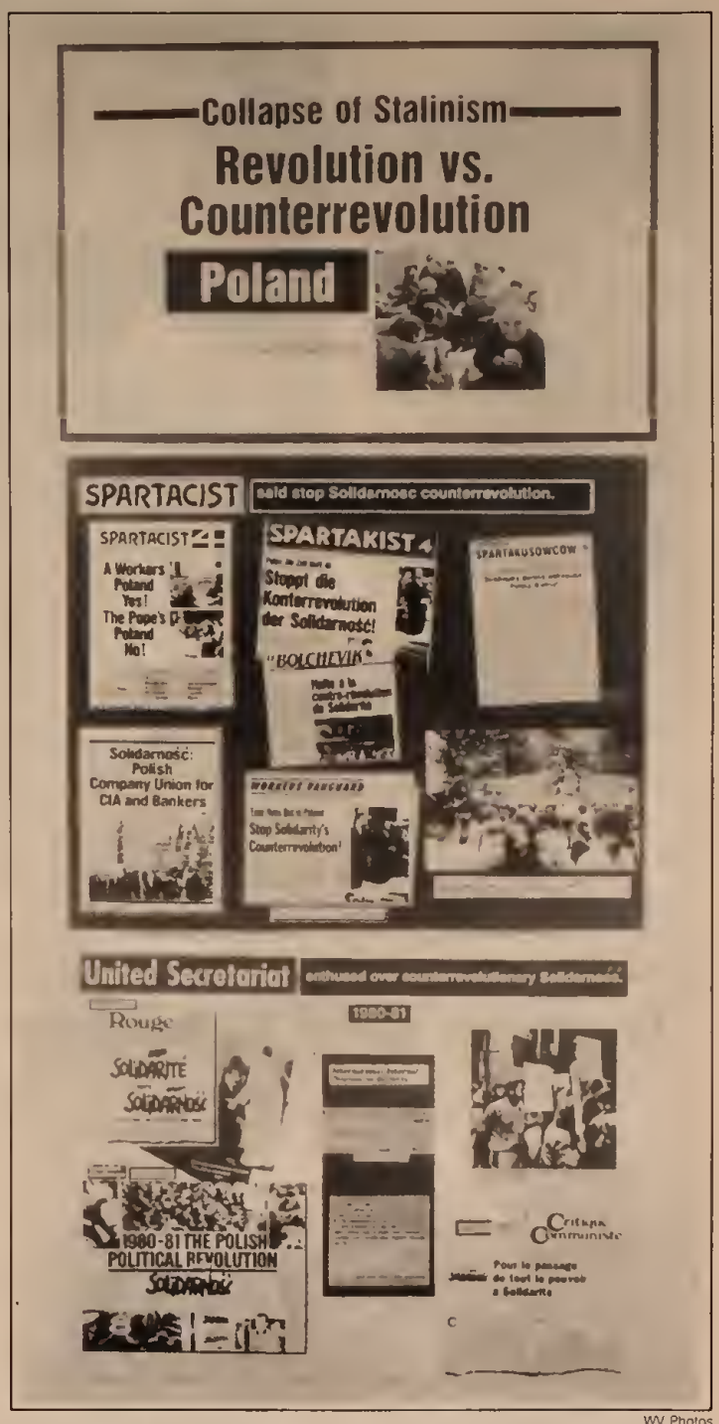
Most recently, in the former Yugoslavia, the USec has lined up with "democratic" imperialism through the "International Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign. Marxists regard this fratricidal civil war as reactionary on all sides, while calling for defense of the Serbs against imperialist attack. However, Seymour noted, the USec's *International Viewpoint* "boasts that its supporters have run convoys of trucks into Bosnia protected by the UN imperialist forces. One report even lauds 'the genuine efforts of many of the UN staff and soldiers who helped us.' So here you have not only direct support to a bourgeois-nationalist regime, but direct appeals for military action by its imperialist sponsors."

Trotskyism vs. USec Opportunism

Spartacist interventions from the floor fleshed out the USec's anti-Trotskyist record of capitulation and tailism. Yet none of Mandel's cothinkers, some with many decades of political experience, even attempted to argue their positions, instead protesting that these were 20-year-old questions and lecturing us for being "rude." If Mandel adopted the scholastic style of European academia, his American supporters came off as U.S.-centered parochialists, and pretty demoralized ones at that. As for their lessons in etiquette, many of the USec speakers learned their "method" in the SWP during the anti-Vietnam War movement, when the SWP led goon squads against Progressive Labor, the Spartacist League and others opposed to their popular-front coalitions with Democratic Party "doves."

Trotsky wrote, "The centrist frequently covers up his dawdling by referring to the danger of 'sectarianism,' by which he understands not abstract propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency and organizational completeness." Indeed, one USec supporter after another rose to denounce the ICL's "inflexibility" and "scary uniformity"—i.e., a principled commitment to upholding a revolutionary program. Steve Bloom of

continued on page 12



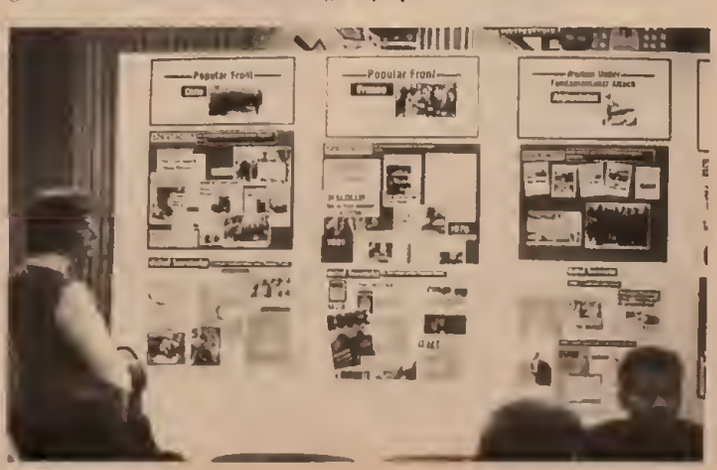
WV Photos

At the debate, displays contrasted the Trotskyist program of the International Communist League with the centrist politics of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec).

•Poland (above): USec proclaimed "Solidarity with Solidarność," describing this anti-Communist movement backed by CIA and Vatican as "one of the highest forms of proletarian activity and self-organization which the world has seen since the Russian revolution." Spartacists declared, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution," warning that victory for Walesa & Co. would spell misery for workers, women.

•Popular Front (below): Displays show USec's zigzags over support to Allende's popular front in Chile, and its embrace of Mitterrand's Union of the Left in France. The ICL called for no political support to these class-collaborationist coalitions which shackled workers, paving the way for rightist reaction.

•Afghanistan (below, right): USec capitulated to imperialist furor, demanding, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan." The ICL said, "Hail Red Army!" and called to extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples.



Debate...

(continued from page 11)

BIDOM and Solidarity said, "I would suggest that the Spartacists' main point of pride, their steadfastness and unwaveringness on the program, is in fact the clearest indictment of their method." Next up for the Mandelites, Paul Le Blanc, who co-chaired the meeting, asked, "In terms of the kind of practical work to build a mass workers movement that can win, what are you doing?" Later, Dorothy Breitman accused the SL of "denouncing whatever activity was going on because it didn't promote a complete revolutionary program," and asked the speakers to define the "distinction between the program of the united front and that of the party."

A Freedom Socialist Party speaker echoed this theme. But she added concerning the USec, "I would have to agree with the Spartacist League speakers who have characterized the USec as becoming ever more accommodating, especially since the crack-up of the Soviet Union." Mandel's current strategy "is based on the idea that now we're going to have a century of neo-fascism." (In the 1950s, Pablo/Mandel's opponents characterized the Pabloite perspective as "centuries of deformed workers states.") Revealing her own tailist politics, she said, "We are calling on the Cubans also, and on Castro, to lend the authority of the Cuban workers state to the call for a new International." But reality is going the other way—the besieged Castro regime, which last year legalized the holding of dollars, has offered to drop "socialism" in exchange for imperialist assent to Cuban independence.

WV Photo

During discussion, Spartacist speaker denounced USec's bowing to imperialism over Afghanistan.

Responding to the charge of Spartacist "abstentionism," ICL speakers pointed to our record of organizing united-front actions based on the power of the integrated labor movement against fascist terror, from Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Springfield, Illinois last January. Most recently in Berkeley, the Spartacus Youth Club initiated a protest that shut down a Nazi gathering featuring Hitlerite "historian" David Irving. A trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League asked pointedly, "Where and when has the United Secretariat ever tried to carry out Trotsky's strategy of proletarian-centered struggle against fascism?"

In his presentation, Mandel made a great deal of accusing the Spartacist League of covering up a betrayal by the French Lambertistes, who supported the Algerian nationalist MNA during the independence struggle in the 1950s. MNA leader Messali Hadj ended up embracing de Gaulle and French imperialism. The putative basis for Mandel's attack was the fact that we solidarize with the International Committee formed in 1954 by the SWP, Lambert's group and the British Healy group to oppose Pabloite revisionism. Mandel's transparent purpose was to throw up a smokescreen to obscure the Pabloites' own ardent political support to the bourgeois-nationalist Algerian FLN regime.

In fact, the Spartacist tendency has a highly critical assessment of the Lambert group over Algeria. A June 1992 public educational of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the ICL, documented in detail how the Lambertistes fronted for Messali Hadj right up to the point where he openly landed in the colonialist camp. An LTF spokesman summed up, "Lambert became the lawyer, the spokesman for Messali Hadj's line, during this whole period."

During the floor discussion at the debate, an ICL speaker answered Mandel:

> "As he knows, we have nothing whatever to do with Lambert's support to Messali Hadj. We in fact militarily support the forces of liberation against French imperialism.... But what was the United Secretariat position? Your organization politically backed a wing of the FLN, the bourgeois nationalists, from the mid-'50s on.... [The USec] criminally promoted the lie that the colonial national liberation movements could transform into socialist revolution, without the intervention of a revolutionary Marxist party, a working-class party leading the peasantry. And perhaps comrade Mandel fondly remembers Algeria as the case where Pablo himself got to implement the Pabloite line—as a dual member of both the Ben Bella government and the USec, running capitalist Algeria—oh, pardon me, building Algerian 'socialism,' he called it. Now, that's 'influence' for you."

Our comrade noted that the USec readmitted Pablo into its ranks last year, and that the Algerian USec group alternates between supporting the bourgeois army regime and marching with the Islamic fundamentalist FIS.

Another ICL speaker exposed the USec's tailing of popular fronts in Mexico, where the PRT supported the bourgeois populist party of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and Brazil. When a leftist tendency opposed the formation of a popular front by Lula's Brazilian Workers Party (PT) in 1989, a leader of the USec's "Socialist Democracy" (!) current in the PT, João Machado, was sent in to purge them. Out of these militants came the Luta Metalúrgica group, which recently established fraternal relations with the International Communist League.

An interesting view into the USec was provided by a supporter of the International Trotskyist Opposition, who spoke as a neutral, even though the ITO describes itself as a tendency in the USec. For the most part she defended Mandel, who, she said, "has taken some correct positions" inside the USec, including "on the question of the popular front in Mexico around Cárdenas, on the question of the popular front in Brazil around Lula, on the question of anti-Stalinist adaptation to imperialism around Serbia, and also, he's opposed the liquidation of the USFI [USec] that's being advocated by the majority leadership into movements of Social Democracy." But, she added, "unfortunately Mandel has had a historic political problem of being able to wage those struggles consistently." You don't say.

Mandel has often polemicized against the more egregious right-wing tendencies in the USec—only to leave his own supporters hanging out on a limb to be chopped off. This is an "International" which frequently has several warring factions and even separate sections in one country, based on conflicting opportunist appetites. In the 1975 upheaval in Portugal, where the reformist Communist Party in a bloc with leftist military officers was pitted against the imperialist-supported Socialist Party, the USec split into two sections, lining up literally on opposite sides of real barricades. Elsewhere, in Iran, *both* USec groups, the HKE and HKS, supported Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," even as the mullahs' regime arrested and shot their comrades.

Mandel has politically sacrificed several generations of would-be Trotskyist militants in his quest for illusory "influence." USec sections are created and destroyed over and over again as Mandel pursues a Kautskyan program of "unity" with Maoists, Greens, social democrats, etc. And the more right-wing, the "broader" the lash-up, the better—until the inevitable splits. Within the USec, leftists have had a hapless lot. In the mid-'70s, the Mandelite Internationalist Tendency was framed up and expelled from the SWP. Although Mandel had been in factional struggle against the SWP leadership, he acquiesced to the expulsion and demanded that the ITers try to individually crawl back into the SWP. That was the end of this leftist current.

Mandel's Provocation Fails

By the end of the discussion, Mandel must have been sensing defeat, attacking "the great majority of the people here" as "completely irrelevant, completely meaningless." After repeatedly interrupting Seymour's rebuttal, causing several warnings from the chair to desist, Mandel blustered, "Nobody has kept me quiet since 60 years.... The only thing you can do is use physical violence—go ahead, go ahead!" This blatant provocation alarmed even his own comrades, who tried to control his outbursts. Mandel capped his own rebuttal with a Kautskyite plea for disarmament.

We print below sections of Joseph Seymour's rebuttal to Mandel. We look forward to printing the full transcript of the debate in our journal *Spartacist*.

* * *

The speaker from the Freedom Socialist Party says that we never participate in united fronts—and I will define a united front for sister Breitman a little later—unless we initiate and control it.... But we can indicate dozens of united fronts we participated in. For example, and this would certainly be close to your hearts, the defense of abortion clinics, which were organized by liberal feminists. Time and again, we have been there.

The speaker from the Bolshevik Tendency stated that we had a neutral position in August 1991, in the Kremlin coup and Yeltsin's countercoup. That's not true. We had a position that the workers should have organized to smash the Yeltsin barricades, because Yeltsin was the main enemy, the main

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Origins and Honesty

As Spartacist events are wont to do, the debate between the International Communist League and Mandel brought forth a leaflet from the self-styled Bolshevik Tendency (BT). Their latest effort is titled, "Ernest Mandel vs. the Spartacist League: A Dismal Symmetry." Made up of a handful of embittered ex-members of the SL, the BT's central activity for the last decade has been the retailing of lurid tales of supposed high-living and internal bureaucratism in the "Robertson cult."

For years, the BT has been screaming that the absence of any factional struggle in the ICL was the bottom line measure of the fact that we were a "political obedience cult." As "proof," their latest leaflet remarkably points to *our own* frank assessment of our organization, contained in our most recent national conference document published in *Spartacist* No. 51 (Autumn 1994). That's rich. If ours is the bureaucratic charnel house the BT says it is, how do you explain our public account of recent internal disputes in the SL/U.S., to say nothing of the many international discussion bulletins devoted to the faction fight with the recently departed "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of our Canadian section?

The BT answers that our conference document reflects nothing but the ruminations of Robertson, whom they depict as sitting around in semi-retirement dissatisfied with an organization that is supposedly "full of time servers, with limited ability to intervene in the left." The irony of distributing such a statement to 400 people who came out for our debate with Ernest Mandel is evidently lost on the BT, who go on to charge that our real problem is that the SL "divested themselves of some of their most creative and political elements." Here they are ever-so-modestly referring to none other than their own selves! What they conveniently don't mention is that they divested themselves—i.e., they quit.

Most of those who make up the BT turned tail and ran as Ronald Reagan began arming Islamic fundamentalist reactionaries to kill Red Army soldiers in Afghanistan and pouring CIA money into Poland to back the counterrevolutionary nationalist religious bigots of Polish Solidarność. The BT now condemns our slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," and is queasy about our tendency's forthright statements of military support to the Stalinist Polish government's 1981 attempt to spike Solidarność. Yet in 1991, they insisted that the Gorbachevite "gang of eight" coup plotters—who couldn't get it together to cut off Yeltsin's phone lines, but vowed to continue the "free market" dismantling of the collectivized Soviet economy—were a real military opposition to counterrevolution. Why? Because the defeat of the 1991 coup gave them a ready excuse to wash their hands of their hollow pretense of defending the USSR.

To alibi their cowardly departure from our organization, the BT accuses us of "Stalinophilia." Today, they continue to harp about a "laudatory *in memoriam* box" for Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, published in *WV* No. 348 (17 February 1984). It reads as follows:

> "He sought to curb the worst excesses of the bureaucracy.
> "He sought to increase the productivity of the Soviet masses.
> "He made no overt betrayals on behalf of imperialism.
> "He was no friend of freedom."

Looking back a decade later, this strikes us as a pretty balanced assessment.

The documentary record of our tendency's origins in the fight against the Pabloist degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party is available in our *Marxist Bulletin* series, and our political record since is in the indexed bound volumes of *Spartacist* and *Workers Vanguard*. But the BT doesn't make the record of its own origins available, and for good reason. It would reveal them for what they are, a pusillanimous bunch of quitters. ■

Letter to the Militant Tendency

Response to a Provocation

The collapse of Stalinism has shaken up the left, and a number of groups have lost their moorings—sometimes in a rather spectacular way. A case in point is the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (GR/JCR), led by one Raymond Dehord, which has lately been all over the political map. To stifle exposure of their gyrations, they have increasingly taken to strong-arm tactics against our comrades.

Dehord's JCR emerged from the French USec section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) two years ago, claiming to oppose the LCR's popular-frontism from the left. But the JCR soon lurched into bizarre and repugnant maneuvers, rubbing shoulders with fascist ideologues and Stalinist leftovers in an attempt to put together a French imitation of the "red-brown" coalition in the ex-Soviet Union (see "The JCR and the 'Idiot International'," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993).

Stung by our denunciation of their social-democratic line that cops, the bourgeoisie's hired guns, are "workers" who can be an "ally" of the working class, Dehord led an anti-Spartacist goon squad at the summer camp sponsored by the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE) last August (see "Mud, Thought Police and the Ghost of Willy Brandt," *WV* No. 607, 30 September). The JRE/YRE is run by the British Militant Labour group, whose international affiliates include Voran (Forward) in Germany and now the French JCR.

On October 11, young JCR would-be heavies attacked our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France as they distributed a leaflet at the University of Tolbiac in Paris protesting against the government's racist expulsions of young women wearing Islamic headscarves in high schools. The leaflet castigated the JCR for calling to include in the trade unions the cops who carry out racist terror against immigrants and youth of North African origin. Before the eyes of numerous students, JCRers shoved a young woman comrade of the LTF and knocked a black comrade to the ground.

In a leaflet distributed the next day, the Groupe de Jeunesse Spartaciste de Tolbiac (Tolbiac Young Spartacus Group) denounced the JCR aggression as intended to cover their liquidationist intervention at the high school protests, where they "only served as a tribune for the Islamic fundamentalists, without saying a single word about their own formal program."

To cover up their thuggery, Dehord & Co. have cynically tried to present *themselves* as the victims, while hinting at further provocations. This was the meaning of a 21 October letter from the international leadership of the Labour Militant tendency, the Committee for a Workers International. We reprint below our reply.

* * *

New York
5 November 1994

International Secretariat,
Committee for a Workers International
London

Dear Comrades,

We are in receipt of your letter to our French section, the Ligue Trotskyste (LTF), purporting to be a description of the recent violent confrontations between your French section (GR/JCR) and our comrades. Your letter is a transparent effort to create a slanderous smokescreen to obscure the aggressive gangsterism unleashed by your leader in France, Raymond Dehord, against our comrades, and to provide a basis for further provocations against our organization. Throwing in for good measure a claim that an LTF comrade followed a woman immigrant comrade of yours from her home—a highly inflammatory charge which is absolutely untrue—you choose to simply deny your comrades' October 11 attack on our sales team at the University of Tolbiac as an invention of ours, although the incident was witnessed by dozens of students. Moreover, the LTF immediately issued a leaflet at Tolbiac (attached), denouncing the cowardly unprovoked attack in which our comrade Pierre was hit from behind without warning and knocked to the ground by Debord's number one goon, Gérald.

Your comrades' violent assault was intended to stop us from distributing a leaflet in defense of Maghrebian women high school students being expelled from school by the Bayrou edict of the racist French government. The attack at Tolbiac was the continuation of the gangsterist vendetta begun by Raymond Dehord at the summer camp of the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE), an organization which is politically led by your Committee for a Workers International. What is most laughably transparent about your present letter is that you manage to say nothing whatever about the camp which was in fact largely dominated by Raymond Dehord's personally instigated campaign of violence and slander against the ICL/LTF and the eventual failure of that campaign.

To refresh your memory: at the camp Raymond Debord attempted to prevent ICL comrades from selling our pamphlet on "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State." The pamphlet (which includes the complete text of the GR/JCR's own polemic against the ICL as well as our reply exposing your organization's line of relying on the capitalist state to fight fascism) was evidently so damaging to Debord that he not only assaulted our salesmen, but even strong-armed one of the YRE's own French members when she was buying a copy. We immediately protested this attack to the JRE/YRE leadership, to other organizations present, and in a leaflet distributed to camp participants (also attached) which linked your organization's line that the racist cops are "workers in uniform" to Debord's own attempt to play thought-policeman of the left.

The camp leadership sought to alibi Debord's conduct by keeping up a steady stream of anti-Spartacist slanders, threats and "jokes" in the camp newsletter, but nonetheless Debord's conduct became such a scandal—and so unpopular among camp participants (including among some of your own members)—that the camp leadership finally backed off from its earlier threat to exclude the LTF from the camp. Your French comrades' unprovoked assault on the LTF on the Tolbiac campus was Debord's next move. It will not succeed any better.

The day after the Tolbiac attack, the LTF sought out Raymond Debord and informed him firmly that we would hold him responsible for any future assaults on our members. In response to our warning, Debord then phoned the LTF saying he wanted to discuss how the escalating violence could be stopped and offering to come to our office right away (at 11:30 at night!) to talk about it—surely a very strange suggestion to make if his earlier encounter with us had been as portrayed in your letter (and as you now describe it in your public press). The LTF replied in writing (a copy of this letter was immediately sent to you in London) that ending the violence was very simple: if your organization has ceased the gangsterism against our comrades, it's over. Subsequently we received the GR/JCR letter to which you now refer, and now your own cover-up letter.

To restate the obvious: gangsterism on the left has a long and despicable history. It is characteristic of the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats who have much to fear from the criticism of revolutionaries. As the GR/JCR letter itself shows, your French section does not distinguish between physical violence—which has no place in the workers movement—and the dissemination of forthright revolutionary criticism which is the right and duty of any revolutionary organization.

Your Raymond Debord has particularly strong reasons to want to prevent our voice being heard, as his recent political record is a particularly dirty trail of wild political zigzags, including his flirtation with the anti-Semitic French version of the "red"-brown coalition through the *Idiot International* (it was our article and our intervention exposing this at your public meetings in May which prompted the lying accusations that we "disrupted" your meetings). Debord certainly finds very useful the drawing of a blood line between our organizations to keep his own members politically in line as he gyrates—from his joint venture with "intellectual" fascistic ideologues to his present uncritical tailing of the anti-woman Muslim fundamentalists in France who are hypocritically defending Maghrebian high school women's right to an education, in hopes of building themselves a base among second-generation youth.

Every GR/JCR member who can be induced to participate personally in assaulting our comrades is then tied with bonds of guilt to the reformist political line that cops are "workers in uniform," which as you are aware is a source of considerable dissatisfaction within the GR/JCR and elsewhere in your international. It serves a similar purpose for you to claim that we called you "cops" because we denounce your pro-cop line, or "fascists" because we exposed Debord's *Idiot International* escapade. In the short run, you may imagine you can save yourselves embarrassment by attempting to intimidate us from exposing Débord's antics. In fact your leader in France is a loose cannon; neither we nor you can predict what this unstable poseur is likely to come up with next in the way of atrocities, political or otherwise.

Our tendency has a long and proud record of intransigent defense of workers democracy. One of our earliest campaigns in this vein was our defense of the British United Secretariat supporter Ernie Tate when the Healyites (to whom we actually stood closer at the time in terms of formal political positions) sought to stop him from selling a USec pamphlet, using violence and then a suit against him in the bourgeois courts. Very recently we were actively involved in the defense of supporters of Tony Cliff's British SWP (no friends of ours or of workers democracy) when they faced fascist attacks in Toronto, and we are now protesting the repressive South Korean regime's arrest of Cliff's cothinkers in that country. Our principled anti-sectarian defense of the rights of all leftist, minority and labor organizations extends equally to the GR/JCR which recently had a member arrested during the protests against the Bayrou edict. Perhaps our policy is incomprehensible to your Raymond Debord, who probably interprets it as a sign of weakness. Let you and him be in no doubt: we will be as vigorous in defense of ourselves as we are in defense of others.

Against gangsterism, in
defense of political debate,

International Secretariat,
for the ICL(FI)

Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

Includes the entire text of Gauche révolutionnaire/Jeunesses communistes révolutionnaires pamphlet, "The International and the State," with a reply by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Some voices even taunted "Bring back Rabin!"—the architect of the Zionists' "Iron Fist" policy which has claimed more than 1,600 Palestinian lives since the heroic *Intifada* uprising began in 1987. Indeed, in terms of dead and wounded, Arafat's Gaza massacre rivals the worst of the bloody atrocities committed by Israeli troops and their fascistic settler auxiliaries in their years-long effort to "pacify" the Occupied Territories.

In the aftermath, both the PLO and Hamas/Jihad have appealed for calm and suggested that the violence was provoked by "outside elements" (such as Israeli security forces). At this point and from afar, one can hardly judge such claims. Certainly the horrific bloodshed plays into the hands of hardline Zionist elements who view the "peace accord" as a sellout to the Palestinians. But in any case, *this massacre was waiting to happen* from the moment the "Gaza-Jericho" deal, brokered by Clinton and signed in Washington, was in place. As we wrote of this bogus "peace" accord last September: "It means PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993).

The PLO leadership had already demonstrated its determination to "maintain order" on the Israelis' behalf. Following the killing of three Israeli soldiers by a Hamas suicide bomber earlier this month, Arafat's Palestinian Authority began requiring "licenses" for demonstrations and ordered the arrest of 100 fundamentalist leaders. Friday's bloodbath reportedly began when 200 Palestinian police moved on the main mosque in Gaza City during noon prayers to preempt an "unauthorized" demonstration. When angry protesters stormed police headquarters, the cops opened fire.

The International Communist League has always denounced the vicious Zionist butchers, and defends struggle by the Palestinian masses against this murderous occupation. But unlike many on the left, we have never given Arafat's bourgeois-nationalist outfit political support. The PLO now openly plays the role that Israel's puppet South Lebanese Army once played against it—mercenaries protecting the Zionist state against Palestinian militancy. At the same time, the Zionists have lost no opportunity to humiliate their PLO collaborators, blockading the Occupied Territories by sealing the Israeli border to Palestinian workers. Combined with the evaporation of billions of promised dollars in imperialist aid, the Israeli border blockade is strangling the Palestinian masses, driving them deeper into poverty and desperation.

Starved for funds, the PLO is utterly helpless even to ameliorate the hellish conditions of the Jericho and Gaza ghettos. Together with the groveling subservience of the PLO to Israeli dictates, this has allowed Hamas and Islamic Jihad to posture as the sole repositories of militant Palestinian national resistance. Yet these "militants" rarely target the Zionist state and its auxiliaries. Their preferred tactic is indefensible random terror attacks, such as the October 19 bombing of a Tel Aviv bus that left 21 innocent Israeli civilians dead. Palestinian women who defy the oppressive strictures of 7th-century Koranic law are also victimized by the Islamic fanatics. Striking at symbols of secular culture, during the Friday protests fundamentalist Muslims burned down two movie theaters in Gaza, and in Rafah they torched two cafes, a video store and the town cinema.

It is a direct consequence of the PLO's betrayal of Palestinian struggle that the sinister influence of Islamic fundamentalism is growing. It is *criminal* that the manifest dead end of PLO nationalism should now drive the cosmopolitan, historically secular Palestinian masses into the arms of such religious obscurantism, virulent anti-Semitism and anti-woman bigotry. In the interpenetrated ethnic patchwork of the Near East, national justice for the oppressed Palestinian people can and will be won only through the joint struggle of all the toilers of the region—including the Hebrew-speaking workers—against their capitalist rulers, Zionist and Arab alike. Israel out of all the Occupied Territories! For proletarian internationalism! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Bosnia...

(continued from page 3)

been driven from their homes in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing." Now the deeper and more direct involvement of U.S. imperialism threatens an even greater scale of destruction. Clinton's announcement scrapping the Bosnia arms embargo, together with the Republican control of Congress, points to a more belligerent U.S. policy toward West Europe, Russia and Japan.

Eighty years ago, a German imperialist diktat in the Balkans set off the First World War. The current machinations over the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating interimperialist rivalries, whose logic points toward a nuclear third world war. While no rational person would intentionally launch a course toward nuclear war, world imperialism—tettered by the nation-state system—is *not rational*, and neither are the men who rule over us in its interest. They must be overthrown by the working people of the world under a revolutionary leadership. ■

S.F. Strike...

(continued from page 6)

citizenship rights and bring them into the labor movement!

There are those who claim to offer a militant alternative to the labor bureaucrats. In the newspaper unions, one Fred Ferguson publishes the *Militant Printer*. During the ratification meeting of his union, he called to "Vote yes but hold your nose." And when one union militant spoke for "unconditional amnesty" and demanded that all charges be dropped, Ferguson called him "hopeless." A few days later, Ferguson was one of those fired for "mouthing off" to a scab manager. Exactly who, then, is "hopeless"?

A supporter of the Workers World Party stood outside one of the ratification meetings, yelling, "We kicked their butts. We won." The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) called to "Vote 'No' on Sellout Contract!" and declared that mass pickets "even one day a week would show management that WE control when the paper comes out, not them." Real mass picket lines would mean that a scab paper doesn't come out at all—and anybody who tried to cross would regret it. But that is alien to NWROC and its parent group, the Revolutionary Workers League, who have waltzed across campus workers' picket lines from Ann Arbor to Berkeley!

What the union tops hailed as a "victory" is shaping up as a rout for the newspaper unions. SFNA top dog James Hale sneers, "That's the American way." That's the *bosses'* way. But it is the working people, the majority of this country—organized and unorganized; white, black, Latino, Asian; legal and "illegal" immigrants—who create all the wealth, while the ruling class wields state power to keep those at the bottom down and increasingly out.

For workers to win against the rule of capital requires a leadership that will champion the cause of *all* working people and *all* the oppressed. As we wrote in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!," a *WV* supplement that was widely distributed on the picket lines: "Every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the life blood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust." ■

Debate...

(continued from page 12)

agent of the counterrevolution.

Now, Ernest Mandel, I publicly challenge you to substantiate, or as we say in our crude American way, put up or shut up! Find anything where we endorsed the Lambertistes' support to the Messali Hadj group!... Find anything where we said that socialism can be built through or after a nuclear war [laughter].... But perhaps what you mean is something else: That, of course, we did defend nuclear weapons in the hands of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. Because if they didn't have those nuclear weapons, they would be nuked. There would be no Vietnamese Revolution, there would be no Cuban Revolution, Korea would be irradiated rubble—and anybody who doesn't think that really has enormous illusions in American imperialism.

The united front is an *action*; it is not a program, it is not a party, it is not a permanent organization, it is not a political bloc—it's an action. 'Strike together and march separately.'... What you guys have against us is *not* that we're not engaged in real struggle, *not* that we're not engaged in united fronts, *not* that we don't have anything to do with the labor movement. What you guys have against us is that we're *reds*, and whatever we do, we are known as reds!

Now, as I said before, I think that the heart of USec politics is much better expressed by Paul Le Blanc than the obfuscationist Mandel. And he said, "Well, we build a labor party." We all know that the Mensheviks and the Stalinists had a two-stage revolution for backward countries. But here we have a two-stage revolution for an advanced capitalist country. First, we build a reformist labor party, and then we move it to the left. No.

To begin with, there's not going to be any kind of labor party in this country unless there are tumultuous class struggles—strikes, protests, an enormous radicalization. What do you think, that you can build a mass labor party in some kind of idiot linear fashion? The conditions which will allow a mass labor party will necessarily be the same conditions which will allow a revolutionary party. Where there's motion to a labor party, in a short time there will either be a revolutionary labor party or a reformist *counter*revolutionary labor party....

Okay, "*We* have masses, influence, we have MPs in the Brazilian..." You've got nothing!... You know what you have in Brazil? You have a bunch of apparatchiks for Lula! If tomorrow Lula said, "Repudiate the Fourth International, repudiate Trotskyism, repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat, or you're expelled," you know what would happen? Half of you would be expelled, the other half would repudiate Trotskyism, the guys who were expelled... [Mandel at this point interrupts for a period of minutes before subsiding.] The ones who will repudiate formal Trotskyism will have accused the ones who are being expelled of being ultraleft sectarians, and the ones who are expelled will accuse the other ones of being opportunists ...

In the mid-1930s, a significant figure in the French Trotskyist movement split temporarily to the right. He wrote a letter to Trotsky very critical of the Trotskyist movement, and Trotsky responded: "The weightiest argument in the letter, namely, 'Why have the Bolshevik-Leninists remained weak in Germany, in France?' is nothing but an echo of the centrist objections, 'Why were you beaten by the Stalinist bureaucracy, by the reactionary coalition in China?' For quite some time we have been explaining the reasons for these defeats, and we never promised any miracles. Our international work began only in 1929—and not on virgin territory, but on territory saturated with old and powerful organizations, and with new, confused, and often treacherous organizations that claimed adherence to our principles." Do you know who Trotsky was responding to? A man called Pierre Frank, who was an old comrade of Ernest Mandel.

Our tendency also did not begin, and has not operated, on virgin political territories. We face powerful Stalinist, social-democratic bureaucracies, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist movements, and most of the "Trotskyists" and "revolutionary Marxists" are treacherous opportunists, of which Ernest Mandel's tendency is a good example. Now, I genuinely believe that the tendency led by Ernest Mandel can make a contribution to the building of a revolutionary movement: Stop pretending to be Trotskyists! Stop pretending to be revolutionary Marxists! And be honest, that you are left social democrats. ■

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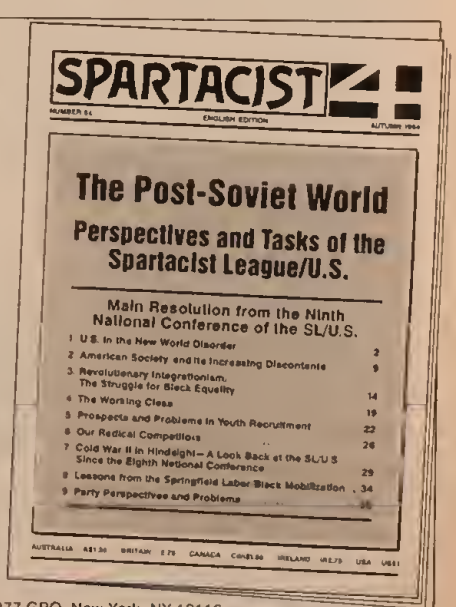


Elections...

(continued from page 1)

more and more under siege, and Latinos and Asians are targeted by the anti-immigrant hysteria. While social inequality has sharply increased, it has produced a lot of explosive social tinder at the base of society.

This was reflected in the multiracial upheaval against cop terror in Los Angeles in 1992, and the recent massive, integrated protests by students and workers against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California. There's also been an increased level of strike activity lately, including the nationwide Teamsters strike, Flint UAW walkout and the ongoing labor battles in central Illinois. But misleaders of blacks and the labor movement, politically beholden to the Democratic Party, are paralyzed in the face of the reactionary wave.

From Midwest union struggles to the fight against racist cop terror, the absence of fighting leadership is painfully obvious. What the black, Hispanic and working people of this country need is a class-struggle workers party defending the cause of all the oppressed in the fight to end racist capitalism through a socialist revolution.

Republican "Contract with America"—Know-Nothing Social Reaction

Following the elections, prospective Senate Judiciary Committee leader Orrin Hatch wasted no time in denouncing as "outrageous" even the "benign neglect" policies of Clinton's civil rights division. Diehard segregationist Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms, whose reactionary credentials include his association with the fascistic World Anti-Communist League, will now head two key Senate committees. With the defeat of New York Democratic governor Cuomo, the virtually certain restoration of the electric chair in New York, the last major state without capital punishment, threatens to open the sluice gates of death row even wider.

Gingrich is now pushing a "California agenda"—anti-immigrant racism. California's Prop. 187, which would deny education and health care to "illegal" immigrants, was passed overwhelmingly. Republican governor Pete Wilson's support for this racist measure was enough to win re-election, despite the Democrats' attempts to compete in immigrant-bashing, with calls for militarization of the Mexican border. While 187 is now tied up in constitutional court challenges, attendance at public health clinics has already dropped precipitously. When teachers and other state employees insisted they would refuse to become immigration cops, Wilson thundered, "they ought to be fired."

Railing about the survival of "American civilization," Gingrich invokes the New Hampshire state motto, "Live Free or Die!" to go after people on welfare. In the Republicans' reactionary "Contract with America" this translates into throwing a million and a half families off welfare, practically eliminating death sentence appeals and slashing taxes—especially for the rich—while supposedly balancing the budget. Gingrich also vows to ensure that "the Creator is once again at the center of defining being an American." Clinton, the man he vilifies as a "left-wing elitist," offers to do his "dead level best" to work with the Republicans on "welfare reform" and endorses a constitutional amendment to sanctify prayer in the public schools—a frontal assault on the Bill of Rights and the separation of church and state.

The fundamentalist Christian right has become the ideological shock troops for a broad-ranging capitalist assault on working people and minorities. A commentary in the conservative *New Republic* (31 October) noted with alarm: "This emergent post-cold war right has less to do with the Goldwater-Reagan right than with the older American right of Father Coughlin and Gerald L.K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade," nativist fascist movements in the Depression '30s. The bourgeoisie has no need of a mass fascist movement in the U.S. today, but nativist fascism in this country—going back to the anti-immigrant Know-Nothings of a century and a half ago—certainly has a lot of ideological affinity with and feeds off of the reactionary values which permeate this "new right."

As a measure of the widespread social backwardness in America, fully 27 percent of votes in the election were cast by evangelical, or "born again," Christians. A survey in *U.S. News & World Report* (4 April) noted, "at the end of the 20th century, the wealthiest, most powerful and best educated country on Earth is still one of the most religious." Not only do 69 percent of Americans believe in angels, but 55 percent believe they intervene in daily life! (Not to mention those who think Elvis is still alive.) Throughout West Europe, only Catholic Ireland surpasses the 68 percent church membership in the U.S.; in Britain the figure is more like 15 percent.

Mainstream sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are not particularly enamored with Gingrich and his ilk. The stock markets barely registered this month's Republican landslide, while corporate donors have thrown their money to the Democrats by a heavy margin of late. *Business Week* noted the "Republican hypocrisy" in deriding federal spending while they sink billions into farm subsidies and other pork barrels. The bourgeoisie also realizes that welfare benefits occupy a tiny portion of the federal budget, and any big cuts will have to come from "middle-class programs" such as Medicare and Social Security which will be politically much harder to slash.

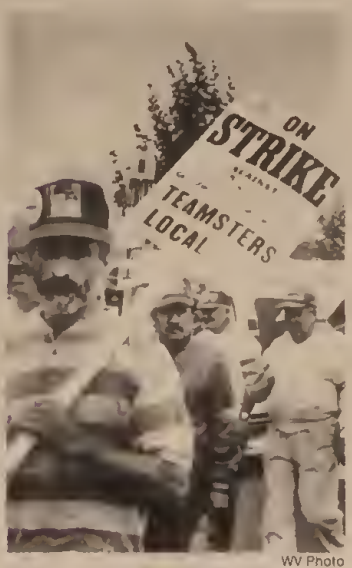
Clinton's Democrats: Enemies of Blacks, Labor

Writing in the *New York Review of Books* (17 November), liberal journalist Murray Kempton remarked: "The very best that can be said for Clinton's America is that Newt Gingrich's will likely be worse. But Clinton's America is quite bad enough and doesn't look better for next year." And if Clinton's America is bad enough for the population in general, it is hell for black people. Symptomatic is the fact that Marion Barry, who was re-elected mayor of Washington, D.C. after being framed by the feds a few years ago, is about the only black big-city mayor left in the country today. Gingrich called Barry's victory a "tragic moment for this country," and as payback to black D.C., Congress is now talking about overturning Washington's limited "home rule."

Even the *New York Times* (10 November) has had to take notice of blacks' disillusionment in the Democratic Party. A perceptive article by Isabel Wilkerson noted that "blacks appeared weary and resentful of the Democrats' recent attempts to distance themselves from black causes" and viewed the party's election defeat as a "bittersweet loss." An earlier piece in the *Times* (30 October) quoted a black iron worker: "All I hear is these Democratic candidates talking about the crime bill. But why do they talk about just building jails? Why don't they talk about building schools?"

They're not talking about it because they have no intention of doing it. The bipartisan war on working people and minorities is not simply a question of party policy, but a reflection of the dictates of capital. The poverty programs of the 1960s were a reaction to the mass upheavals of the civil rights movement and the protests against the dirty imperialist war in Indochina. They were conditioned by U.S. capitalism's need to promote itself as the leader of the "free world" against the Soviet Union. With the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the USSR, even lip service to black equality has gone out the window. As the American rulers face increased competition in the "New World Order" from their imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, they have shifted much industrial production to low-wage sites in Asia and Latin America (while driving up the rate of exploitation at home). As a result, there is a huge and growing army of unemployed, largely inner-city black youth, who have no prospect of ever getting a job.

The proportion of national income in the hands of the wealthiest fifth of the population has reached a new high every year since 1985, surpassing 46 percent last year. "All of the growth last year went to the top 20 percent of families," reported the chief economist at the Economic Policy Institute (*Business Week*, 21 November). For the squeezed "middle-class" working people, this means that the "American Dream"—particularly buying your own home—is dead and buried. For the poor, it means homelessness or jail. The U.S. prison population now tops 1.5 million—far and away the largest in the world—half of them black and Hispanic. And while Clinton wants to force single mothers off the welfare rolls and into nonexistent jobs after two years, the Republicans dispense with the fiction of "workfare" entirely. Their only argument is over whether to deny welfare to mothers under the age of 21 or 26.



WV Photo

Teamsters in Southern California marched to protest cop attack on picket line during April 1994 strike.

Today, black people are a quarter of the Democrats' voting base—double their proportion of the population. In the last 40 years, only one Democratic presidential candidate has garnered a majority of white votes. This is the bane of Clinton's "New Democrats," who assumed they could keep black voters while pursuing a policy of "benign neglect" as an overture to racist whites. Now Clinton hopes to forge a "moderate-conservative" coalition with the Republican right. But as a *Time* (14 November) headline put it, he is apt to find himself "Alone in the Middle." Gingrich immediately put the White House on notice that there would be "no compromise," while Helms denounced Clinton as unfit to be commander in chief—tantamount to a call for impeachment. Meanwhile, stay tuned for more Whitewatergate hearings.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

The Republican right's electoral success parallels similar developments in West Europe, where French rightists scored a massive victory in last year's parliamentary elections, and in Italy the right-wing Berlusconi coalition (including the heirs of Mussolini's fascists) was installed earlier this year. These forces have also pushed virulent racist chauvinism and draconian austerity measures. But only months after conservative French prime minister Balladur took office, the country was shaken by the militant Air France strike, followed by student protests against a sub-minimum wage, and Italy has been the scene of mammoth workers' protests for months. While U.S. workers lack even the elementary political class consciousness of the West European proletariat, here too the electoral results could be challenged by social struggle.

But that will require a struggle to break workers and minorities from the "lesser evil" politics that ties them to the Democratic Party. The reformists who congenitally tail after the Democrats, having already swallowed the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism," are now even more disheartened and disoriented in the wake of the elections. Pointing to Oliver North's loss to Democratic Senator Charles Robb in Virginia, the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (21 November) ludicrously claimed "the big losers in this year's elections were the most strident rightists." In the same vein, the Communist Party, which has supported the Democrats ever since the New Deal period, headlined, "North Defeated, Dems Lose Congress" (*People's Weekly World*, 12 November).

Franklin D. Roosevelt's popular-frontist coalition of Northern liberals, segregationist Dixiecrats and the labor bureaucracy was fashioned as a response to the upsurge of militant workers' struggles in the 1930s. It represented a *betrayal* by the CIO union tops and the Stalinist Communist Party, who beheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled the working class behind the phony "friends of labor" Democrats. The current demise of the Democrats' New Deal coalition is directly linked to the sharp decline in trade-union power presided over by the hidebound AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Today, union members see themselves as an endangered species: even wearing a union badge in a former UAW stronghold like Caterpillar is enough to get you fired. But at the same time we have found a greater receptivity to socialist literature at picket lines around the country.

There is now likely to be more talk about an independent black party or a reformist labor party, as vehicles to pressure the Democrats. With black politicians being pushed increasingly to the back—if not off—the Democratic Party bus, there have been rumblings among mainstream politicos about a "black party." Last year, the San Francisco Labor Council passed an empty resolution for a "California Labor Party"—and then dutifully backed Democrat Kathleen Brown for governor. State AFL-CIO leader Jack Henning blustered: "We were never meant to be the lieutenants of capitalism. We were never meant to be the pall bearers of the workers of the world" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 September).

But the pro-Democratic Party union tops *are* the labor lieutenants of capital, and they are the principal roadblock to defending the unions against the capitalist onslaught. In the present climate of virulent racism, immigrant-bashing and union-busting—which has been the *norm* of American capitalism—the reactionary electoral success will push bourgeois politics to the right. But among those who are most directly under attack—in the ghettos, the barrios and the unions—there will be many who seek to resist. A revolutionary workers party must be forged through intervention in the convulsive social struggles that will erupt in this country and internationally.

It is useful to recall another period of rampant social reaction, the late 1920s, when KKK lynching and union-busting was rife. At the same time, there were militant multiracial strikes led by Communists, which were harbingers of the 1930s industrial union organizing drives. Today, the raw material for explosions of militant social struggle is certainly present. What is needed is a communist vanguard to champion the cause of all the oppressed in the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Pseudo-Science in the Service of Racism

The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.

From the Egyptian pharaohs to the British monarchy to the Southern slaveholders to the German Nazis, throughout history the masters of every society of grotesque inequality have concocted ideologies to justify their rule. Today, as America sinks into an arctic chill of reaction against labor unions, immigrants, black people, and even sex, two ultraright ideologues resurrect an argument for the defense of ruling-class privilege. They want to eliminate all social programs for minorities and the poor and

Young Spartacus

regiment the "underclass" with "democratic" police-state measures. Theories of biological determinism and the myth of the genetically superior intellect of one race or class vs. another always resurface in periods of rising reaction. Thus *The Bell Curve* by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray was an instant phenomenon: the "science" for a ruling class which promises to combat the problems of the ghettos with boot camps, prisons, capital punishment, and by gutting social services.

Young Spartacus

Black student protest at Harvard University on November 4 against "America's race war" which is fueled by *The Bell Curve*.

Authors Richard Herrnstein (who, until he dropped dead recently, was picketed for his racist views on supposed black genetic inferiority) and Charles Murray (whose crusade to end welfare has made him a darling of the Republicrats) are anything but subtle in their arguments. Their 845-page tract is a pseudoscholarly version of David ("Klan in a suit") Duke-style demagoguery—a sales pitch to white America to loathe and repress black people and feel good about it. *The Bell Curve* takes the racist garbage about "dumb" workers and minorities out of the backrooms and corridors and broadcasts it from center stage as an ostensibly "legitimate" topic of public debate and public policy. Even the congenitally staid *New York Times* is so thrilled with the idea of spitting in the eye of the poor that they can't spill enough ink about *The Bell Curve* in editorials, op-ed pieces and all over their Sunday book review. As Alexander Cockburn noted, "It's as though theorists of Jewish contamination of the gene pool earlier in the century were clapped on the back for their 'bravery' amid respectful shouts of relief that this 'difficult' subject had at last been addressed" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 November).

Nearly twenty-five years ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan was deservedly hounded for his racist pronouncements on the black family and program for "benign neglect" of the ghetto poor. Even just a decade ago, "scientists" like William Shockley who trashed welfare moms and froze his own sperm in banks for a high IQ future were denounced as racist crackpots parading prejudice as "fact." Today there is a bipartisan consensus for an all-out assault on the poor—from Clinton's electoral promise to "end welfare as we know it" to Newt Gingrich's vow to root out the last vestige of 1960s "counterculture" (a code word for leftist protest and "race-mixing"). The bipartisan drive to dismantle social programs, schools, hospitals, jobs and welfare amounts to a policy of *genocide* for an entire layer of inner-city, predominantly black and Hispanic poor.

Individual differences in physical and intellectual abilities do exist. As Marxists, our aim is to fight for a society whose purpose is to maximize the potential of *all* its members. The expropriation of capitalism by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution struck a blow against the false division between mental and manual labor and established a material basis for equality between the many different ethnic peoples of the Soviet Union. Even after the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the Revolution's example of a better society for the working masses drove U.S. imperialism to seek to destroy it. Steps toward black equality were made in this country as a result of the mass struggles of the civil rights movement, and after Jim Crow segregation had become an international embarrassment to the U.S. in its role as world policeman for "democracy." Now, with capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. ruling class has *intensified* its assault on labor at home and especially the vicious rollback of black rights.

Herrnstein and Murray offer an ideological justification for this reactionary offensive. They argue to end affirmative action, curb immigration, encourage sterilization of poor women and end remedial education programs for inner-city poor children. In the U.S., with its "democratic ideology" and absence of an entrenched aristocracy, perceived inequality has long been justified with arguments for meritocracy—rule by an elite of talented achievers. But now, they see a "cognitive elite" threatened by a growing underclass of poor, allegedly dumb, darker-skinned people who necessitate social control through police-state tactics "along Latin American lines." The bankrupting of the American economy through corporate greed, decades of union-busting and a turn from social welfare to social Darwinism has created not a "bell curve," but a "U" curve with the "haves" at one end, the "have nots" at the other, and little in the middle. So, it's time for a "new" ideology and *The Bell Curve* is it.

A Sampling of *Bell Curve* "Scholarship"

- *On welfare*: "Going on welfare really is a dumb idea, and that is why women who are low in cognitive ability end up there."
- *On wealth*: "People in different jobs have different average IQs. Lawyers, for example, have higher IQs on the average than bus drivers. Whatever the reason for the link between IQ and occupation, it goes deep.... Since intelligence runs in families and intelligence predicts status, status *must* run in families."
- *On poverty*: "The people who are left behind [in poverty] are likely to be disproportionately those who suffer not only bad luck but also a lack of energy, thrift, farsightedness, determination—and brains."

In summary, and for a society ready to definitively eradicate the meager remains of the liberals' "war on poverty" with an aggressive ultrarightist "war on the poor," Herrnstein and Murray argue that "Inequality of endowments, including intelligence, is a reality.... Trying to eradicate inequality with artificially manufactured outcomes has led to disaster. It is time for America once again to try living with inequality."

While Herrnstein and Murray argue that genetics legitimizes inequality and repression of poor whites (referred to as "white trash" by Murray), it's the black population, which is *systematically* discriminated against in this society, that is really caught in the cross hairs of this call for a blitzkrieg against the

continued on page 8

***The Bell Curve* has spurred a media campaign legitimizing "debate" of racist myth that blacks are genetically inferior.**

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 612

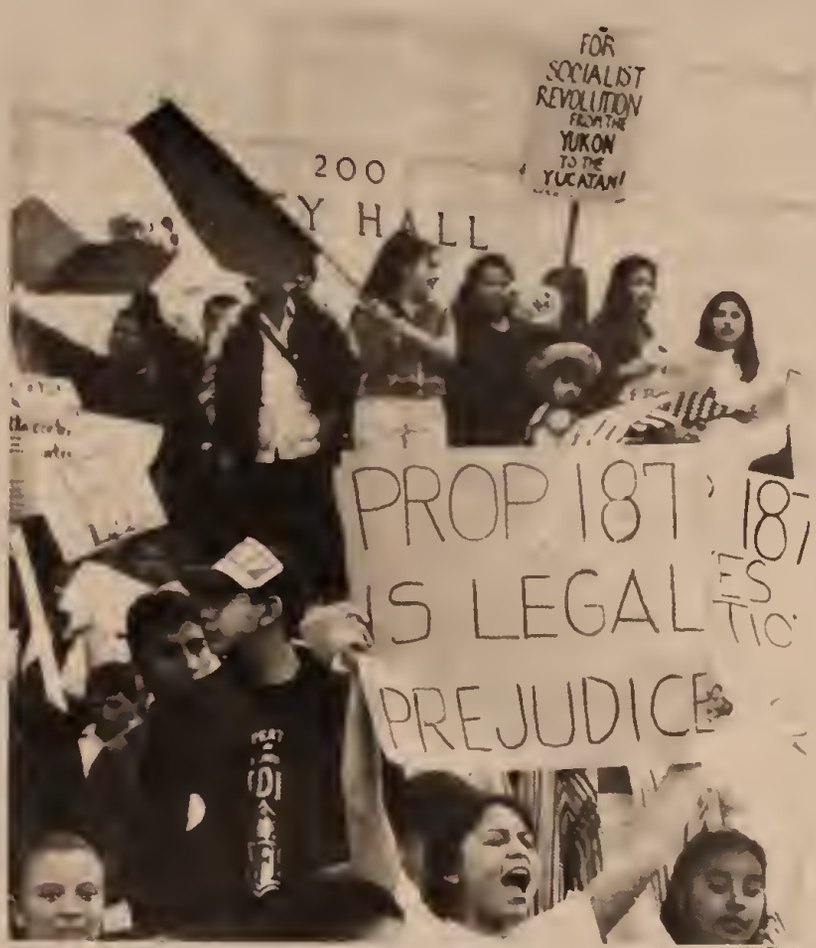
9 December 1994

Prop 187 Spearheads Racist Frenzy

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The passage of Proposition 187 in California last month, coupled with the national electoral victory of right-wing Republican candidates, opened up the floodgates of racist reaction against *all* immigrants, both legal and "illegal." In other states with large immigrant populations, particularly Texas and Florida, similar measures are being proposed which would deny medical care to undocumented immigrants and throw hundreds of thousands of their children out of school. Republican reactionary Newt Gingrich, soon to be Speaker of the House, claims his "Contract with America" would save $22 billion by canceling government services to immigrants. Meanwhile, Clinton and the Democrats are scrambling to prove their anti-immigrant credentials by moving to militarize the Mexico/U.S. border and step up deportations of "illegal immigrants."

Prop. 187 especially targets the most vulnerable of the immigrant communities: Governor Pete Wilson's first proclamation after his re-election was to bar undocumented immigrant women from receiving prenatal care and senior citizens from entering nursing homes. The day after the election, special hot-lines were flooded with calls from distraught immigrants reporting incidents of discrimination and racist attacks. Throughout the state, Latino workers reported harassment for simply speaking Spanish on the job. Prop. 187's supporters ghoulishly rejoice, claiming that the misery inflicted on the immigrant community will force a mass "self-deportation."



WV Photo

As protests swept California against immigrant-bashing Proposition 187, students and garment workers demonstrated outside Los Angeles City Hall on November 7.

In the weeks before the November 8 elections, there were mass mobilizations of tens of thousands of opponents of Prop. 187, as well as daily walkouts by thousands of high school students. Although mainly Latino, the protests were also joined by some Asian students. Latino truckers threatened to shut down the port of San Pedro in protest against the racist measure. But in the aftermath of its approval by a 60 percent majority, instead of a militant fight against the racist onslaught, mainstream anti-187 organizations such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) advocate "peaceful and legal means to challenge what has happened here in California."

Numerous lawsuits challenging Prop. 187 have been filed, postponing some aspects of its enforcement. The Los Angeles Unified School District, together with the L.A. City Council, has filed a lawsuit seeking to prevent the expulsion of an estimated 100,000 undocumented students in L.A. alone. A 1982 Supreme Court ruling, *Plyler v. Doe*, declared a similar law in Texas unconstitutional, but law is a reflection of the balance of class forces, and in the current anti-immigrant frenzy, the bourgeoisie's high court may well overturn such precedents.

Former New Left celebrity Mario Savio, speaking last week at Berkeley on the 30th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement, was loudly applauded when he called for massive non-compliance with Prop. 187 if it is implemented. Individual non-compliance with this police-state victimization of immigrants is an elementary act of decency. But what is needed is collective action by the force with the organization and power to defeat this legal xenophobia: the integrated labor movement. The unions (most of which opposed Prop 187 on paper) should take the lead in mobilizing at the head of the immigrants and minorities who are most directly threatened by this racist backlash.

Moreover, organized refusal by teachers and health care workers to act as links or cooperate with the *migra* cops can have a real impact *if it is solidly backed up by the unions*. Thousands of teachers have signed pledges not to comply with 187, and the UTLA (United Teachers of Los Angeles) has told its members to ignore the prop. But their words must be turned into action, which can't be expected from a bureaucracy that also ordered its members not to lead student walkouts. What's needed is a labor-centered anti-capitalist fight to defend these most oppressed sections of the working people.

Black Question Is Key

Prop. 187 is not simply a savage attack on undocumented as well as "legal" immigrants. It is the spearhead of a racist campaign against the Latino communities, including those whose forebears lived in California long before any Anglos got there. Thus, 75 percent of Latino voters—who are overwhelmingly born-in-the-U.S.A. citizens—opposed Prop. 187. But half of black and Asian voters reportedly backed the anti-immigrant ballot proposition.

While the anti-Latino nature of Prop. 187 is perfectly obvious, it is less clear to many that this measure is part of a broader racist offensive whose *main and central target is the black ghetto poor*. Depriving "illegal" immigrants of food stamps and their children of school lunches will *legitimize eliminating these programs entirely*. The bipartisan drive to "end welfare as we know it," in the words of Bill Clinton, has been given an enormous boost by the passage of Prop. 187.

At the same time, anti-immigrant hysteria is being used to turn blacks against Latinos. From the standpoint of the American ruling class, the most disturbing aspect of the 1992 L.A. conflagration, following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, was the

continued on page 10

Defend North Korea Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

SEE PAGE SIX

Hands Off South Korean Workers, Leftist Students!

7 25274 81030 7 49

Tony Cliff and the Korean War

London
5 October 1994

Dear Comrades,

Without wishing to take any position on the alleged behaviour of the ISO which, if true, sounds pretty bad and which you describe in the *Young Spartacus* section of *Workers Vanguard*, No. 605 (2 September), you are quite inaccurate in your characterisation of the split on the Korean issue in 1950 and, doubtless unwittingly, repeat the slanders of Gerry Healy.

Tony Cliff did not "line up with British and American imperialism" as you put it. The predecessors of the IS group took up a "defeatist" position and the majority a "defencist" one. In practical terms there was no difference. Gerry Healy did not seriously propose a campaign of sabotage and running off to join Kim-il-Sung's armies—that is what defencism means. His support was confined to the editorial pages of *Socialist Outlook*. The reference back of the Labour Party NEC's report, proposed by Ratner on behalf of the majority, at the Labour Party conference in October 1950 was "defeatist" rather than "defencist" and, as Ratner himself has told me, was supported by the delegates influenced by Cliff and his *Socialist Review* group. In practical terms the two positions made no difference and did not in any way prevent working together on the issue or necessitate a split. And Cliff did not leave the International—he was expelled. This expulsion by Healy was therefore frivolous, as frivolous as my own expulsion from the IS group by Cliff's acolytes in February 1976 though some might regard my case as mere farce following the tragedy in 1950. To prove Healy's frivolity the Grant grouping abstained from voting for Cliff's expulsion and were immediately afterwards expelled for abstaining though they had a defencist line!

Knowing your commitment to an accurate history of the movement I am sure you would not like this error of your young comrades to go uncorrected.

Yours fraternally,
Ted Crawford
(in a personal capacity)

WV replies: What we wrote in denouncing the International Socialist Organization's thuggery was that the ISO's political origins go back to "Tony Cliff's break with the Trotskyist movement in the 1950s when he lined up with British and American imperialism in the Korean War." Ted Crawford does not dispute the *fact* that the split with Cliff in 1950 was over Korea; rather, he seeks to trivialize the political significance of Cliff's Stalinophobia.

Whatever the crimes of Gerry Healy—and they were numerous—the expulsion of Cliff's supporters for their *public refusal* to defend the North Korean deformed workers state against Anglo-American imperialism was a principled act. When the question of the Korean War came up for a vote in the Birmingham Trades Council in 1950, a Cliff supporter in the British Trotskyist group (which was then inside the Labour Party) made a statement opposing both "the Russian puppet Government of North Korea and the American puppet Government of South Korea." This was a cowardly capitulation in the face of the anti-Communist frenzy whipped up by the bourgeoisie and the Labour government, which had sent British troops to "fight Communism" in Korea. (For a more detailed account of Cliff's record on Korea, see "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" in this issue.)

To Crawford, this was a matter of no "practical" difference. But defense of the bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states has always been a cornerstone of the Trotskyist program. Cliff's defection over Korea mirrored that of Max Shachtman and a minority of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the context of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. Shachtman abandoned defense of the Soviet Union for the "third camp"—what Trotsky dubbed the "camp of the stampeding petty bourgeois"—provoking a sharp factional struggle with the SWP majority led by James P. Cannon. While fighting for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky unswervingly argued for *unconditional defense* of the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. In a speech on the Russian question during the faction fight, Cannon spoke powerfully on the programmatic gulf which Crawford seeks to obscure:

> "Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions. They are not determined by arbitrary choice but by class interests.
>
> "No party in the world ever succeeded in harboring these two antipathetic tendencies for any great length of time. The contradiction is too great. Division all over the world ultimately took place

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U.S. Archives

Communist guerrillas taken captive by U.S. occupation army and Seoul puppet forces during Korean War.

TROTSKY

In Defense of Immigrant Workers

LENIN

California's Prop. 187 is the spearhead of an escalated nativist and racist campaign against immigrants, especially Hispanics and Asians. Throughout U.S. history, such attacks have been used by the capitalist rulers and their agents to divide and weaken the working class. In the 1920s, government persecution of foreign-born workers was abetted by the nativist fascists of the Ku Klux Klan, who targeted traditionally Catholic Irish, Italian and East European immigrants. A special target of deportation roundups were immigrant "reds" and labor organizers in the mass production industries. During this period, the newly formed Communist Party, then known as the Workers Party, was in the forefront of the defense of foreign-born workers.

The millions of foreign-born workers are facing new dangers.

The message of President Coolidge to Congress, and the plan of Secretary of Labor Davis have revealed the plans of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers. Congress will in the very near future consider bills on registration and fingerprinting of the foreign-born workers. New special annual taxes and new discriminating special measures against the foreign-born workers will come up before Congress in the near future.

The Workers Party was the only political party which, as far back as a year ago, in its last convention, brought to the attention of the workers these great dangers. We have begun a big movement for the protection of foreign-born workers.

The convention authorizes the Central Executive Committee and District Executive Committees immediately to take steps to initiate a united front with all organizations which are willing to join in such a campaign. The Convention of the Workers Party pledges our Party to carry on a big campaign in the next year, for the protection of foreign-born workers, and calls upon every worker to organize the united front of native-born American and foreign-born workers against the criminal plans of the Coolidge administration, Ku Klux Klan, and American Legion patriots. The workers must recognize that the attack against the foreign-born workers is but a new attempt of the capitalist offensive against the suppressed and ill-paying laboring masses of the basic industries.

—Workers Party of America, Third National Convention, "Resolution on the Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers" (January 1924)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 6.

No. 612 **9 December 1994**

ANC Border Guards for South African Capitalism

November 14, 1994
Oakland, California

To the *WV* Editorial Board:

Dear Comrades,

The article "South African Workers Fight Mandela Austerity" (*WV* No. 610, 11 November) in denouncing the neo-apartheid government's anti-immigrant campaign states, "This has included placing electric fencing along the border with Mozambique and Zimbabwe." This implies a new policy. It isn't. Electric fencing was the policy of the old apartheid regime of the Nationalist Party. It has been a death sentence for untold numbers of desperate "illegal" immigrants. The fact that Mandela's government continues this policy exposes more clearly its repugnant role as junior partner in a neo-apartheid capitalist regime.

Don C.

WV replies: Comrade Don is right. The article was referring to a 65-mile *extension* of the electrified fence along South Africa's northern border with Zimbabwe, announced by Deputy Defense Minister and prominent South African Communist Party leader Ronnie Kasrils in early November. Fences were originally built on the borders with Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the mid-1980s, when ANC guerrillas fighting the apartheid government were infiltrating from these countries. Now the African National Congress' military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has "merged" with the apartheid troops and guards the borders.

The extension of the electrified fence is part of a xenophobic campaign against "illegal" immigrants, who have streamed into South Africa since the April elections only to find their hopes of a better life in the "new" South Africa dashed. The *Financial Mail* (9 September) reports that unions "are increasingly strident in decrying the tide of migrants streaming into the country, undercutting prices, grabbing low-wage jobs and aggravating crime and the already critical unemployment level." While COSATU labor federation leader Sam Shilowa tells foreign workers to "go back home," proletarian revolutionaries in South Africa must demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. ■

L.A. Child Dies Without Treatment

Prop 187 Kills

People are already dying as a result of Proposition 187, the racist ballot initiative in California to deny medical care, education and other public services to "illegal" immigrants. Less than two weeks after passage of the measure in the November 8 elections, a 12-year-old Orange County boy, Julio Cano, died of leukemia after several days' illness and a critical delay in emergency care attributable to 187. "Julio's parents, illegal immigrants from Mexico, say they were afraid to take [their son] to the hospital because they feared being asked about their immigration status" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 November).

Young Julio got sick on a Tuesday, but his hard-working father, Constantino Ramirez, had to wait until he got his meager paycheck on Friday before he could take his son to a local clinic—they had to walk because they have no car. There they were given antibiotics and told to monitor the boy's condition. On Saturday, the father phoned from work to check on Julio, whose condition had worsened: the boy could not speak or open his mouth. When firefighters responded to the 911 call, Julio's breathing and heartbeat had stopped, and he never revived.

"Please put in the newspaper," the grief-stricken mother, Rosa Cano, told *La Opinión* (27 November), "that since we arrived here my husband and I have always worked, earning at least the minimum wage of $4.25" an hour. "We have always paid our taxes and we have never asked for a single dollar from the government," she added pointedly. Nevertheless, Julio Cano and his parents were the victims of a racist backlash, extending from "white flight" suburbs to the California state house and the White House.

Throughout the state, for immigrants—legal or "illegal"—Prop. 187 is a death threat. As one immigrant coalition activist noted, "As far as they're concerned, their entire life changed on November 8."

Asked about the tragedy in a TV interview, Governor Pete Wilson responded by coldly dismissing "stories of that sort" and blaming "illegals" for the "tremendous burden" they supposedly put on hospital emergency rooms. Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer echoed the Republican governor, ranting that California "must be fully reimbursed for costs incurred" by undocumented immigrants (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 December). And the leading organizer for Prop. 187, Alan Nelson (director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service under the Reagan administration), chimed in: "187 will make it a lot tougher for illegals to stay here, that's the intent" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 November).

But this vicious intimidation could backfire. The parents of young Julio now vow to stay and fight: as Constantino Ramírez eloquently said, "In memory of Julio, we need to stay here to fight against 187 which has brought us so much injury to all Latinos."

While liberals, Latino activist lawyers and others try to assure the targeted immigrants that implementation of Prop. 187 has supposedly been stayed by court order, the fact is that it is *already* having its intended deadly effects. That same week, a 59-year-old woman from Shanghai died at San Francisco General Hospital from a brain hemorrhage caused by leukemia. "The woman's fear of deportation had led her to delay seeking treatment until she had bruises all over her body and a blind left eye" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 November).

Los Angeles Times

Julio Cano

Clinics in Los Angeles are reporting as much as a 60 percent drop in prenatal examinations because of no-shows, while immunizations against infectious childhood diseases such as measles, polio and diphtheria have nosedived even more sharply. In the SF Bay Area, the Alameda County health director warns of a coming public health crisis if immigrants do not come in for primary care, since communicable diseases like TB will not be caught before spreading. We say: Free, quality health care for all!

Now *legal* immigrants and U.S.-born Latinos are discovering that they too are targets of this racist attack. In Stockton, three teenage girls of American Indian and Latino ancestry tried to buy a pizza on the way home from school but were refused service when they could not produce naturalization papers! "I thought this Proposition 187 only affected illegal immigrants," the bewildered mother of one of the girls said (*Stockton Record*, 19 November). Attorneys for Latino groups report their "phone lines are swamped by calls from legal citizens complaining they are being asked for proof of citizenship, arrested for no reason, denied public and private services and harassed."

Meanwhile, multiracial protests continue to erupt against Prop. 187 and its deadly effects. Sit-ins at Cal State L.A. and UCLA resulted in nearly 50 arrests, including two members of the UCLA Spartacus Youth Club. We demand: Drop all charges against anti-187 protesters!

To defeat the vicious anti-immigrant offensive, it is necessary to mobilize the multiracial working class, in California and around the country. Particularly in L.A., immigrant workers have played a key role in energizing the labor movement. In recent years, militant struggles have been waged by the SEIU "Justice for Janitors" campaign, hotel workers, drywall construction workers and the Latino truckers who shut down Los Angeles ports last year and staged a caravan from San Pedro to L.A. City Hall on November 7 to protest Prop. 187.

Currently, the heavily Latino Hotel Workers Local 11 is fighting a bitter battle to save the jobs of more than 500 unionized workers at the Los Angeles Hilton and Towers complex, which is owned by the South Korean Hanjin conglomerate. Significantly, Korean community leaders in L.A. are calling on the South Korean capitalists to accede to the union's demands. If the American working class is to move forward, it must overcome the racial antagonisms deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie to "divide and rule."

The Spartacist League calls on labor to vigorously defend immigrants against government scapegoating. Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! ■

Boston: Racist Mob Targets Housing Integration

It looked like a rerun from Boston in the 1970s, when racist mobs terrorized black schoolchildren during the busing crisis. This October 13, upwards of 800 whites marched through South Boston protesting "forced housing," i.e., the desegregation of the three housing projects in this impoverished white ghetto. Some of the marchers even sported the same racist R.O.A.R. (Restore Our Alienated Rights) flags they brandished 20 years ago.

In response to court-ordered integration of the "Southie" projects, Democratic Party politicians like City Council president James Kelly, who headed the racist, anti-busing South Boston Information Center in the '70s, have whipped up a frenzy of hate against blacks, Asian Americans and Hispanics. At a raucous "emergency community meeting" at the Gavin School in September, Kelly railed against "black males in hooded sweatshirts" who "intimidated" area residents. When Mary Mathurin, a black woman, courageously stood up to say that she was also a victim of crime, and that her children were being attacked by whites, she was shouted down and told to "go back to Roxbury where you belong." Signatures were collected at the meeting for a "South Boston Community Action Corps," patterned after the anti-busing mobs.

This latest racist outburst follows a series of attacks on South Boston's few minority residents over the summer. The tone for these events was set on May 7, when fascist führer James Barrett of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement carried out a race-hate rally, under immense cop protection, on the steps of South Boston High School. In the aftermath of this provocation, there were two separate attacks on Asian youths, an assault on a Hispanic woman, the torching of a black man's car and at least one cross-burning. We pointed out that it was indeed ominous that Barrett was able to recruit some youth from the Irish of South Boston; historically, Catholics have been among the victims of nativist, anti-immigrant American fascism.

South Boston is one of the poorest *white* enclaves outside Appalachia. The capitalist rulers are pitting poor whites against poor minorities for scarce, dilapidated and roach-infested public housing. A recent survey pointed out that the southwest corner of South Boston (where the housing projects are located) has the highest concentration of households headed by white women of any neighborhood in the country. Meanwhile, the recent passage of state-wide Ballot Question No. 9, which outlaws all of Massachusetts' woefully inadequate rent control programs, is sure to increase homelessness among the elderly and the poor.

As elsewhere in the country, Boston's bourgeois politicians are fanning the flames of racism under the banner of being "tough on crime." But despite an increase in assaults (many directed at blacks and other minorities), violent crime in South Boston has declined by 17.8 percent since 1988, the first year that minorities were allowed in the projects there. And a recent investigation in the same projects shows that, per capita, whites are more likely than blacks to be arrested for criminal acts.

The "anti-crime" crusade means increased cop terror against oppressed minorities. On September 13, while a helicopter hovered overhead, scores of state, local, housing and transit cops swooped down on the Mission Hill housing development in Roxbury, arresting 107 "trespassers." Black men visiting relatives were caught in the dragnet, handcuffed and hauled off to the Suffolk County House of Corrections. As one resident put it, "They're taking innocent people, grabbing them like they're a piece of fish" (*Boston Globe*, 15 September).

Then, on October 19, nearly 100 local, state and federal cops staged a pre-dawn raid at the Franklin Hill project in Dorchester, arresting 13 black "suspects," including a mother of four dragged off in handcuffs in front of her children.

Earlier this year, on February 7, a young black man, Benjamin Schoolfield, was shot and killed at pointblank range in the western Massachusetts city of Springfield after the van that Schoolfield was driving was mistakenly reported as stolen. The killer, policeman Donald Brown, was fêted by his fellow cops in June after he was exonerated by an all-white jury. At the least, Brown was presented with a ham—a ritual associated with Ku Klux Klan lynchings.

The racist mobilization against public housing desegregation is a product of the defeat of school busing, which was killed by liberal Democrats in Congress while racist mobs stoned buses carrying black children into Southie two decades ago. While reformists like the Socialist Workers Party preached reliance on the capitalist state, calling on Republican president Ford to send federal troops to "protect" blacks from the racists, the Spartacist League campaigned for labor/black mobilizations to defend black schoolchildren and for extending busing to the privileged suburbs.

The struggle for basic needs like integrated, quality schools and housing requires mobilizing the working class and all minorities against the capitalist system which spawns the racist mobs. The Spartacist League fights for the program of *revolutionary integrationism*: For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Pennsylvania Execution Threat

In the aftermath of the 1994 midterm elections, with both Democrats and Republicans heating the drums for the death penalty to show who is "tougher on crime," pressure is building to throw the machinery of state murder into high gear.

In Pennsylvania, where an execution has not been carried out in 32 years, Steven Duffey was scheduled to die on December 6. As we go to press, the execution has been temporarily stayed. But he and over 170 others remain on the executioner's list.

Pennsylvania has the fourth-largest death row in the country. Foremost among those threatened by the executioner is political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, sentenced to death in 1982—four years before Duffey. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and prominent broadcaster—known as the "voice of the voiceless" because he spoke out for the oppressed—Jamal was framed for the killing of a Philadelphia cop.

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police is on a campaign demanding the execution of Jamal. State Representative Michael McGeehan, author of a bill to push through executions, said he's "specifically interested in [Jamal's] case. We're going to see him die."

The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, is campaigning to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. To join this effort, contact the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: (212) 406-4252.

We print below a statement by the PDC protesting the threatened execution of Steven Duffey.

4 December 1994

Governor Robert Casey
Harrisburg, PA
Dear Governor Casey:

We are writing to protest the planned execution of Steven Duffey, now scheduled for December 6. Capital punishment is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency. We demand the execution not be carried out.

The lethal injection which takes Mr. Duffey's life, and each and every one of these "legal" murders necessarily enhances the brutalization of society in all respects.

Thirty-two years have passed since Elmo Smith, the last person executed in Pennsylvania, died in the electric chair. The resumption of this state sponsored barbarism, with the execution of Mr. Duffey, places in immediate danger the lives of the more than 170 death-row inmates in Pennsylvania, the majority black or Hispanic.

We demand the execution of Mr. Duffey be stayed and his death sentence commuted.

Sincerely,
Paul Cooperstein

Extend the Strike! Shut Down MacBlo!

Labor Showdown on Vancouver Island

VANCOUVER—Members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers (CEP) and building trades unions in Port Alberni, British Columbia gave a taste of labor power on November 24, when a 300-strong picket line drove a scab "security" squad out of town amid a hail of fists, boots and snowballs. The strikebreakers, protected by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, were trying to serve an injunction issued by the B.C. Labour Relations Board against union pickets outside the MacMillan Bloedel pulp mill compound in central Vancouver Island. But the company thugs who had charged and spat at picketers ended up sprawled in the mud, the pages of their injunction scattered by the wind.

Last summer MacBlo, the biggest of the profit-bloated forestry conglomerates which are the mainstay of the B.C. economy, broke a 45-year closed-shop agreement by bringing in scab subcontractors for construction work on its Nexgen mill project. Ten years ago, the building trades unions did 80 percent of all construction work in B.C. Now it's less than 20 percent. Meanwhile, mechanization and "restructuring" threaten 20,000 job losses in the pulp industry by 1997.

For the last two months, angry workers from across British Columbia have flooded Port Alberni with well-organized and *effective* pickets which have stopped the scabs (who are in a company-created "union," dubbed a "rat union" by picketers). When scabs tried to disembark from the Vancouver Island ferry, workers threw up a picket line and stopped them. Again, when they fled the Island by ferry on November 24, some found their tires slashed. Unionists and their wives have taken more than 60 arrests for "illegal" picket activity. Even *advocacy* of picket lines has brought outrageous charges of contempt of court. *B.C. labor must demand: Drop the charges now!*

In late October, a 1,000-strong picket shut down the scab site for two days. Then on November 10, the CEP struck the existing MacBlo mill by the Nexgen site. Marching out to the cheers of construction unionists, the 850 pulp workers immediately swelled the lines while the scabs were squirreled out of town under police protection.

The bitter fight at Port Alberni recalls the 1992-93 strike at the Giant gold mine in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. For a full year, strikers there also faced off against scabs and their RCMP protectors. In a frontal attack on all Canadian labor, Yellowknife striker Roger Warren is now on trial, railroaded on first-degree murder charges in connection with the death of nine scabs in an underground explosion in the notoriously unsafe mine. *Drop all the charges—Free Roger Warren!*

People's Voice

Militant pickets at Port Alberni have sent scabs running.

The showdown at Port Alberni is a battle for all labor. The militant mass pickets and walkout by the mill workers at Alberni have stopped the scabbing, for now. The bosses are seeking a court injunction in order to call out the RCMP and run scabs this week. What's needed is to extend the strike to all MacBlo facilities province-wide, including to the powerful IWA-C woodworkers union, with its large number of South Asian members. The unity needed to bring MacBlo to its knees requires a hard fight against the racism and anti-immigrant poison that the bosses and their agents use to divide and paralyze workers' struggle.

A class-struggle fight will meet with the sabotage of the union misleaders and their friends in the New Democratic Party, which runs the B.C. provincial government. They are already working overtime to derail this struggle, preaching adherence to the bosses' strikebreaking laws. CEP local president Doug Lesire called the routing of the scabs a "black eye" for Port Alberni. B.C. Federation of Labour president Ken Georgetti loudly condemned picket line "violence," echoing the anti-union media. On November 29, Georgetti got the annual B.C. Fed convention to adopt a call for a losing "consumer boycott" of MacBlo products, explicitly counterposing this to mass pickets and other militant labor tactics which can win.

The labor tops turned the B.C. Fed convention into an NDP campaign rally, conveniently ignoring the New Democrats' strikebreaking against teachers and other workers. In 1975, the last time the NDP social democrats were in office, they passed the most sweeping strikebreaking law in provincial history against 60,000 wood/pulp workers, Teamsters and retail clerks. The memory of this betrayal is very much alive in Port Alberni, where many pulp workers tore up their NDP membership cards in anger back in '75.

The Port Alberni struggle has struck a chord in the working class as thousands see a chance to fight back against the bosses' attacks. B.C.'s union movement has historically been among the most militant in North America, but labor's power has been shackled by and to the pro-capitalist New Democrats. We address ourselves to the most class-conscious elements to split the NDP and win its working-class base to the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership. What's needed is a leadership that can stand rock-solid in the face of cop, court and scab attacks, a leadership that combats racial, national and sexual divisions. The successful mass union-centered mobilization in Vancouver that sent fascist scum packing in January 1993 is an example of how labor can champion the cause of all the oppressed.

This is the perspective that the Trotskyist League of Canada supporters have emphasized on the picket lines and at solidarity rallies, part of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party which can lead the fight for workers power. *Victory to the Port Alberni strikers!* ■

Korean War...

(continued from page 2)

> along this line. Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home."

When the Korean War began, the British Trotskyists issued a special supplement of their newspaper *Socialist Outlook* (4 July 1950) in which they declared that "the armies of the North are conducting a progressive war. They are entitled to the active assistance of the workers and the oppressed peoples of the whole world." The Trotskyists also issued an antiwar pamphlet consisting of letters from Lance Corporal Bill Tyler, a close sympathizer who was killed in Korea and who had distributed their press among British soldiers on the front.

Crawford cites Harry Ratner. But in his book *Reluctant Revolutionary*, Ratner, then a member of Healy's group, recalls the Trotskyists' principled position at the time: "we *did* criticise the Stalinists and the Communist Party; but we did this within the overall context that *we were on the side of North Korea and of the Soviet Union*, in the context that the *main enemy* was imperialism and that the Stalinist Moscow and Communist Party policies were how *not* to fight imperialism" (emphasis in original). It was this defense of North Korea that Cliff fled from, following on the heels of "left" Labourites like Fenner Brockway who had formerly worked with the Healy group inside the Labour Party.

A decade and a half later, when their pro-imperialist line was not selling well to young militants in the Vietnam antiwar movement, the Cliffites manufactured a spurious rationale that, unlike Korea, the Vietnamese struggle was purely one of "national liberation" and therefore worthy of support. In fact, both were struggles for national *and* social liberation that also posed defense of the deformed workers states. Then, as Cold War II revved up in the 1980s, the Cliffites' "third camp" ("Neither Washington nor Moscow") position again found them openly lining up behind imperialism: backing the CIA-backed *mujahedin* against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, cheering on Lech Walesa's pro-imperialist Solidarność in Poland, hailing Yeltsin counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union in August 1991.

In belittling Cliff's break with Trotskyism, Crawford amnesties these pro-imperialist, social-democratic politics. For revolutionaries, "which side are you on" in the class war is key. The Cliffites were, and remain, on the wrong side. ■

Spartacus Youth Clubs Welcome New Members

The following two membership applications were submitted to the San Francisco Spartacus Youth Club. We are proud to welcome these new recruits to our ranks.

I wish to join the Spartacus Youth Club. I am eager to assist, to the best of my abilities, a group that will lead the workers to victory over the capitalist exploiters. I want to participate in the formation of a better society, a society in which inequality and exploitation will have no place, and where those who work will rule.

For many years my knowledge of Marxism was rather vague. However, I have long been a witness to the exploitation of the working class, and to the ever increasing amounts of violence used against it by the bourgeoisie.

Proposition 187 is a warning sign, an indication of the anti-foreigner hysteria that possesses society. This proposition is an effort by the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat, to turn worker against worker. It serves as a homing beacon for the enemies of the working class and sends them a personal invitation to come out to California and beat up minorities on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Recently, an apologist for Hitler materialized in Berkeley, California. This creature, which goes by the name of David Irving, planned to treat his audience to his own highly original opinion of the Holocaust: It never happened. While some might dismiss Irving as the product of a solitary hiccup of evolution, one glance at his followers is enough to dispel this notion. The members of his audience—many sporting swastikas and other Nazi insignia—served as vivid but painful reminders of a time when mankind swung through the treetops. Enough workers were on hand to bring down the curtain on Irving's performance, but this cheerleader for der Führer and his loyal army of followers pose a growing threat to the proletariat.

The health care crisis is another sign of the times. Clinton's promise of universal coverage has remained exactly that: a promise. The Pied Piper of Little Rock used it to lure the naive—including me—into the Democratic Party in 1992. Once implanted in the White House, Clinton felt no need to make good on his promise—it was junked as being "too impractical."

It has been two years since the election and the health care system hasn't changed one iota. The bourgeoisie still get the best care money can buy, and the workers must make do with companies that place profit over the quality of care. This outrageous and immoral system has led to the death of my father and to the severe physical disabilities of my mother and one of my nieces.

Public education remains a sham. One always knows that when the call comes to cut frivolous government spending, public schools are the first to feel the crunch. This holds true from local elementary schools to the big state colleges. Rather than deprive themselves of limousines and expense accounts, the fat cat capitalist rulers gut institutions meant to serve the needs of the workers. The result is always the same: the bourgeoisie sends its children to expensive private schools, and the children of workers struggle to get an education in overcrowded, underfunded classrooms.

Los Angeles SYC members join mass protest against anti-immigrant Prop. 187, October 16.

The fall of the workers states in Europe has unleashed a monster, a bourgeois Godzilla determined to crush the world under its heel. Suddenly the capitalists have opportunities to exploit and oppress that they never thought possible just a short time ago. Millions of demoralized workers in Russia and Eastern Europe are being put to work making money for the bourgeoisie. Five years ago the capitalists would have been sent packing, but today they are welcomed by those willing to sell out their fellow workers in order to make a quick buck. No longer held in check by Russia, the American bourgeoisie is free to meddle with any country it chooses. It descends on country after country, "liberating" the populace and clearing the way for Coca-Cola, layoffs, and the unemployment line.

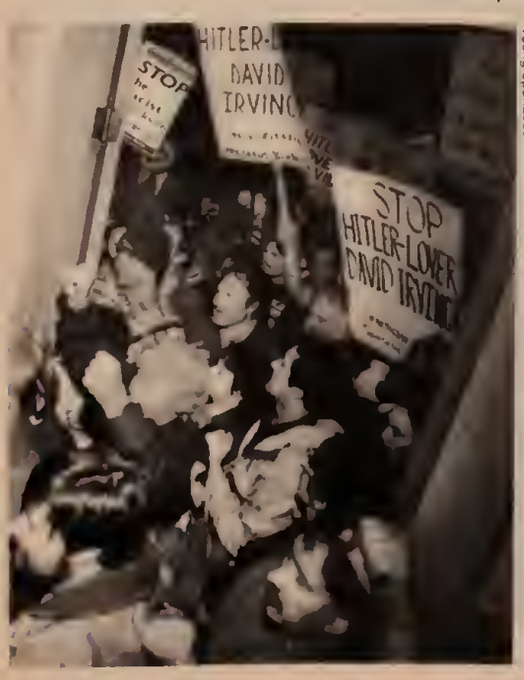
I am tired of the Yankee Doodle patriotism I see everywhere. The smug, self-righteous attitude of so many Americans disgusts me. How can I believe America to be the greatest country in the world when I see so much misery and suffering around me? And worse, how can I support a system determined to export exploitation and racism to every corner of the world?

I can't.

My conscience will no longer allow me to lend my support to a system that feeds off inequality, that pits man against woman, black against white, young against old. Capitalism is a system that locks workers in a pointless struggle, a struggle that wastes valuable energy and resources. It's a system that benefits a few at the expense of many. All workers must realize that we cannot win under capitalism, and that the only way to beat the system is to change it.

I strongly believe that now is the time for action, and I stand ready to do my share of the work in building a new and better society. I believe that the Spartacist League will be instrumental in this task and I fully agree with its statement of purpose. I would feel honored to be accepted into the Spartacus Youth Club, and if admitted, I agree to follow its program, decisions, and rules.

Susan
San Francisco



Young Spartacus

Protesters rout Hitler-lover David Irving and his Nazi cohorts in Berkeley, California, October 13. SYC fights for labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists.

Do you enjoy living in a society filled with racism, poverty, homelessness, oppression, and police brutality? Firstly, class struggle and inequality were brought to my attention when I moved from a middle-class suburb into an El Salvadoran working-class neighborhood located in downtown L.A. Next, I moved into a black neighborhood in Venice, where domestic gang violence claimed at least four lives a week. Here, I split the cost of rent with another leftist, and continued my work as a political graffiti artist. In addition to arresting me for defacing private property, the Los Angeles Police Department destroyed a legal mural that I painted on my high school. Thus my seditious animosity, and interest in revolution, was sparked.

I am interested in joining the SYC because I feel that the Spartacist League is a true revolutionary party that can lead the working class in an all-out conflict with the system. I agree with the program of the SL and will abide by the discipline of the party. Moreover, a massive general confrontation between capital and labor remains inevitable under capitalism due to the minimal share of national income going to the working class, and the increasing share going to profits. Also, the current newspaper strike exposes the ruling class' intention to weaken union organization, drive down wages, cut social services, and slash jobs. Furthermore, this [*San Francisco Chronicle*] strike reveals the motives of the trade-union leaders, whose main concern is to preserve their balancing role between workers and employers. At the crucial moment they will inevitably betray. Therefore, I'm motivated to smash the bourgeoisie's state, and replace it with a society of real freedom and equality in which there is no longer a state or any oppression of people by people.

Richard T.
San Francisco

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

AP photos

South Korean police state is a tinder box. Rail workers demonstrate on eve of strike in June (left); students protest in April against U.S. deployment of Patriot missiles against North.

Hands Off South Korean Workers, Leftist Students!

The agreement between U.S. and North Korean negotiators in Geneva in October came after almost two years of pounding imperialist threats and blackmail. Under the terms of the pact, North Korea has agreed to restrictions on its nuclear reactor program in return for promises from Washington of supplying its fuel/power needs (to be financed mainly by South Korea and Japan), as well as the beginnings of diplomatic relations with the U.S. The Clinton administration extorted a promise of eventual inspections of North Korean military facilities, while reasserting its position as arbiter on the peninsula and more broadly in the North Pacific.

The Seoul regime initially carped about a deal being made behind its back, but South Korea's big business magnates have been pushing for a rapprochement with Pyongyang as a step toward capitalist reunification of the peninsula, which was divided in the aftermath of World War II. Shortly after the pact was signed, the South Korean government announced that it was dropping its ban on direct trade with the North. Meanwhile, in Washington, the new Republican majority on Capitol Hill is threatening to scuttle the deal, railing that Clinton is selling out to the North Korean "Communists." At the same time, the Asian-Pacific economic summit in Jakarta, Indonesia was dominated by "negotiations" between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul over financing the agreement. Behind the "peace" talk is the spectre of escalating turmoil in this pivotal world arena.

The pact was signed the day after the period of official mourning for North Korean leader Kim Il Sung ended. The death of the 82-year-old Kim in July unleashed a flood tide of speculation in the bourgeois press about the future of the Pyongyang regime and the isolated deformed workers state over which it rules. The media was filled with unconfirmed rumors of a succession crisis and wild tales of mass starvation and imminent collapse, many of them fueled by the anti-communist propaganda mills of the South Korean police state. Much of this was deliberate disinformation aimed at augmenting the U.S.-orchestrated hysteria over North Korea. Meanwhile, the imperialist media largely blacked out reports of the widespread labor and student struggles which rocked the capitalist South throughout the summer and the draconian repression meted out by the "democratic" Kim Young Sam regime in Seoul.

The recent agreement was announced after talks resumed in late September between the U.S. and North Korea, aimed at resolving the crisis manufactured by Washington over Pyongyang's supposed nuclear bomb. Weeks before his death from a heart attack on July 8, Kim Il Sung struck a deal with former U.S. president and "human rights" imperialist Jimmy Carter. The Pyongyang regime agreed to freeze its nuclear program and cede control over 8,000 spent fuel rods recently removed from a reactor in Yongbyon in exchange for U.S. promises of more modern, light-water reactors—which produce less plutonium—to replace the graphite-controlled ones North Korea has or is building. This is essentially what Washington has now agreed to.

The plutonium that U.S. rulers really want to assert control over is the tons of it hoarded by Japan, as the *New York Times* (20 August) suggested in a front-page article: "Japan plans to obtain 50 tons more over the next 15 years, mainly produced in European plants, and within seven years it plans to open up a huge new reprocessing plant of its own. If diverted to weapons use, those supplies could produce thousands of nuclear weapons." During the Cold War Korea was a trip-wire for a nuclear third world war against the Soviet Union. Today it is a platform for American attempts to dominate Asia and the Pacific Rim, as the U.S. seeks to keep its Japanese "ally"-cum-rival in line by turning the "confrontation" with North Korea on and off. In the post-Cold War new world *dis*order, the struggle to redivide the globe for exploitation among the major imperialist rivals—Japan, Germany and the U.S.—is no longer restrained by common hostility to the Soviet deformed workers state.

Spartacist Canada

Leftist students face off against police phalanx in Seoul, June 1991.

Japan now has the fourth-largest military in the world, including a significant naval force. Earlier this year, the Foreign Ministry "drafted a legal opinion holding that under international law, nuclear missiles can't be deemed illegal" (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 August). The Japanese press recently revealed the existence of a 1969 Foreign Ministry document which called for a nuclear capability. The document stated: "For the time being Japan's policy will be to not possess nuclear weapons. But it will always maintain the economic and technical potential to manufacture nuclear weapons, and will see to it that [Japan] won't accept outside interference on this matter."

The U.S. ruling class—which wiped out the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the only use of nuclear weapons against anyone anywhere—wants to maintain its overwhelming nuclear hegemony. Meanwhile, Japan's rulers are indeed moving to remilitarize and are staking out their claim to hegemony over their former "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Spartacist League/U.S. and Spartacist Group Japan, sections of the International Communist League, join in opposing the renewed drive toward bloody interimperialist conflict between these two rapacious bourgeoisies, declaring: The main enemy is at home!

Washington's on-again, off-again "peace" moves notwithstanding, North Korea remains subjected to imperialist embargo and other war provocations. Clinton and the Pentagon have readied reinforcements for the 37,000 U.S. troops still stationed in the South. The U.S. can still threaten to resume its "Team Spirit" military "exercises," which amount to practice invasions of the North. Meanwhile Admiral Ronald Zlatoper, U.S. commander in the Pacific, explicitly invoked the occupation of Haiti to declare that "some very strong military force can influence diplomacy" (*New York Times*, 1 October).

Despite periodic ravings in the American press about an imminent North

Korean invasion, it is the U.S. and South Korea who act like they're about to restart the Korean War of 1950-53. The "truce" line along the 38th parallel DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) bristles with high-tech armaments and concentrations of U.S. and South Korean troops, who maintain a "pumped-up air of vigilance," as Ian Buruma reported in the *New Yorker* (12 September) on a recent visit to Korea, while their North Korean counterparts show "no sign of overt hostility or belligerence."

Meanwhile, the Seoul regime has been acting as though it already *is* at war, rounding up thousands of trade unionists and student activists under the draconian National Security Law for alleged pro-North sympathies. It is the elementary duty of the international working class to rally to the defense of the embattled workers and students of South Korea against capitalist repression and to defend the North Korean workers state against imperialism and counterrevolution. We demand the immediate release of all arrested South Korean trade unionists and student protesters! Hands off the labor and left movements! Hands off North Korea!

South Korean Powder Keg

Though somewhat more restrained than in previous years, the annual "spring offensive" by South Korea's unions nonetheless demonstrated the explosive character of class struggle in the South. Particularly since the massive strike wave of 1987-88, which forced the military dictatorship to grant direct presidential elections and led to the rise of an independent labor movement, the South Korean proletariat has demonstrated enormous combativity and courage in the face of severe repression. The election two years ago of Kim Young Sam, a former leader of the "democratic" opposition, marked a recognition by the South Korean ruling class that labor upsurge could no longer be contained simply through military measures. But, as we noted earlier, "Kim's election is little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" (*WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993).

Kim Young Sam's mission from the *chaebols* (industrial conglomerates) was to rein in the turbulent working class, drive up the rate of exploitation in the face of an economic downturn and roll back the concessions won in 1987-88. Last year the regime limited wage increases to about 8.5 percent, with inflation running between 20 and 30 percent. This year, the government-sponsored and "AFL-CIA"-advised Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) agreed to a ceiling of 5 to 8 percent. An independent union coalition, Chonnodae (Korean Council of Trade Unions), has succeeded in winning many unions away from the FKTU. When independent unions challenged the wage-gouging deal, the government came down hard.

Exacerbating the *chaebol* monopolists' fears of militant labor struggle is the presence of an active student movement hostile to the U.S. imperialist presence. Throughout the spring and summer, a wave of bitter strikes by the independent unions against the government-directed austerity drive coincided with an upsurge in student struggles against the Kim Young Sam regime. An editorial in the English-language *Korea Times* (22 June) on a strike threat by rail and subway workers vituperated against "Outlaw Workers" and warned against links with "radical students" aimed at "triggering a united anti-government struggle."

Der Spiegel

Clinton at "demilitarized" zone along North Korean border, July 1993, as part of U.S. campaign of war provocations.

The next day, 6,700 members of the outlawed Chongihyop independent train engineers union walked off the job in defiance of a government ban on public employees' strikes, paralyzing rail transportation throughout the country. The engineers had already been planning a strike over demands centering around wages, reinstatement of fired militants and inhuman work schedules which can mean 24-hour shifts. But the strike was moved up in protest against pre-dawn raids by 6,000 riot police aimed at dispersing workers' rallies at union offices. Despite the arrest of more than 600 union members and the mobilization of troops and retired workers as scabs, the railway system was effectively shut down for several days; in Seoul, striking engineers simply took the locomotive keys home with them.

Subway workers in Seoul and Pusan, who have gone on strike every year since 1987 (in some cases letting passengers travel free beforehand), joined the walkout, again flouting the anti-strike laws. As cops and troops stood guard outside stations, thousands of riot police staged raids on campuses and churches in search of strike militants. When police attacked workers' demonstrations, the strikers defended themselves with steel pipes. Chonnodae's call for a general solidarity strike met with scattered response, and in the aftermath almost 800 engineers were fired in the largest government purge ever. By June 29, most of the rail workers were back at work, as the government struggled furiously to prevent the strikes from spreading, fearing a repeat of the "Great Workers Struggle" of 1987-88.

That same day, the regime mobilized thousands of police to break strikes in Kwangju, Taegu and Pusan. In Kwangju, 4,000 cops stormed the Kumho Tire Co. to disperse 2,000 union members and their families, arresting 200 militants. As police fired tear gas, retreating workers set fire to a massive pile of used tires and escaped out the back, preventing the arrest of eight "wanted" union activists. When 2,000 combat police attacked a strike at Daewoo Automotive Components in Taegu, workers defended themselves with hearings and steel pipes, setting fire to barricades. In Pusan, police raided the Maryknoll Hospital and arrested 81 militants, including the union chairman. But when Pusan police tried the same thing against strikers at Hanjin Heavy Industries, some 1,300 workers occupied an LNG (liquified natural gas) carrier.

On June 30, 25,000 shipyard workers at Hyundai Heavy Industries walked off the job in a strike which went on until late August. After a month, the company declared a lockout and a "no work, no pay" policy (previously workers had compelled the company to pay them for time out on strike). When the lockout was lifted on August 17, clashes broke out between workers fighting to continue the strike and those who buckled under company pressure to go back. The strike was finally called off a week later after more than half of the strikers had reportedly returned to work. While the union acceded to the loss of pay during the strike/lockout, the company was forced to accept an 11.3 percent pay hike and an agreement not to bring criminal charges against 49 union leaders.

Shortly after the Hyundai walkout began, union leaders ordered a one-week suspension of the strike "in consideration of the delicate situation at home and abroad" following Kim Il Sung's death, while other unions in the Hyundai empire failed to join the shipyard workers in strike action. Evidence of a deterioration in traditional workers' solidarity was also found in a large-scale crossing of picket lines for the first time at Daewoo Shipbuilding. Seizing on the war fever whipped up over Washington's confrontation with North Korea, the bourgeois press tried to instigate a chauvinist anti-strike frenzy following the railway workers' action, ranting: "Forty-four years ago, it was the North Korean Communist invaders that stopped the train. Now it is not 'external foes' but 'our fellow workers' who have been halting operations" (*Korea Times*, 28 June).

Seoul's "Democratic" Police State On the Rampage

While the level of strike activity has declined somewhat in the last couple of years, there was a sharp rise in student struggle over the summer. In mid-June, 3,000 police stormed Hongik University in Seoul—to be met by a hail of firebombs and rocks—after students captured 54 cops guarding the campus area. Government repression against leftist students had already been stepped up during the spring as part of the war fever spurred by the U.S. campaign for sanctions against the North. Hanchongnyon, the Korean Federation of University Student Councils, was branded an "organization benefitting the enemy," and 124 students were arrested for contact with the North, including ten leading members of the Youth League for Kim Il Sung Ideology. In the wake of Kim Il Sung's death, Seoul escalated its vicious witch-hunt against radical militants. Warning that any expression of grief would violate the National Security Law, the Prosecutor General's office tracked student leaders and organized massive police mobilizations to prevent anyone from crossing the border to attend Kim's funeral in Pyongyang.

On July 13, police raided Seoul campuses and arrested 55 student leaders for organizing mourning committees for Kim Il Sung's funeral. Students responded the next day by attacking police stations around Seoul. Two days later, cops staged a pre-dawn raid at Chonnam National University in Kwangju—a city with a history of militant leftist struggle, where workers and students staged a heroic uprising in 1980—in order to confiscate a secret altar for mourning the North Korean leader. On the day of the funeral, 28,000 riot police spread out to universities across the country, raiding at least five. When the Jesuit president of Seoul's Sogang University charged that Hanchongnyon was communicating with the North via fax and computer networks, the government launched a crackdown even some of the bourgeois media characterized as "McCarthyite."

By the end of July, the regime had labeled all student activists as North Korean agents and terrorists, warning that it would deal "strictly" with "impure elements"; 140 students were placed on its "most wanted" list, with rewards of up to $12,400 for the arrest of some. On August 15, police in Seoul sought to break up massive Liberation Day demonstrations—marking the 49th

continued on page 8

Pantheon Books

Mario Ambrosius

North Korean capital Pyongyang was devastated by U.S. during Korean War (above). Planned economy enabled North Korea to provide modern housing and universal social services.

Korea...

(continued from page 7)

anniversary of the surrender of the Japanese colonial army in 1945—organized by Hanchongnyon and other pro-reunification organizations. Some 20,000 cops occupied campuses, subways and government buildings. At Seoul University, 10,000 students battled almost as many cops for four hours. Police sprayed tear gas on the demonstrators from helicopters and arrested 2,400 students. The Education Ministry called for a ban on campus protests during the fall term, and university administrations ordered surveillance of entrances, aimed as well at trade unions which use the campuses for meetings.

Meanwhile, the National Assembly has demanded the firing of all "professors who pollute students." In August, nine professors who co-authored a 1990 textbook, *How to Understand Korean Society*, were summoned for interrogation by a district prosecutor's office on suspicion of pro-North Korean writings. When they refused to appear, denouncing the "kangaroo court" proceedings, those of their students who received good grades were also called in for questioning! All told, some 300 or more leftist students have been rounded up recently, three times the number arrested during the whole of 1989, when former general Roh Tae Woo launched a repressive campaign aimed at consolidating his power. *Down with the Kim Young Sam regime's repression! Release all leftist students and worker militants languishing in South Korea's jails! Abolish the National Security Law!*

Aaronson/Network Aspen

Birthday celebration in 1992 for Kim Il Sung. Limousine was given to Kim by Stalin. Kim's doctrine of *Juche* ("self-reliance"), variant of Stalin's "socialism in one country," is obstacle to spread of revolution.

The Bitter Legacy of Kim Il Sung

Despite the bourgeoisie's attempt to portray South Korean society as seamlessly anti-communist, the widespread manifestations of lament over Kim Il Sung's death reflect a degree of respect for the demonized North Korean ruler. Many regard him as a true nationalist, particularly for his history as a leader of guerrilla struggle against the Japanese. But one does not have to believe Seoul's lurid propaganda to recognize the bizarre character of this ultimate Stalinist cult of personality. In this bureaucratically deformed workers state which claims to be a socialist country, the heir to the "Great Leader" was declared decades in advance to be Kim's son, "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il. Pyongyang's Korean Central News Agency solemnly announced that violent storms struck Mount Paekdu, an extinct volcano deemed sacred in Korean mythology, just as "the great heart of the supreme brain of the Korean revolution stopped beating...the ancestral mountain is writhing in grief" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 July).

In the wake of Kim's death, the Western press ran sensationalist headlines like "Korea After Kim: The Headless Beast" (*Newsweek*, 18 July), conjuring up "worst-case scenarios." The imperialist speculation mills thrive on the fact that North Korea has been an opaque society—including to its own people. But despite dire claims from suspect South Korean and imperialist sources that the population is reduced to eating tree bark or at least suffers widespread hunger, there is nothing to corroborate such reports. For example, there is no evidence of masses of refugees crossing the border into China, where there is an ethnic Korean population. Moreover, even the UN Food and Agricultural Organization estimated that North Korean rice production had the highest yield per hectare in the world between 1979 and 1990, and per capita calorie intake approximated or even exceeded that of South Korea. Yet in 1990, North Korea began importing rice, and grain production evidently plummeted (Gavan McCormack, "Kim Country: Hard Times in North Korea," *New Left Review*, March/April 1993).

Central planning also allowed North Korea to achieve a significant level of industrialization. It is often forgotten today that up until the late 1970s, per capita industrial output in the North exceeded that in the South. This changed only with the tremendous influx of Japanese capital. Since then, however, the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to even deeper isolation for the North, cutting off a major source of parts and equipment and oil at "friendship" prices. The gross national product has reportedly been in decline for several years, and the ruling Korean Workers Party admitted last December that production in electricity generation, steel and other key industries was either stagnating or dropping. On top of this, North Korea is forced to devote an enormous proportion of its resources to defense against the ongoing military threat posed by the U.S. and South Korea. Fully a quarter of the North's GNP is consumed by military expenditures; yet at $2 billion, this is a drop in the bucket compared to the $15 billion spent annually on "defense" by the South.

Faced with an economic impasse, Pyongyang has apparently opted for the "Chinese" road of introducing capitalist market "reforms" while maintaining the firm grip of the bureaucratic regime. Kim Jong Il is said to have gathered around himself "what you would call the reformist element in North Korea," according to Selig Harrison of the Carnegie Endowment. It was the younger Kim who invited the sinister Sun Myung Moon—a notorious anti-communist who heads the cultist "Unification Church" and has long-established connections with the South Korean CIA—to visit Pyongyang in 1991 and lecture on the benefits of reunification.

Kim Jong Il was also reportedly the force behind last year's revision of the investment laws along Chinese lines and the establishment in 1991 of the country's first "free economic zone," near Rajin and Sonbong in the northeast. Earlier this year, the cities of Nampo and Sinuiju were designated for the creation of more free trade and investment areas. The regime has been aggressively courting IBM among other foreign firms with the lure of a highly trained and disciplined, low-wage workforce. This will result in imperialist economic penetration of the deformed workers state.

In China, this program is rapidly propelling the deformed workers state along the road of capitalist counterrevolution, a road which will be much shorter in North Korea, dwarfed as it is by the *chaebol*-driven capitalist economy to the south. Already there has been a big expansion in South Korean investment in low-wage "labor intensive" joint ventures, and Southern capitalists expect the level of trade with the North to jump *five-fold* from $200 million to $1 billion within a year following the end of Seoul's ban on direct business dealings. According to the *Economist* (16 July), Seoul's "National Unification Board" anticipates under the "China model" raking in superprofits for years by keeping North Korean wages low and the border sealed. "Market reforms" will result in mass misery.

The prospect of the North Korean deformed workers state being opened to untrammeled capitalist exploitation is the result of the pernicious political legacy bequeathed by Kim Il Sung. His autarkic dogma of *Juche* (self-reliance), a Korean version of Stalin's "socialism in one country" steeped in nationalist mythology, means opposition to workers revolution anywhere else. For decades, the bureaucracy has vainly sought to be left alone by the imperialists, while pushing utopian schemes for "peaceful reunification" with the capitalist South.

Its "socialist" gloss notwithstanding, this nationalist perspective undermines the defense of the collectivized economy in every respect, economically and politically. Ian Buruma reports in the *New Yorker* that an official North Korean tour guide speaking about the regime's promises of imminent reunification exclaimed: "Next year, our wall will also fall. And, like the Germans, we will celebrate the liberation of our country." That a supposed Communist could speak with such rapture of the devastation inflicted on East Germany's working people by capitalist reunification is a measure of the grotesque nationalism which *Juche* has inculcated in the popular consciousness. This sort of "liberation" is also what the South Korean monopolies, the *chaebols*, have in mind. While they may seek a slower and controlled pace of counterrevolution than German imperialism's annexation of the DDR, they too are thirsting to transform North Korean workers into wage slaves.

The defense of the collectivized foundations of the North Korean deformed workers state is increasingly posed pointblank. North Korea cannot continue to survive as a workers state in isolation for an extended period of time. The destruction of the Soviet Union has left North Korea, like Cuba and Vietnam, perilously exposed to imperialist pressure and capitalist restoration. The key to the defense of North Korea's social revolution lies in a revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses on both sides of the 38th parallel.

Socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist police state in the South must be linked to a proletarian political revolution in the North, leading to a regime of proletarian democracy based on workers councils (soviets). But a united socialist Korea would immediately confront imperialist powers determined to obliterate any obstacles to their proclaimed "New World Order." The urgent task to ensure the *survival* of a revolution in Korea would be to *extend* it throughout the region, breaking out of the confines of this tiny peninsula.

Suaua/VU

Television factory in North Korea. Until late 1970s, North had higher per capita industrial output than capitalist South.

Korea abuts eastern Siberia in a now-capitalist but highly unstable Russia, offering a direct link to the Russian proletariat. More importantly, China is on the verge of a profound crisis. As the workers upsurge around the 1989 Tiananmen massacre showed, the Chinese proletariat is seething over the destruction of the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits, and the concomitant inequality. Already strikes have broken out in the "special economic zones" against the hideous exploitation by foreign capital. And in imperialist Japan, particularly given its sizable minority of oppressed Korean workers, a revolution in Korea could open the road to socialist revolution in this industrial powerhouse of Asia. The critical element lies in the forging of *internationalist* Bolshevik parties in Korea and throughout East Asia.

For a Trotskyist Party in Korea!

South Korea is a garrison state, the capitalist half of a nation divided by the battle line of a class civil war. With the regime in a permanent state of war mobilization, any serious strike immediately comes up against the state and tends

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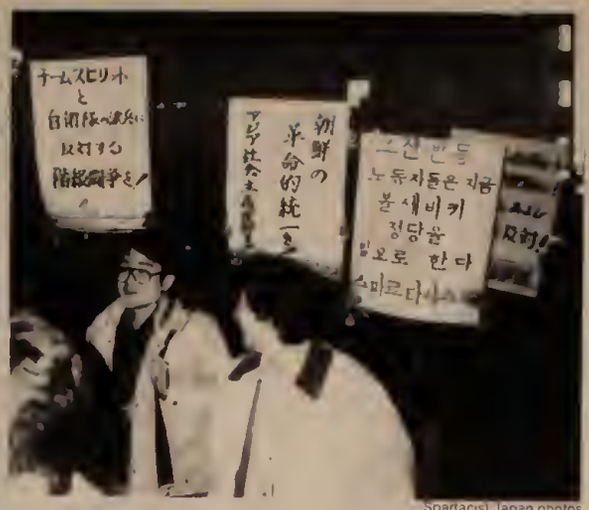
quickly to challenge the capitalist order. To the ruling class, the linking up of South Korean workers with the workers in the North, where the capitalists were kicked out and kept out through heroic struggle costing millions of lives, is their greatest nightmare. And the rule of the *chaebols* is vulnerable; it is not good news for the regime that army enrollment is the lowest ever, with some draftees amputating toes and fingers to avoid serving, while the military academies scramble for recruits. And despite all the resources of a militarized police state, tens of thousands of university students appear to have embraced the South Korean state's main enemy, Kim Il Sung is a hero to these students for fighting against the imperialist oppressors of Korea—first Japan and then the U.S.

But Kim Il Sung and the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy, wedded to the myth of achieving "socialism" in half a country, have not fought for reunification of Korea through revolutionary struggle by the South Korean masses. In order to win, the Korean working class needs a *genuinely communist* program of struggle aimed at ridding the country of the capitalists, their U.S. imperialist backers and their counterrevolutionary designs against the North. This requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

The recently formed independent South Korean trade unions have demonstrated unparalleled militancy under harrowing conditions. But such defensive organizations of the working class are inherently incapable of leading the proletariat to power. Indeed, under a leadership—however militant—which accepts the constraints of capitalism, they are incapable even of consistently defending the workers' interests against the onslaughts of the police-state regime. In the absence of a leadership programmatically bound to an internationalist revolutionary party, the unions will necessarily reflect sectional and national interests. Thus Chonnodae's founding statement comes out in favor of protectionism, tying itself to the interests of the South Korean capitalists *against* those of workers in other countries. And Chonnodae criminally refuses to organize the tens of thousands of foreign workers in the South brought in to do the notorious "3 D" (dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs.

Student activists, many of whom see themselves as pro-working-class and anti-capitalist, can provide a core of cadre for a revolutionary party. But to do so, they must break with widespread illusions in the nationalist dogma of *Juche*, which is an *obstacle* to overthrowing the criminal South Korean ruling class. It is the obscurantist ideological smokescreen of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the North, which has a vested interest in *preventing* the South Korean proletariat from seizing power and expropriating the capitalists. While many Korean leftists are clearly courageous and dedicated, they have little opportunity to acquaint themselves with authentic Marxism and the proud traditions of early Korean Communism (see "Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!" *WV* No. 602, 10 June). It was not until the "people's movement" of 1987-88 that the writings of Marx and Lenin were even allowed to circulate in the South.

One organization which has sought to capitalize on this ignorance is the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. Since its formation in 1990, the ISSK has appealed to leftist students by passing itself off as an authentic Marxist alternative to Kim Il Sung Stalinism and post-Cold War anti-communism. Yet more than any other tendency on the left, the Cliffites have done their utmost to foster the bourgeois lie that "communism is dead." The ISSK has recently been the target of vicious anti-socialist repression, with the arrest of two dozen of its supporters, including its leader Choi Il Bung, who was earlier imprisoned for publishing leftist literature (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993).



Spartacist Japan photos

Thousands protest in Kyoto in June against attacks on Korean minority in Japan (left). Spartacist Group Japan fights against racist oppression of Koreans. Spartacist slogans at earlier protest included, "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" and (in Korean) "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!"

But although they were jailed on charges of "benefitting the enemy," this group shares the *chaebol* bourgeoisie's virulent hostility to the North Korean deformed workers state. Under the rubric "Neither Washington Nor Moscow," during the Cold War the Cliffites regularly supported every CIA-backed, anti-Soviet force, from Lech Walesa's Solidarność in Poland to the Islamic fundamentalist mujahedin in Afghanistan. Aping Cliff, the South Korean IS grotesquely carries on its newspaper masthead the slogan, "Neither North Korea Nor South Korea, but International Socialism"! When the imperialists hailed the "death of Communism" following Yeltsin's ascent to power in Moscow in August 1991, the Cliffites cheered louder than anyone else, applauding Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counterrevolution with a headline exulting, "Communism Has Collapsed."

Opportunistically seeking to curry favor among leftist militants, the ISSK buries its own history, and particularly *the Cliffites' criminal refusal to defend the North Korean workers state against the U.S.-led counterrevolutionary invasion of 1950-53*. It was this cowardly capitulation to the first imperialist Cold War—with a public statement in 1950 "opposing both the Russian puppet Government of North Korea and the American puppet Government of South Korea"—which provoked Cliff & Co.'s expulsion and defection from the Trotskyist movement (see "The Origins of the SWP: Korea and the Cliff Group," *Spartacist Britain* No. 24, August/September 1980). To justify their refusal to defend the gains of the October Revolution, the Cliffites denounced the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and claimed that (state) capitalism had been restored there as far back as 1928!

Since then, the Cliffites have earned a sordid reputation for routinely crossing workers' picket lines—from the epic 1984-85 miners strike in Britain to campus workers struggles in the U.S.—just as they *scab* on defense of social revolutions from East Europe to North Korea. The SWP social democrats even crow about *recruiting cops*, boasting in a letter printed without comment in *Socialist Worker* (26 June 1993) how they "had a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives and would read *Socialist Worker*."

Recently, the ISSK's *Workers Solidarity* (August 1994) ran an article on the Korean War with a crude appeal to Korean nationalism, claiming that the war was purely "a test of the big powers' power...waged on a Third World country's territory." This is a transparent attempt to invoke the anti-communist shibboleth of "Soviet expansionism." In fact, Stalin even opposed Mao Tse-tung's belated drive to rid China of the corrupt Kuomintang landlords and compradors. Because of the collectivized foundations of the Soviet degenerated workers state—and despite Stalin's nationalist and capitulationist policies—when the Red Army moved into the north of Korea in 1945, it liberated the area from brutal Japanese colonial rule. Backed by a wave of worker and peasant struggles, Kim expropriated the capitalist industry which had been run by the Japanese and distributed land to the peasants, carrying out a social revolution from above.

In contrast, in South Korea the U.S. imperialists installed a dictatorial regime of puppets recruited from the Japanese occupation which viciously repressed the masses. When Kim sent his troops south in 1950, they were greeted with uprisings and the puppet army collapsed until the Pentagon massively intervened, under the same UN fig leaf Clinton now finds so useful for his imperialist adventures. Fought to a standstill when the Chinese People's Army entered the war, the U.S. under Truman and Eisenhower was restrained from launching a nuclear holocaust against both North Korea and China only by the fear of Soviet nuclear retaliation. It was and remains the elementary duty of class-conscious workers internationally, particularly in the U.S., Japan and South Korea, to defend North Korea against attack by the imperialists or the Seoul regime. This is what the "third camp" Cliffites scorn.

Only a party grounded in revolutionary internationalism can lead the South Korean proletariat to power against the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and oust the bureaucratic caste in Pyongyang through workers political revolution. A Trotskyist party would draw in all the oppressed behind the working class, basing itself on the program of permanent revolution. Only proletarian state power can emancipate the country from the stranglehold of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and resolve the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Against the Stalinist/Confucian glorification of the family, which serves to maintain the age-old subjugation of women, a revolutionary workers party would act as a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of social oppression.

The Korean peninsula is a focal point for confrontation in the turbulent "post-Soviet" world. The North Korean deformed workers state is under direct threat of capitalist counterrevolution orchestrated from Washington, Tokyo and Seoul. North Korean workers are faced with the political bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the deceased Kim Il Sung and his son and heir Kim Jong Il; to defend themselves they desperately need to break out of the isolation exacerbated by the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union. The rule of South Korea's rapacious capitalist overlords rests unstably on the intense exploitation of a powerful working class which continues to explode. The need for a *revolutionary reunification of Korea* is increasingly urgent. For a Korean Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

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Prop 187...

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unexpected unity of rebellious poor black and Latino youth as they looted stores and battled the police. Now bourgeois politicians—both right-wing Republicans and liberal Democrats—seek to pit the ghetto against the barrio by arguing that the large influx of immigrants from Latin America and the Far East has further impoverished the black masses.

And significant elements of the black misleaders have bought into and are selling this racist lie. A typical representative of the liberal black Democratic establishment is former Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, who recently chaired the federal government's Commission on Immigration Reform. Yet the recommendations of the Jordan Commission could just as well have been authored by Newt Gingrich or Pete Wilson. They include such police-state measures as a computerized registry of all "legal" workers, a "tamper proof" Social Security card as a step toward a South African-style pass system, increased "border management" and the removal "of those with no right to be here."

A crude example of the nativist appeal being bandied about to justify such measures comes from a black L.A. high school teacher, Ezola Foster, who founded African Americans for Family Values: "These people are taking food off our children's table.... We need to get our house in order before we have an open house for everybody who wants to come to the party" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 October). But life for the impoverished blacks in the ghettos has never been a "party." And black working people must understand: police-state measures directed in the first instance at "illegal" immigrants will be used with no less savagery against themselves.

Immigrant-Bashing and Fascist Terror

As part of Clinton's "get tough" stance on immigrants, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) last week announced that nearly 200,000 Salvadoran refugees formerly granted temporary protected status would face deportation as of December 31. During the civil war of the 1980s, an estimated half a million Salvadorans fleeing American-backed death squad terror came to the U.S. Now that Washington has declared El Salvador (whose president was a sponsor of death squads for the fascistic ARENA party) a democracy, the Clinton administration intends to make an example of these hardworking immigrants who went through hell to get here (and who have played a militant role in labor struggles here). Black Haitians, of course, are being kept out by a Coast Guard flotilla, now augmented by U.S. occupation of Haiti. Anti-Communist Cubans, however, will as usual receive special treatment as part of Washington's decades-long war against the revolution "only 90 miles from Florida."

The chauvinist immigrant-bashing symbolized by California's Prop. 187 is not limited to vicious bureaucratic measures. In response to Prop. 187, the Clinton administration launched "Operation Gatekeeper" to seal off the San Diego-Tijuana section of the Mexican border. The tactics are borrowed from the racist "Light Up the Border" campaign, in which right-wing vigilantes, joined by fascist skinheads, sought to intimidate immigrants crossing the canyons around San Ysidro. Meanwhile, poor Hispanic families in the Rio Grande/Río Bravo valley report stepped-up abuse at the hands of racist Border Patrol and INS agents. From 1980 to 1992, some 1,034 dead bodies were pulled out of the river, of which 144 were shot, stabbed or beaten to death (*The News* [Mexico City], 30 May 1993). This is the grim reality behind all the talk of "immigration control."

The U.S. ruling class is working hard to deflect the anger of the workers while driving down their standard of living and increasing "productivity" through speedup and layoffs. The Democrats' and Republicans' efforts to outdo each other in anti-immigrant bigotry are emboldening the growing fascist fringe that increasingly targets immigrant and minority communities. Class-conscious workers must defend the right of their foreign-born brothers and sisters who have made it into the U.S. to stay here with the same rights as everyone else. A class-struggle leadership would mobilize real union muscle to lead all the oppressed in a fight to defend immigrant rights, in California and throughout the country. And they would unite the struggles of workers in the U.S. with those slaving under miserable conditions at one-tenth the pay for the same American companies in the *maquiladora* "free trade zone" plants just across the border in Mexico.

JB Pictures

Clinton administration builds wall to keep immigrants from crossing into Southern California, part of moves to militarize Mexican border.

Today all defenders of labor, minority and democratic rights must fight to smash the racist anti-immigrant laws, demanding full citizenship rights for all. In fighting against Prop. 187 in California, the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, held forums by Barbara Franck in Los Angeles and San Francisco under the title, "For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!" We print below excerpts from her talk in L.A. on October 22.

* * *

In the national context, California is an extreme case, and a pace-setter: 654,000 jobs have been lost in California in the last couple of years, and three out of four of those were lost in L.A. County, which is the state's financial and industrial center. Here in the U.S. in the past, and currently in Europe, anti-immigrant assaults have mostly been driven by capitalist economic contractions: that is, immigrants are welcomed during periods of expansion and prosperity, and then they're driven out during crisis.

In the U.S., the ruling class has achieved higher productivity by shrinking the workforce through layoffs and imposing speedup. They've engaged in union-busting to drive down workers' and minorities' standard of living. Nevertheless, the U.S. rulers are worried about the consequences of what they've done. And in particular they fear the nonconformity and potential for struggle that's represented by an immigrant population of brown-skinned peoples who are not particularly loyal to the "American dream."

During the Reagan-Bush years of the 1980s, immigration was encouraged, and U.S. bosses used the influx of malleable labor as a club in the class war, to force down the wages of American workers. But now, the racist rulers don't like the consequences.

We are also getting a heavy dose of "yellow peril" anti-Asian racism that echoes the Chinese Exclusion Act, which lasted for 61 years, beginning in 1882, at the close of the construction of the railway in the West, which depended on Chinese labor. We are also getting an echo of the vile expropriation and internment of the U.S. Japanese population in concentration camps during World War II.

In the 1860s, California barred black, American Indian and Asian children from its public schools for two decades. So this is not the first time in history the American ruling class has considered this. And in 1910, the San Francisco Board of Education briefly segregated all Asian pupils within the school system.

California has the largest immigrant population in the U.S., and the state will soon become—as the California ruling class is all too aware—the first majority "minority" state. Already, a majority of California's children, 56 percent, are from black, Latino, Asian and Native American families. And Latinos make up 30 percent of the state's population. In fact, in L.A. County, more than half the population speaks a language other than English at home.

We've noted the climate of anti-immigrant social reaction breeds the forces of fascism and race terror. Today in California, we've seen the connection of the anti-immigrant forces to the far right. "Save Our State," for example, is led by two former INS officials, one of whom is a former consultant for the Federation for American Immigration Reform. FAIR is funded in part by the white-supremacist Pioneer Fund, which has also backed such sinister types as William Shockley, who peddled the grotesque racist lie that blacks are inherently inferior to whites.

Prop. 187 and anti-immigrant racism also target labor and precisely the most militant sector of the California labor movement, aiming to make those workers vulnerable. There are plenty of examples of trade-union combativity in California that also demonstrate the potential for a class-struggle fight against anti-immigrant racism. There's the fact, for example, that in May 1992, 400 mainly Hispanic members of SEIU Local 399 staged a defiant march under martial law. In 1990, Local 399's "Justice for Janitors" campaign won a union organizing drive in the face of attacks by the LAPD. This past August, the same unionists marched into the L.A. district attorney's office to demand the release of former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt).

There was the militant strike of "*drywaleros*" in Orange, L.A. and San Diego counties, who won union recognition in the face of mass arrests and deportations. There was the recent participation and noted militancy of Latino Teamsters in the militant picket line in Riverside County, which was attacked by scabs and cops. And as a consequence of that, Jesse Acuna, a Latino Teamster, got five years in jail for defending his union during that strike. We call for his freedom now.

It's important for the labor movement to understand that defense of immigrants is defense of the multiracial working class and its unions, of their right to organize and to strike in defense of their interests. The hated *migra* (immigration police) is used frequently as a club against organized labor. But the American labor bureaucracy pushes the poisonous chauvinism of protectionism. The same labor fakers look to the immigrant-bashing and racist Democratic Party, which accuses Pete Wilson of being soft on immigrants.

The scapegoating of immigrants is deliberately intended to divide the working class and thus critically weaken its forces, especially setting blacks against Latinos. It's important for Latinos to understand that the color line is the central strategic question in the United States. Black workers are permanently pushed to the bottom of American society, as the last hired and first fired, while the successive waves of immigrants eventually assimilate into the U.S. at all levels. At the same time, blacks must understand that immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism go hand in hand.

The Spartacist League and the International Communist League stand for a socialist solution to the crisis of capitalism, for a class-struggle fight to build an integrated revolutionary workers party. Only such a party, serving as a tribune of the oppressed, can lead the fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and for full democratic rights for all the oppressed. Only such a party built in opposition to the reformist, popular-frontist program of class collaboration with the capitalist rulers can unite the integrated working class and lead it to power in a workers government. ■

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USAir...

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indexes. The *Times* article should have added a more telling index, one which might be called the "debt-load death predictor." Drowning in $2.4 billion worth of debt and losing $2 million a day, USAir would rank at or near the top of that surefire predictor of carnage.

The bottom line of the balance sheet determines everything from routes to maintenance to crew training. For example, *Aviation Week* (11 April) reports that USAir "has been reducing gate turnaround time for aircraft at its key hub airports to 25 min. from 45 min." And so fuel checks get cut to save time. Now, in the wake of the *Times* revelations, USAir executives promise that pilots will get a "verbal fuel check." Anyone feel safer? For the cynical pirates in the airlines executive suites, if that means losing a plane or two...well, insurance covers the equipment and the lawsuits of the relatives.

Death and Union-Busting

USAir is a product of the 1980s "deregulation" gold rush. Initiated during the Democratic Carter administration and carried forward in the Reagan years, deregulation opened up the airways to cutthroat price wars and profit gouging. USAir was the epitome of the merger mania which ran rampant in that period, as it swallowed Pacific Southwest and Piedmont Airlines in the late '80s and emerged with the enormous debt that has dragged it down ever since.

Deregulation meant war on the unions, as the "restructuring" airlines took aim at "labor costs." The opening salvo was the firing of all 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization by then-president Ronald Reagan in 1981. As we wrote in "Reagan's Deadly Skies" (*WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985):

> "In order to make the skies safe for free enterprise, Reagan has made them deadly dangerous for airline workers and passengers. The government's destruction of PATCO combined with 'deregulation' of the airlines was the green light for private carriers to attempt to destroy *their* unions."

And that is just what they did. Using bankruptcy, injunctions and above all the backstabbing of the union tops, the airlines defeated unions at Continental, United, Pan Am and TWA. Then came Eastern Airlines in 1989, where workers held out on strike for 686 days until they were finally bludgeoned by the courts and knifed by the labor misleaders.

This year, according to *Aviation Week* (20 June), "USAir is seeking $500 million in annual wage and work-rule concessions from its labor unions as part of a plan to slash $1 billion from yearly operating costs by 1997." To date, no agreement has been reached. But the sellout union tops—who allowed PATCO to be destroyed, refusing to shut down the airports in solidarity—have been all too willing to offer hundreds of millions of dollars in givebacks to boost company profits in the name of "saving jobs."

USAir is only the tip of the iceberg. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 November) complains, in an article subtitled "Jurassic Jets," that more than 25 percent of aircraft in the U.S. are over *20 years old*. USAir and Northwest Airlines (which is carrying $5 billion in debt) plan to keep flying *30-year-old* planes. Throughout the industry, contracting-out of critical maintenance work to non-union shops has become commonplace. While unionized Machinists get up to $23 per hour, such outfits pay only $12, while pressuring their workers to speed up to get the job done fast, a setup for potentially fatal "mistakes." And while the airlines gut safety standards by attacking wages, work rules and working conditions, the air traffic control system run by the FAA is falling apart.

In U.S. control towers, things are so bad that even the scab "replacement" workforce who ran the system during the 1981 PATCO strike have formed a new union. Air traffic control equipment, vital to air safety, is hopelessly antiquated. LAX, for instance, sometimes has to rely on 1940s-vintage radar employing *vacuum tubes* (*Aviation Week*, 2 May)! Many control screens share computers with as little as 256 kilobytes of total memory—a tiny fraction of modern home PCs! As *Scientific American* (May 1994) put it, such equipment "could not run Flight Simulator," a popular computer game.

The Clinton administration's answer to all this is to push for "privatization" of the air traffic control system. A proposed government-backed corporation would run the control towers, promote a "business-like environment" and "free the system from onerous regulations" (*New York Times*, 7 March). This "solution" reflects the "needs" of private airlines, and it's bad news for air travelers. What's next, piecework rates based on the number of takeoffs and landings?

The precipitous decline of air safety in U.S. skies has already spelled sudden death for many, even as it helps to make a handful of people very rich. It was all predictable. As we wrote in "Reagan's Deadly Skies":

> "The dramatic nose dive of air safety under Reagan underlines a key point: union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand.... In a concentrated form, the life-and-death question of air safety demonstrates the need for international planning in a socialist society."■

Smoking...

(continued from page 12)

on social tolerance. Though watered down to allow some smoking in some restaurants, the bill being pushed by the Democrat-controlled City Council and Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani will make smoking *verboten* in all business establishments, convention centers and work locations (except executives' "private offices"!). *Outdoor* cafés would have to cordon off smokers, doubtless to keep health-conscious tourists from having their bracing intake of noxious traffic fumes contaminated by a whiff of their neighbors' sidestream smoke. Even Shea and Yankee stadiums would be no-smoking zones, as 20 major league ball parks already are.

Giuliani bleats that a smoking ban is necessary "since it affects the health of others." But other people's health is hardly at the top of Rudy the Slasher's concerns. In the name of cutting the budget, he just ordered the elimination of all sidewalk fire alarms, ensuring that there will be plenty of smoke in the air as ghetto firetraps are allowed to burn to the ground. This comes on top of axing another 3,000 health workers' jobs and moves to shut down Harlem's one remaining public hospital. And as health and welfare funding is cut to the bone, malnutrition and exposure kill off untold numbers of homeless people, long-suppressed diseases like TB spread uncontrolled, and AIDS continues to ravage gays and minorities.

Pseudo-Scientific Smoke and Mirrors

Despite absurd denials by the tobacco industry, it's never been a big secret that "coffin nails" or "cancer sticks," as cigarettes used to be called, aren't healthy. But most Americans somehow believe they're supposed to have the right to choose their own poison—whether it's cigarettes, cholesterol-rich steaks or martini lunches. The latter-day prohibitionists justify their totalitarian appetites to legislate "clean living" by claiming that non-smokers are also endangered. That's where the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) study on the effects of "secondary smoking" came in. Released after numerous redrafts in January 1993, just as Bill and Hillary Clinton were declaring the White House a "smoke-free environment," the EPA study labeled secondary smoke a "Class A carcinogen" and claimed that it killed some 3,000 Americans through lung cancer every year.

Countless Congressmen, town councilors and newspaper columnists have seized on the EPA report as undeniable scientific proof for ever more stringent smoking restrictions, including outright prohibition. NYC's liberal Democratic Public Advocate Mark Green hailed the EPA findings as "the booster rocket launching the antismoking movement into orbit" (*Time*, 18 April). Despite the brouhaha over the EPA study, the supposed scientific arguments on secondary smoke are hardly new (see "Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights," *WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988). In any case, what the latest EPA report proves—and just how much science is involved—is questionable.

An editorial in the *New England Journal of Medicine* (10 June 1993), while endorsing the claim that secondary smoke exacerbates the severity of asthma in young children, whose lungs are much smaller than those of adults, also noted that the EPA study had "low statistical power." The editorial pointed to "shortcomings in most of the published studies of environmental tobacco smoke and lung cancer." Even a panel of experts convened by the EPA in 1992 drily concluded that the agency's dictates were generally seen "as lacking a strong scientific foundation" (quoted in *Forbes MediaCritic*, Summer 1994). And an EPA scientist involved in compiling the report admitted that to get the desired results "she and her colleagues engaged in some fancy statistical footwork" (*Science*, 31 July 1992). Little wonder the EPA didn't submit its findings to a peer review by experts in the field.

In fact, the EPA report (*Respiratory Effects of Passive Smoking*, December 1992) does not prove that secondary smoke *causes* anything. Rather it claims to deduce a correlation—based on 31 existing studies—between exposure to smoke and a "19 percent" higher risk of lung cancer, particularly in the case of non-smoking wives of smokers. Yet almost none of the results can be considered "statistically significant." In fact, nine out of the 31 studies show a *negative* correlation between secondary smoke and lung cancer. As for the 19 percent figure, a number this low in such an epidemiological study could be explained by anything from pure chance to previous family history. For smokers, by comparison, where a connection is clear, the increased incidence of lung cancer is on the order of *2,000 percent*.

Based on this pretty crude statistical footwork, the EPA then estimated 800 lung cancer deaths to be caused by exposure to smoking at home and another 2,200 from secondary smoke at the workplace and elsewhere. *Yet the EPA study specifically excluded data on workplace exposure*. Why? EPA project manager Steven Bayard explained, "Some workplaces are sources of exposure to other various hazardous chemicals, which could make the results more difficult to interpret." In plain English, industrial workers regularly breathe air so toxic that any added risk caused by secondary smoke can't be measured. To take but one example, OSHA regulations allow workers to be exposed to 55 mg of carbon monoxide per cubic meter. That's about four times the concentration produced by *50* people puffing away jammed into a small (9x12 foot) office.

Using the EPA report as a battering ram, OSHA in March proposed new regulations banning smoking at six million workplaces, except in enclosed, specially ventilated areas. But as the *American Medical News* (3 October) points out: "Complying with those restrictions likely would prove too expensive and impractical for most businesses." The bottom line here is not health but...the bottom line: profits. Spokesmen for big business complain that some $68 billion in lost productivity and increased health costs goes up in smoke annually.

Long before the EPA report came out, *Occupational Health & Safety* (September 1984) advised "decision-makers in business" to "recognize the potential bonanza in health insurance and life insurance savings by reducing and eliminating tobacco use," adding: "While you cannot terminate employees who use tobacco, you need not hire them." Numerous corporations, including the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, have done just that, not only banning smoking but refusing to hire workers who smoke at home. But when Admiral tried to impose a smoking ban at its Galesburg, Illinois plant three years ago, it was forced to back off after 1,800 members of Machinists Local 2063 threatened to strike over the issue. As one worker said, "The smoking is just a first step. They're not going to stop with the cigarettes" (*Chicago Defender*, 23 November 1991).

The smoking ban, like the imposition of random drug and alcohol tests on transport workers, is part and parcel of a broad-gauged government/employer campaign. Dangerous speed-up and productivity increases are justified in the name of health and safety. Welfare mothers are blamed for an enormous budget deficit racked up to finance the anti-Soviet war drive of the 1980s. Now smokers are increasingly made scapegoats for a health system run amok by the greed of the insurance companies, with scare headlines like, "Medicare Imperiled By Rising Bill for Smoking and Drinking" (*New York Times*, 17 May). Meanwhile, punitive "sin" taxes overwhelmingly target black and working people, who make up a disproportionate share of the smoking population.

There is more than a whiff of hypocrisy attached to the anti-smoking "health" crusade. A perfect example is the anti-cigarette lobby's bitter opposition to a new charcoal cigarette which would significantly reduce tar content and eliminate secondary smoke. While the EPA crusades against cigarette smoke, it condones a level of industrial air pollution which is truly hazardous, because a serious effort to clean up urban air pollution would involve taking billions out of the coffers of big business. Likewise, when smoking was banned on domestic flights four years ago, the airlines began phasing in new models which recycled only half as much cabin air as before in order to cut fuel costs. And the older models had already been using only a small proportion of their ventilation capacity. The predictable result is that airplane ventilation systems are being turned into germ factories: in one case last year, 13 airline workers were infected with TB after working with one flight attendant who had the disease.

As we noted several years ago: "This creeping 'health fascism' has nothing to do with the public's welfare. Medical evidence on the effects of 'secondary smoke' is inconclusive, and the obvious solution is to provide adequate ventilation for everybody. But that isn't profitable, so of course it's not even seriously proposed" (*WV* No. 445, 29 January 1988). In the meantime, millions of people have been killed off through malnutrition, inadequate medical care and other effects of poverty, while billions of dollars are poured into building more prisons. In a rational, socialist society that money will be spent to find cures for cancer and other diseases, clean up the cities and provide decent housing, education and medical care for all.

As far as we're concerned, people ought to be able to read, eat, drink, smoke, and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without cops, courts, employers and yuppie totalitarians sticking their noses in.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Capitalism's Deadly Skies

On September 8, a USAir Boeing 737 crashed near Pittsburgh, killing everyone on board. Rescuers at the crash site found "only body parts, bits and pieces of 132 human beings scattered through the shattered trees" (*Newsweek*, 19 September). The plane itself disintegrated into thousands of unrecognizable pieces after dropping like a stone for 23 terrifying seconds. Flight 427 was the fifth aircraft lost by USAir in five years, and the worst American air disaster since 1987.

Then on October 31, an American Eagle commuter plane crashed in northern Indiana, spreading debris over hundreds of acres. Investigators suspect that the cause of the crash was ice that accumulated on the wings of the ATR-72 turboprop as it was forced to circle awaiting clearance to land at Chicago's O'Hare airport. Pointing to two previous crashes of other ATRs, the National Transportation Safety Board called for grounding the aircraft in icy conditions. Incredibly, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) rejected the request.

Pilots and flight attendants at O'Hare have protested the continued use of the ATRs by American Eagle, the commuter wing of American Airlines. Last week, more than a dozen flights were delayed after pilots demanded more information on weather conditions before flying. A leaflet by the pilots warns passengers, "The majority of us will refuse to fly these aircraft until the icing problems are fixed. Even with the threats of management hanging over our heads, we will exercise our rights as the 'ultimate authority' of the flight and protect your safety." In a bizarre attempt to claim the problem is in the pilots' heads, management sent some of those who refused to fly the ATRs to counseling!

The flight attendants union at American Eagle has formally requested the ATRs be grounded. In a protest last week over the lack of a union contract, a spokesman for the flight attendants pointed out that at American Eagle, "starting flight attendants risk their lives for $735 a month"—the lowest pay in the industry. The commuter outfits, which save the big airlines millions by using cheaper, turboprop aircraft and paying low wages, have a much worse safety record.

Greensburg Tribune Review

Remains of USAir Flight 427, outside Pittsburgh. Capitalist profit-gougers sacrifice safety for greed.

USAir: Low on Fuel, High on Debt

Outrageously, the official investigation into the USAir crash in Pittsburgh had barely begun before "senior Government transportation officials...endorsed the view put forth by the airline, whose president asserted that there was no common thread tying this accident to the earlier ones" (*New York Times*, 10 September). But even some sections of the ruling class don't believe this hogwash. They may fly first-class, but they die like the rest of us in a crash.

The ruling class' semi-official mouthpiece, the *New York Times* (13 November) published an exposé on USAir's "safety standards" which makes one contemplate walking instead. The *Times* investigation found:

- At least *nine* incidents of USAir planes leaving the gate without enough fuel to get to their destination "since the airline eliminated two pre-flight refueling checks 16 months ago" in order to "save time." On February 22, one of these flights, bound from Washington to Boston, had to make an emergency landing at New York's La Guardia airport.
- Evidence of pilots being pressured to fly in unsafe conditions in order to meet schedules. On 22 March 1992, a USAir Fokker F-28 crashed in New York, killing 27 people. Ice buildup on the wings—an especially lethal condition for small commuter aircraft like the F-28—had made the plane unflyable after over half an hour waiting for takeoff. Aircraft deicing fluid is effective for only about 20 minutes, but "the pilots had not returned to the gate for another de-icing because they had not wanted to lose their place in line."
- Evidence that maintenance supervisors are deliberately disobeying FAA safety regulations by allowing planes to fly with dangerous problems unrepaired, such as a broken stall-warning system (which warns the pilots if the plane is about to lose lift) and cracked control surfaces. Such calculated negligence is practiced in order "to avoid canceling the next flight and costing the company money."

The *New York Times* article is replete with statistics and bar graphs which paint a revealing picture. USAir is the largest short-hop airline, with many more high-risk takeoffs and landings than its competitors, but its awful death toll is not a result of statistical probability, much less "a real string of bad luck" (to cite the alibi offered by an FAA official). The airline, the nation's sixth-largest, "emerged as the riskiest" by many

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Bourgeois Hypocrisy and "Health Fascism"

Anti-Smoking Tyranny

The New York City Council is currently considering a bill which would outlaw smoking in virtually all facilities used by the public. If it passes, New York will join an ever-growing number of cities and towns where you—or anyone else—can't have a cigarette after a meal in a restaurant, during a coffee break at work or with a beer at the ball game. In Davis, California, you can't even light up on a sidewalk within 20 feet of an office entrance. In the Los Angeles suburb of Rolling Hills, having a cigarette in your own car or backyard is enough to get you thrown in jail. And in March the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) proposed new regulations to effectively ban all smoking in the workplace nationwide.

In the last few years, the heansprout totalitarianism and "health fascism" nurtured among California La La Land yuppies has mushroomed into a nationwide big-business crusade aimed at turning the country's 50 million smokers into pariahs and criminals. Former Carter administration Health, Education and Welfare secretary Joseph Califano rails against the demon cigarette as the "drug of entry into the world of hard drugs." In California, Georgia and Ohio, courts have ruled that blowing smoke at somebody is grounds for a criminal charge of battery. Last year, the courts took an eight-year-old girl in Sacramento away from her mother, a registered nurse, because the woman smoked at home.

The NYC bill is a sign of the times. The Big Apple has traditionally prided itself

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Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Out in the cold: Anti-smoking prohibitionists seek to make smokers pariahs and criminals.

WORKERS VANGUARD

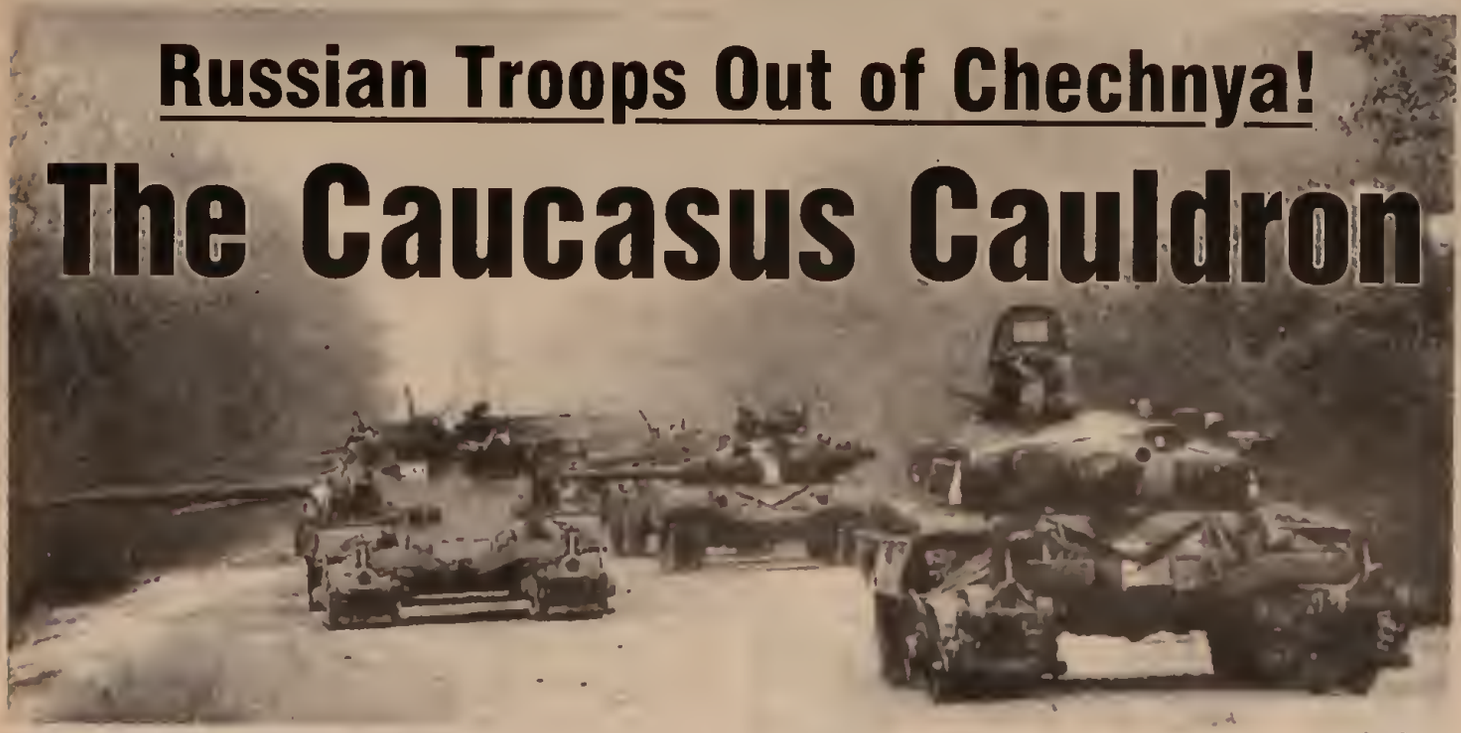
50¢

No. 613

30 December 1994

Russian Troops Out of Chechnya!

The Caucasus Cauldron



Sean Ramsay

Moscow's tanks roll through Chechnya in attempt to assert Great Russian domination. Capitalist counterrevolution in former Soviet Union has meant racist persecution of minority peoples. Defeat Yeltsin's invasion!

DECEMBER 20—Stating it will "use all means necessary to restore order," the regime of Boris Yeltsin has sent the Russian army into Chechnya, a Caucasian region which declared its independence when the Soviet Union broke apart three years ago. Forty thousand Russian troops backed by tanks, heavy artillery and warplanes are now besieging the Chechen capital of Grozny, a city of 400,000 inhabitants. As we go to press, news reports indicate that Russian bombing raids have killed over 100 people in the capital, while tanks are wreaking destruction in outlying suburbs. Yeltsin is demanding total capitulation by Chechen president Dzhokhar Dudayev. The full-scale assault on Chechnya—homeland of a Caucasian Muslim people subjugated by the Russian tsarist empire in the 19th century—is yet another in the series of wars unleashed in a nationalist vein by capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The fratricidal slaughterhouse that is now Bosnia has gripped the world's attention and provoked discord among the Western imperialist powers. Less publicized but no less bloody has been a series of wars ravaging the former Soviet Caucasus. For six years Armenians and Azeris have slaughtered one another over possession of the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. At the same time, Georgia has revived its ancient blood feuds with northern Caucasian mountain peoples, notably the Ossetians and Abkhazians. Meanwhile, Russia has militarily intervened in the region, playing off the contending nationalist forces. The current invasion of Chechnya marks a dramatic escalation in now-capitalist Russia's attempt to dominate the diverse peoples of this region. Revolutionaries around the world must oppose Yeltsin's military adventure in the Caucasus.

In Russia itself, there is little popular support for would-be Tsar Boris' invasion, but rather widespread fear of a long, bloody colonial war. Reflecting widespread sentiment among Russia's ruling elite, an editorial in the *Moscow Times* (4 December) warned:

> "The risks of embarking on a military adventure in the North Caucasus are vast. Even if invasion achieved the initial objective of toppling Dudayev, it almost certainly would involve terrible bloodshed and plunge Russia into a long and nasty guerrilla war that would likely spread throughout the North Caucasus."

The mothers of Russian soldiers captured in the fighting in Chechnya last month sent a telegram to the Russian parliament imploring: "We pray that you will save our sons and our souls."

Moreover, there is a deep split within the military high command over a new Caucasian war, with many concerned that the weakened Russian army could well disintegrate. The army's manpower has plummeted over the past couple of years, as conscripted youth simply refuse to show up. Arch-nationalist Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of Russian forces in Moldova, warns that the best that will come of the Chechnya invasion is a "Pyrrhic victory."

Last week, the commander of one tank division, Major General Ivan Babichev, halted his advance 20 miles from Grozny and told a group of Chechen women: "It is forbidden to use the army against peaceful civilians. It is forbidden to shoot at the people." AP reported that some soldiers "vowed not to advance, even if it meant disobeying direct orders." One officer said: "A mutiny? You could call it that." While planes have been attacking the area around Grozny and one unit shot up a refugee column, many Russian officers and soldiers are fraternizing with the Chechens and calling for a peaceful solution.

A major factor behind Yeltsin's power play in the Caucasus is to strengthen his weak bonapartist regime on the home front. Despite the bloody crackdown against the old parliament in October 1993, the Yeltsin regime remains isolated and crisis-ridden. Oppositional politicians contend he is deliberately provoking a war in order to impose a state of emergency in Russia as a whole, or at any rate in Moscow with its large Chechen population. The popular "Itogi" TV news program, voice of the Yeltsinite "democrats," has declared that this is the opening step for a police-state dictatorship and coup d'état.

For a Voluntary Federation of Socialist Republics!

The invasion of Chechnya has encountered vocal opposition across the whole spectrum of Russian politics, from pro-Western liberals like Yegor Gaidar to Stalinist "patriots." "Democrats" and pseudo-socialists compare it to the earlier Soviet role in Afghanistan. But Yeltsin's invasion of Chechnya is an act of Great Russian domination in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution, whereas the Afghan intervention was a progressive defense of the Soviet workers state and Afghan women and leftists against CIA-backed reactionaries. On Monday, December 12 protesters gathered in Moscow's Pushkin Square. At one end were anti-Communist "democrats" called out by Gaidar, and at the other was the "red-brown" coalition carrying Soviet and monarchist flags and signs denouncing a Jewish "conspiracy." In between were some anarchist and Komsomol youth, chanting, "No war but class war." The one significant political grouping to fully back Yeltsin's adventure is the fascistic party of Vladimir Zhirinovsky.

More important from Yeltsin's standpoint than support from Zhirinovsky—the hellicose advocate of a new, expansive Russian empire—is support from the rulers of the American empire. During the Cold War, Western, centrally U.S., imperialism encouraged and promoted all sorts of reactionary anti-Russian nationalism in order to destroy the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. After having achieved their aim, in large part through the agency of Boris Yeltsin, Washington has opposed the national fragmentation of the nascent capitalist Russia, with its substantial concentrations of non-Russian peoples such as the Volga Tatars as well as the Chechens.

U.S. president Clinton described Yeltsin's Chechen adventure as "an internal Russian affair." And an editorial in the *New York Times* (13 December) stated:

> "The tiny Russian breakaway region of Chechnya confronts President Boris Yeltsin and his fellow reformers with a serious internal crisis. The three-year insurrection cannot be allowed to stand. Though a negotiated political settlement would be the best outcome, Mr. Yeltsin is justified in using military force to suppress the rebellion."

The *Times* is concerned that "Failure to deal decisively with Chechnya's defiance...could encourage similar rebellions elsewhere and bring about the collapse of the Russian Federation."

A full-scale assault on Grozny will not only lead to the wholesale slaughter of the Chechen people but heavy casualties on the Russian side as well. And every Russian soldier sent home from the North Caucasus in a body bag will be a nail in the political coffin of Boris Yeltsin. But the opposition to Yeltsin over Chechnya shares with this would-be autocrat a common commitment to resurgence of a Russian *derzhava* (great power) "one and indivisible." The *Moscow Times* editorial quoted above states: "It would be hard to argue that Moscow lacks the right to intervene. Chechnya is

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As Bitterness Over Reunification Fuels PDS Vote

Germany Escalates Anti-Red Witchhunt

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Labor Militant–Off Limits for Trotskyists

Early this month the Oakland Spartacist League received a hand-scrawled note from the "Labor Militant Paper Organizer" in Chicago, together with the return of a check we had sent for a resubscription to the *Labor Militant*. The note read: "Enclosed is your returned check. We were informed that your comrades beat up one of our supporters in FRANCE. Therefore we don't feel comfortable renewing your subscription."

The Militant Tendency's fabrication that our comrades "beat up" one of their supporters, a/k/a Raymond Debord, leader of the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (GR/JCR), was addressed in the article "Letter to the Militant Tendency—Response to a Provocation" (*WV* No. 611, 25 November). As we noted, the whole purpose of this attempt to frame us up as violent is "to create a slanderous smokescreen to obscure the aggressive gangsterism unleashed by your leader in France" against *our* comrades. Our response documents the thuggish antics of Debord, a swaggering and unstable poseur who seems to have found in the Militant Tendency a convenient home, at least for now.

As J.V. Stalin well understood, violence-baiting smears and slander of one's opponents are simply a step to further frame-ups and gangsterist attacks. The GR/JCR are already a long way down this road. Moreover, Labor Militant's plaint that they "feel uncomfortable" with allowing us to resubscribe to their press is even more remarkable coming from an organization which is only too comfortable with the view that the cops—the armed, racist, strikebreaking thugs of the capitalist state—are simply "workers in uniform." Here we have a truly perverse measure of the social-democratic and Stalinist-derived erosion of workers democracy. Whereas Stalin felt constrained to slander the Trotskyists as police agents in order to set them up for violence, today Labor Militant extends its hand to the cops as "allies" of the workers movement while defaming the Trotskyists as violent, to the same purpose.

On another level, Labor Militant's refusal to allow us to subscribe to their press, on the slanderous pretext that we're "violent," opens up all sorts of laughable possibilities. Are they trying to conjure up the image of a group of Spartacists getting "violently" inflamed by reading *Labor Militant*? The truth is that the insipid, social-democratic economism of their press is enough to put most people, not least our members, to sleep. Nonetheless, we make the publications of our leftist opponents readily available in our local offices. Workers democracy—the open clash of opinion and test in action of various forces claiming to be socialist—is crucial to forging a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat.

It's not that we think that our members, supporters and youth comrades are going to be politically deprived by lack of access to the *Labor Militant*. It may seem like a small thing, but the principle involved isn't: their refusal to renew our subscription is a real, if ludicrous, breach of workers democracy and correspondingly injurious to the advancement of revolutionary consciousness. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Bolsheviks on National Rights

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union has brought in its wake a resurgence of Great Russian chauvinism, as Moscow seeks to impose its will on the dozens of nationalities within the borders of the Russian Federation and on the neighboring republics of the former USSR. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 established the principle of genuine equality of all nationalities, including the right of self-determination and independent statehood. The 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) laid out the Leninist principles of national equality, which were sharply undermined by the subsequent Stalinist degeneration, carried out under the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." In fighting for workers revolution today we reaffirm the internationalist call for a voluntary federation of socialist republics.

With reference to the nationality question the RKP is guided by the following tenets:

1) The principal aim is the policy of bringing about closer relations between the proletarians and semi-proletarians of different nationalities, in order to carry on a general revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

2) In order to remove mistrust on the part of the working masses of the oppressed countries toward the proletariat of those states which oppressed them, it is necessary to abolish all privileges of any national group, to proclaim the full equality of nations and to recognize the rights of colonies and dependent nations to state separation.

3) For the same purpose, as a temporary measure toward achieving full unity, the party suggests a federative union of all states organized on the Soviet basis.

4) The All-Russian Communist Party regards the question as to who expresses the desire of a nation for separation, from a historical-class point of view, taking into consideration the level of historical development of any given nation: whether the nation is passing from medievalism toward bourgeois democracy or from bourgeois democracy toward soviet or proletarian democracy, etc.

In any case, particular care and attention must be exercised by the proletariat of those nations which were oppressing nations, toward the remnants of national feelings of the working masses of the oppressed or dependant nations. Only by such a policy is it possible to create favourable conditions for a voluntary and real unity of different national elements of the international proletariat, as has been proved by the experiment of the union of several national Soviet republics around Soviet Russia.

—Program of the RKP(B), March 1919

Letter

Drop Charges Against Vietnam War Resister!

We print below a letter from Bob Malecki, an anti-Vietnam War activist who has been living for over two decades in Sweden. After going into exile, Bob became a supporter of the international Spartacist tendency and he remains a friend.

His open letter, which has been sent to a number of organizations and people around the world, comes in the context of a lurch to the right in the American political climate. As the Gingrich/Helms Republicans, now in control of Congress, take aim against the Vietnam-era "'60s counterculture," Clinton's Democrats compete with them on the racist themes of abolishing welfare and massively speeding up legal lynchings on death row.

Bob Malecki was among those who fought courageously against U.S. imperialism and its crimes—and it is for this that he has suffered persecution. Unlike a number of former antiwar activists who have "come in from the cold" and renounced the deeds of their "radical youth," and unlike the "Vietnam doves" who have become imperialist hawks over Bosnia and Haiti, Bob Malecki remains unbowed. We join Malecki in demanding that all charges against him be dropped.

His earlier letter to President Clinton, referred to below, calling for amnesty for antiwar activists in exile or underground, was published in *WV* No. 568 (29 January 1993).

* * *

Robertsfors, Sweden

Dear Friends,

My name is Robert Malecki and I need your help. I need the help of your members in your organisation. I need the help of all organisations who claim that they stand on the side of poor and working-class people. I have been living in exile here in Sweden for over 22 years because of my activities during the Vietnam War. If I were to return to the United States I could be put in prison for a very long time and therefore this plea for help.

Between the years 1968 and 1972 I publically took responsibility for the destruction of tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of draft files and orders calling young, mostly poor and working-class kids up to be sent to Vietnam. Statements to the newspapers, TV, and radio usually said "that we would not tolerate sending working-class kids off to Vietnam to kill other poor and working-class kids." I also took responsibility for the destruction of the international computer network of the Dow Chemical Corp. in Washington D.C. This company produced napalm and Agent Orange for the bombs being dropped on Vietnam. Because of this action and others Dow Chemical stopped its production of napalm. However we were unable to stop the war.

In November of 1969 I was caught coming out of a draft board with military files. I was put on trial and sentenced to 12 years in prison. In defense of my actions I took up the Nuremberg trials after the Second World War. I said that there was no difference between the Nazi concentration camps and the American bombings of the Vietnamese people. Therefore it was my duty to break national laws, in protesting American war-making policy in Vietnam, in order to uphold international laws. This defense was not allowed by the court and

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UI/AP

Vietnamese children burned by napalm made by Dow Chemical. Vietnam War resisters who fought against U.S. imperialism still face persecution.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 20

No. 613 **30 December 1994**

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Voting for Your Own Repression

The passage of the 1994 Clintnn Crime Bill recently marks the official dawn of the American police state.

This law, the most draconian in the nation's history, calls for spending over 30 billion bucks for more prisons, more cops, and more death penalties. More tools of state repression—more un-freedom. Those who voted for this "Death Bill" have done more to foster crime than anything else. For years it has been said the prisons are hut universities of crime.

Under the new law, that is all prisoners will have an opportunity to learn—crime—because Pell Grants, which prnvided the possibility of a few thousand prisoners a year to gain higher education, have been cut to zero.

Thus, of the 1.3 million prisoners in America, whether serving 6 months or 66 years, not a single one will receive a single cent to learn a single, useful fact that enriches the society he or she will return to one day.

In essence, this system has legislated ignorance.

This Crime Bill is a Declaration of War on Black men.

The sections of the law on gangs and cocaine tell the tale.

For people designated as gang members under the new law, they can have 10 years tacked on to their original sentence...even if the offense is unrelated to gang membership!

The Crime Bill has criminalized affiliation.

Those persons convicted of crack face severe penalties up to 100 times more punitive than those convicted of powder cocaine.

Is it mere coincidence that poor folk use crack and rich folk snort powder? I think not.

Researchers for the Washington, D.C.-based Sentencing Project as well as the Chicagn-based Committee to End the Marion Lockdown have calculated the rate of Black incarceration at 1,534 per 100,000 as compared to a White imprisonment rate of 197.

The Crime Bill criminalizes Black life.

The weak-kneed political forces that supported this Referendum on Repression, from the so-called Congressional Black Caucus, to "new" Democrats, to "moderate" Republicans, have authored an authoritative Act that is itself criminal.

It will not only not solve a crime: It *is* a crime.

19 September 1994

© 1994 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist nrder. His cnlumns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and aholish the death penalty, cnntact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: "Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, 1100 Pike St., Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112.

Denny's Workers Fight for a Union

New Jersey

ABSECON, New Jersey—Denny's restaurants are notorious for racist discrimination against black customers, and a union fight at the Denny's here on the White Horse Pike near Atlantic City shows that they're just as hostile to their workers. Waiters and waitresses slave for a subminimum pay of *$2.22 an hour*. And they don't even get the tips that are supposed to keep them going when the bosses force them to spend hours scrubbing garbage cans with harsh chemicals. And when the Absecon workers started protesting their miserable conditions, the American Family Restaurants management installed electronic hugs and video cameras to spy on them.

When the 50 cooks, waiters and waitresses voted to join Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) Local 54 in March, they set up the first and only union in any of Denny's nearly 2,000 restaurants. Early this month they threw back in management's face an insulting contract "offer" of a *two-cent* raise. Local 54 didn't call a strike, but responded with a daily 24-hour protest picket at the restaurant, joined by union members from the huge casino hotels in nearby Atlantic City. A pro-company judge imposed an injunction limiting the picket to seven people standing at least ten feet apart. As Local 54 business rep Jerome Page told *Workers Vanguard*, "The employer can break the laws whenever, hut as soon as the union just tries, the judges are on our hacks."

In the midst of a general decline in union membership in recent years, service unions like HERE have had some success in organizing workers, particularly among militant immigrants. But it's no accident that unions are practically nonexistent among fast-food restaurants, which function on a revolving door of low-paid unskilled labor. One worker at Absecon told *WV* that the entire night shift at another New Jersey Denny's in Marlton was fired when they announced their intention to organize a union. Organizing restaurant by restaurant won't work, a writer on waitresses' unions pointed out, saying, "The target needs to he the entire chain." She added, "there doesn't seem to be much success in getting any large movement started" (*New York Times*, 10 December).

WV Photo

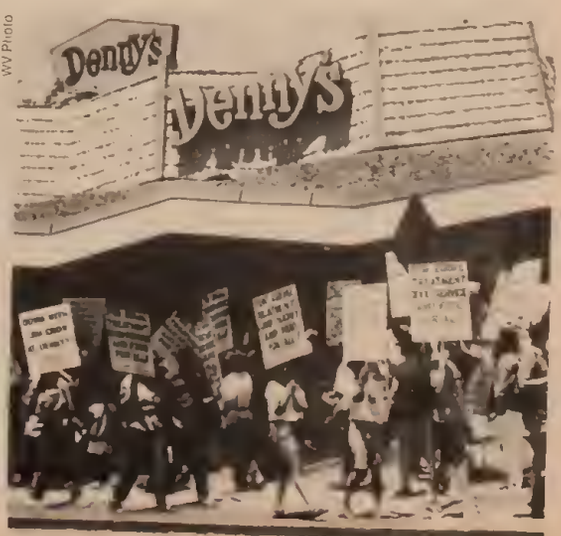
Workers in Absecon, New Jersey organize against anti-union Denny's.

There is good reason for that. Restaurant workers by themselves have little social power. It's significant that this first unionized Denny's is located near Atlantic City, where the big casinos are solidly organized. To take on the entire Denny's chain requires mobilizing *labor muscle*—for example, organizing Teamster truckers to choke off supplies. But the union misleaders *fear* the mobilization of union power, because that would mean confronting the bosses' cops and courts and their Taft-Hartley injunctions against "secondary boycotts." The key to organizing weaker sectors, as well as defending the union movement as a whole, is forging a class-struggle leadership.

The Spartacist League fights to build a workers party which will lead all sections of the working class in struggle against their common class enemy. Atlantic City HERE unionists snapped up copies of *Workers Vanguard* detailing the July 1993 coast-to-coast protests initiated hy the SL and the Labor Black Leagues against Denny's racism. Several hundred demonstrators picketed restaurants from Oakland to Atlanta, demanding, "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for *all*!" Protesters drove home the point that Denny's racism and non-union operations go hand in hand, with signs reading, "Fight this racist open shop—Unionize Denny's!" When Denny's took over a Big Boy in Winchester, Virginia which was being organized by HERE Local 25, pro-union workers were left on the street.

It's a sign of the times that it took communists to organize the only national protests against Denny's racism and union-busting. Meanwhile, the NAACP cut a deal which gave them a seat on the Spartanburg, South Carolina-based chain's board of directors and promised franchises to a handful of black businessmen. But they did nothing for Denny's workers or the many black customers who continue to face discrimination. Just last week, two black families in Oak Lawn, Illinois filed suit after suffering degrading treatment at a Denny's, even after the chain was already forced to pay $46 million to settle two previous lawsuits over racist practices.

As a Labor Black League spokesman said at last year's protests: "Unionization and black rights march forward together and slide backward apart. Denny's racist Jim Crow policies are directly tied to their non-union operation." Victory to Absecon Denny's workers! Mobilize union power to organize Denny's! ■



WV Photo

July 1993 demonstration outside Emeryville, California Denny's, part of coast-to-coast campaign initiated by Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues demanding, "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!"

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 13.

"Third Camp" Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism

Cliffite journal trumpets supposed "anti-imperialism" of Islamic reaction.

ISO and the Veil

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has provoked some striking disorientation among supposed leftists. Many, under the pressure of the Cold War, already bought into imperialist anti-Sovietism, using as an excuse the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalinist rule. But few could match the frothing Stalinophobia of the international tendency led by Tony Cliff and his British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which proclaimed the ascendancy of Yeltsin counterrevolution in Moscow as "the Russian Revolution of 1991"! Today, without the pole star of hatred for what Reagan called the "evil empire" to guide them, the Cliffites have locked onto a bizarre infatuation with Islamic fundamentalists. Their U.S. affiliate, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), has taken to giving public forums with titles like "Islamic Fundamentalism: Anti-Imperialist or Reactionary?" A flyer for a 22 November ISO forum in Berkeley declared, "Islamism...must be transformed into an independent, revolutionary socialist perspective."

For decades, the calling card of Cliff's social-democratic outfit was its description of the Soviet Union as "state capitalist." From the time of the 1950-53 Korean War on, this nonsensical "theory" served as a justification for lining up with imperialism (first veiled, then openly) against the USSR and any state they considered a Soviet "satellite." From arch-reactionary *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, who butchered teachers as "communist infidels" for educating girls, to Polish Solidarność, that company union of the CIA and the Vatican, no anti-Soviet movement was too retrograde for Cliff & Co.'s enthusiastic support. Today, the Cliffites join the Miami *gusano* mafia in hailing a counterrevolutionary riot in Cuba (see "ISO: Gusano Socialists?" *WV* No. 606, 16 September). But even for this crowd whose stock in trade was vituperating against Soviet "totalitarianism," it's hard to get worked up over the "threat" of Fidel Castro and the Kim dynasty in North Korea.

In harmony with the bourgeois refrain of a supposed "death of communism," a couple of years ago the Canadian Cliffites held a "debate" under the title "After Communism, What's Left for Socialism?" Now they give the answer. Left rudderless in imperialism's "New World Order," these opportunists have been trailing in the wake of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists, such as those in Algeria who brutally murder unveiled women, foreigners, and anyone they perceive as representing modern culture. The Autumn 1994 issue of the Cliffites' journal *International Socialism* has a 60-page lead article by SWP "theoretician" Chris Harman on "The Prophet and the Proletariat," complete with a green cover and Arabic-looking lettering. Meanwhile, the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (20 August) proclaims, "*Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries*" (emphasis in original).

And, come to think of it, we haven't seen a single article in the Cliffite press in defense of Taslima Nasrin, the courageous Bangladeshi writer condemned to death by Islamic clerics who judged her fight against anti-woman bigotry and her denunciations of both Muslim and Hindu chauvinists in Bangladesh and India to be an affront to their "religious feelings" (see *WV* No. 604, 5 August). This is a significant turnaround, as the British SWP defended Salman Rushdie against the *fatwa* (edict calling for his death) issued by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, and even published an interview with Rushdie early on. But for the Cliffites, who have made a career of being "State Department socialists," their reticence on Nasrin and current infatuation with Islamic fundamentalism goes along with Washington's current stance (shared by sections of West European social democracy) to "do business" with "moderate" fundamentalists, from Iran to Algeria.

The Harman article in *International Socialism* is all about "contradictions of Islamism." He treats Islamic fundamentalist "mass movements" as radical petty-bourgeois nationalist formations, which "have taken up anti-imperialist slogans and some anti-imperialist actions." But despite their populist rhetoric, their denunciations of the "Great Satan" of the U.S. and occasional jibes at the IMF, seeking to whip up support among the desperately impoverished masses from Teheran to Algiers, the Islamic fundamentalists are firmly committed to maintaining capitalist exploitation. While sprinkling a few caveats about, Harman waxes increasingly enthusiastic, reaching a crescendo as he writes of the "Islamic intelligentsia around Khomeini in Iran":

> "They were not, as many left wing commentators have mistakenly believed, merely an expression of 'backward,' bazaar-based traditional, 'parasitic,' 'merchant capital.' Nor were they simply an expression of classic bourgeois counter-revolution. They undertook a revolutionary reorganisation of ownership and control of capital within Iran even while leaving capitalist relations of production intact."

A neat trick, if you can do it.

For the Cliffites, Iran is part of a pattern of radical, "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary" "Islamism" throughout the Muslim world. Thus the British SWP writes:

> "The Iranian revolution of 1979, which was rapidly taken over by the Mullahs, the popular Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion, the Palestinian intifada, which was more and more influenced by the fundamentalists, all contributed to the revival of anti-imperialist feeling, filtered through religion, of broad masses of North Africans."
>
> —*Socialist Review*, February 1992

This is hardly a reflection of "anti-imperialism," as the Cliffites would have it, but rather of despair and reaction, which both emotionally and in its sociological base has much in common with Hitler's "National Socialism." Though looking to the past, the Islamic fundamentalist wave is a response to the oppressive conditions of the late 20th century. Its present rise as a mass movement is the reactionary reflection of both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead end of nationalism.

This can be seen most clearly among the Palestinians and in Algeria. The PLO nationalists are now acting as the murderous enforcers for Zionist tyranny, driving the historically secular Palestinian masses into the arms of Hamas fundamentalists. Algeria won its war of independence against France, but this anti-colonial victory did little to alleviate the exploitation and social oppression of the masses, who now turn to fundamentalism as an answer.

From Iran and Afghanistan...

The Cliffites' fascination with "Islamism" repeats the opportunist left's disastrous capitulation to the reactionary mullahs who came to power in Iran a decade and a half ago. Khomeini's victory led to the execution of thousands of leftists, Kurds, women, homosexuals and any opponent of theocratic rule. Harman starts off his article with a polemic against the *New Left Review*'s Fred Halliday for counterposing a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie in Iran to the left's support for Khomeini. Halliday said the left should have "come out in a firm and united way against the clerical forces and in alliance with the 'liberals'" around Bakhtiar, the first prime minister after the overthrow of the shah, who was soon purged by the Khomeinites ("The Iranian Revolution and its Implications," *New Left Review*, November/December 1987). Halliday is a pretty easy target, since during the Persian Gulf War he came out for the U.S./NATO attack on Iraq!

In debunking this certified "social-imperialist," the *International Socialism* article adopts a pseudo-"radical" posture:

> "The Islamic regime in Iran dominates discussions on Islamic revivalism, much as the record of Stalinism dominates discussions on socialism. And often, even on the left, very similar conclusions are drawn. The Islamists are seen, much as the Stalinists were once seen, as the most dangerous of all political forces, able to impose a totalitarianism that will prevent any further progressive development."

But while today Harman claims to be arguing against those, like Halliday, who called the Iranian mullah regime "Islam with a fascist face" as well as against those who "see the Islamist movements as 'progressive'," the Cliffites' own record places them clearly in the latter camp. At the time of Khomeini's victory, the ISO in the U.S. ran laudatory articles on the mullahs' "mass movement" with headlines like "The Form—Religious, The Spirit—Revolution!"

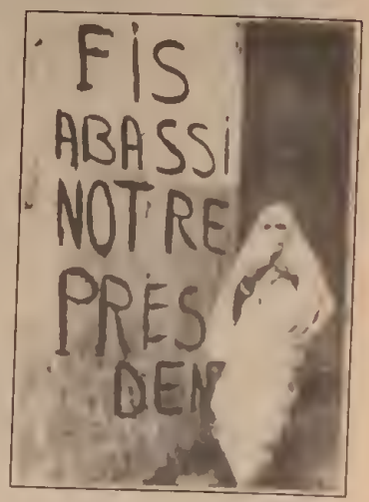
The criminal support for reactionary fundamentalists in Iran by leftists around the world was a monstrous betrayal. In contrast, the Spartacist tendency put forward a program for proletarian revolution, declaring: "Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs! Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution!" Uniquely on the left, we warned that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the *chador* (the head-to-toe veil), restore barbaric punishments (e.g., flogging, amputations), suppress national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as the shah.

Cold War anti-Sovietism and tailing the fundamentalists came together for the Cliffites over Afghanistan. For a decade, Washington armed and supported the fundamentalists' reactionary *jihad* (holy war), using the opportunity to wage a proxy war against the Soviet Union. We forthrightly *hailed* the intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan against the mullah-led forces, and we called for the extension to Afghanistan of the social gains of the October Revolution. But the Cliffites were foursquare on the side of reaction. In Britain, SWP leader Paul Foot succeeded in provoking an anti-Soviet frenzy on the floor of Parliament by right-wing Tories and Labour "lefts" alike, through incendiary "revelations" in his *Daily Mirror* column of the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be sent to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan (*Spartacist Britain* No. 24, August-September 1980).

In the U.S., the ISO bombastically proclaimed all-out support to the mullahs:

> "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs."
>
> —*Socialist Worker*, May 1988

continued on page 11



Reuters

Algeria: FIS declares fundamentalist leader Abassi "our president."

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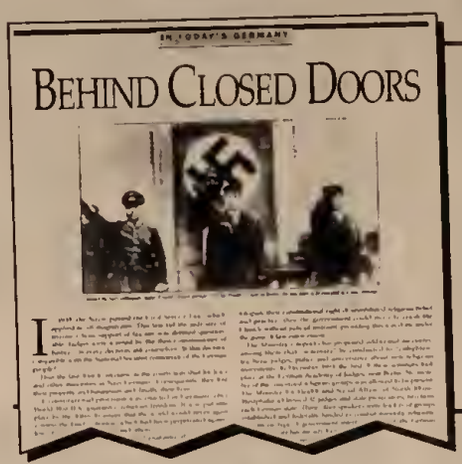
Fourth Reich Persecutes Scientologists

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 115 (November/December 1994), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.*

It's well known that the jealous biblical god tolerated no other gods beside him. The German state acts in the same way. The Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) and the Social Democratic (SPD) guardians of morality are waging an ominous campaign against the "Church of Scientology" sect. This is an assault on freedom of expression and assembly as well as on the separation of church and state.

On October 11, the SPD called for Scientology to be banned and prosecuted—through the appointment of a "federal sect commissioner"—claiming that this "pseudo-religious" movement had formed an "organized criminal association" in order to do away with the "democratic constitutional order." The latter charge is the code word for *witchhunt*—the pretext for banning the Communist Party (KPD) and purging communists from the trade unions during the Cold War. We Spartakists say: Hands off Scientology!

But Bonn's real accusation, and the reason for the SPD's attack just now, is that Scientology is damaging Germany's "reputation" abroad. In reaction to the months-long witchhunt, the Scientologists have been running full-page ads since September in the two leading U.S. dailies, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, in which they condemn Nazi terror against immigrants and Germany's discrimination against minorities (including themselves). When they denounce the Kohl gang's hypocritical revision of history by demonstrating the continuity of the "Federal Republic" with the Third Reich, they do something totally "*verboten*."


IN TODAY'S GERMANY

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

Scientology ads pointing to continuity between Kohl's Germany and Nazi Third Reich send German rulers into chauvinist frenzy.

Jansson/Gamma

Berlin police manhandle Kurdish demonstrator as part of racist persecution of Kurds and all immigrants.

What infuriated the fanatics in Bonn was Scientology ads like one in the 13 October *New York Times* which presented a largely accurate critique of the lying glorification of the bourgeois conspiracy of the "men of 20 July 1944" (the high-ranking military officers who tried to assassinate Hitler). Commenting on an exhibition sponsored by Bonn at the Library of Congress in Washington, the Scientology ad notes that it is distinguished by:

> "what it omits. Its literature abbreviates Jewish resistance to the Nazis to a single page and downgrades the Warsaw Ghetto, the heroic symbol of World War II resistance, to one sentence..
> "The exhibit diminishes the horror of the Holocaust and the Nazis' mass murder, virtually unopposed, of millions of Jews, Gypsies, Rosicrucians, Jehovah's Witnesses and other minorities."

And also of Communists and homosexuals, one must add. For the entire aim of this exhibition was to *erase* from history Communist-led resistance to Hitler. To cover up Leopold Trepper's Red Orchestra, the White Rose (a bourgeois resistance group) was highlighted. The Scientologists point out, for example, that Artur Nebe, one of the July 1944 conspirators, is depicted in Kohl's exhibition in Berlin as a hero; in reality he was a mass murderer in the SS *Einsatzgruppen* (death squads) whose hands were red with the blood of thousands of "Jews, Bolsheviks and dissidents." Indeed, we know that the men of 20 July wanted to stop Hitler only because he was in the process of *definitively* damaging Germany's "reputation," namely by losing the Second World War.

The SPD-led Hamburg Interior Ministry, which recently made the headlines when the minister resigned because of racist police violence against immigrants, has even set up a special department to deal with Scientology. And the city government of Hamburg (where Scientology has its main office) has announced its intention to prosecute Scientology. Under what pretext are they doing all this? Greed! Too bad Luther didn't have an FBI to effectively fight the Catholic church. Economic crimes! From Daimler-Benz to IG Farben they all do it, but here the press from right to "left" swallows the bait: Springer's *Hamburger Abendblatt* launched a provocation in *Stürmer* (SA brownshirt) style against Scientology's worship of god's money. The (rad-lib) *taz* screams that the sect controls the Hamburg housing market; *Neues Deutschland* (speaking for the PDS) asks when "state measures" will finally be taken.

Under the pretext of "economic crimes" and "money-laundering," Bonn wants to kick in the doors of Scientology's office and/or its commercial enterprises and confiscate financial records. This paves the way for declaring "criminal" the commercial enterprises of all sorts of other religious and political organizations which the state deems a thorn in its side. It's happened already, when the police assaulted PDS headquarters in Berlin in October 1990 (with the cooperation of the PDS!).

To the coalition of church and SPD, Scientology—or at least its late founder, L. Ron Hubbard—is the Pied Piper of Hamelin in person. To be sure, this sect is dubious, unappetizing and very unpopular among wide sectors of the populace. But how strange can an "E Meter" be compared to calling a communion wafer the body of Christ? Insofar as the Scientologists have an ideology, it's an extreme version of "self-realization" in a "competitive society." They target higher-income layers, including members of boards of directors of major concerns, devoting much attention to raising their business efficiency.

Bonn and its powerful state churches naturally want to be the ones to decide what is and is not a religion, in order to justify *political repression* of all unpopular minority groups. In 1938, Hitler's thugs responded to the "provocation" of the existence of synagogues with their November pogrom. Today the Bavarian Supreme Court rails against "the provocative exercise of religion in obviously, clearly recognizable mosques"—in granting permission for an NPD Nazi march against the construction of a mosque (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 August)!

Today, as the Fourth Reich again strives for world dominance, it again needs political and religious conformity with "old German values." This conformity is to be enforced not just by Sunday sermons but also by state violence—with more stringent laws against "international terrorism" and now in "fighting crime," laws which have already been tried out in the racist persecution of immigrants. The ban on the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) effectively outlawed the political and cultural life of the entire Kurdish population in Germany—300 Kurds are in prison.

Defend Democratic Rights—For Separation of Church and State!

The German constitution reeks with religious obscurantism. There are *two* major state churches, for which the state acts as a collection agency from its citizens—*all* citizens whose birth is registered by the churches. In West Germany, the churches have always had the "right" to force themselves on the population.

State governments and schools have a "constitutional" obligation to transmit "Christian values." And if you or your children want to avoid this imposition in order, for example, to stop paying church taxes (which means you have to leave the church) or to get out of religious instruction in school, then you have to make a formal written petition. These values are spoon-fed even to small children in day-care centers. Censorship hoards filled with clerics decide what you can and cannot hear and see on radio and TV—in line with the motto, first the lottery numbers and then "The Word on Sunday."

And, of course, the attempts to strengthen Article 218 (restricting abortion) in the '80s brought clerical reaction solidly into the streets. Christian opponents of abortion even attacked the clinics, tormenting women who sought abortions with accusations of murder right up to the doors of the operating room.

Following the counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany), Bonn vehemently asserted its "right" to re-Christianize the East German populace, together with such luminaries as the ultrarightist opponent of the "abortion holocaust," military bishop Dyba. The churches stormed into the East, seizing everything from day-care centers to old-age homes—including, of course, the newly established (anti-) abortion "counseling" centers.

The rights of free expression and freedom of assembly, as well as the separation of church and state, were established by the bourgeois revolutions of the 16th to 19th centuries; in Germany, however, such revolutions were either defeated or remained incomplete. As a result, the left and workers movement in this country has only a superficial consciousness of bourgeois-democratic rights. This is reflected in the manifold links of the SPD with the Protestant church—in the East it's truly a "teachers and priests party." It promotes ministers as its spokesmen and candidates and is proud of having a party caucus for Christians.

In brief: the churches and the state arrogate to themselves the right to stick their noses into all aspects of people's private lives which are none of their business—with the active support of their Social Democratic helpers. Down with the church tax! Cops, judges, priests out of the bedrooms, classrooms and doctors' offices!

Down with the Crusade Against Scientology!

As advocates of the interests of the working class and of its right to organize,

continued on page 10

A. Schoelzel

Berlin police raid PDS headquarters in 1990. Witchhunt against ex-Stalinist social democrats continues today.

As Bitterness Over Reunification Fuels PDS Vote

Der Spiegel

Spartakist

Capitalist counterrevolution produces devastation. Left: Workers crowd unemployment office in Berlin. Right: July 1993 protest against closing of Bischoferrode potash mine.

Germany Escalates Anti-Red Witchhunt

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 115, November/December 1994, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

November 9 marked the fifth anniversary of the opening of the Berlin Wall, and the German media have been full of reminiscences of the autumn of 1989 and the collapse of the Stalinist regime in the DDR, the bureaucratically deformed East German workers state. (The fact that this date is also the anniversary of the 1918 downfall of the Kaiser and Hitler's 1938 *Kristallnacht* pogrom against the Jews was barely mentioned.) Earlier, on October 16, national elections were held which returned Christian Democratic (CDU) chancellor Helmut Kohl to office. The electioneering was marked by a virulent campaign of redbaiting against the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the successor to the Socialist Unity Party which for decades governed—and then sold out—the DDR. But what was striking was how the anti-communist barrage dramatically *backfired* in the East.

Four years after capitalist reunification, there is mass devastation in East Germany, mass unemployment in the West, and increased racist terror throughout the country. Promising more of the same, Kohl's coalition with the Free Democrats (FDP) had its parliamentary majority reduced to a wafer-thin margin of a single vote (which was then inflated by an obscure election law clause giving extra seats to the leading party in different states). The Social Democrats, despite their support for the anti-working-class, racist policies of Kohl & Co., regained some workers' votes in the West. But in East Germany, rage over the results of *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former DDR was so widespread that the PDS won almost 20 percent of the vote and was returned to the Bundestag (parliament) with 30 deputies.

Nowhere was the division clearer than in Berlin, the designated capital of "united" Germany, where the CDU won six directly elected members of parliament in West Berlin and the PDS won four out of five direct mandates in the East, while the SPD came away with only three. The PDS deputies include the party's Bundestag leader Gregor Gysi (who got 48.9 percent of the vote in the working-class districts of Marzahn and Hellersdorf), longtime East German dissident socialist writer Stefan Heym, former DDR economics minister Christa Luft, and commerical and bank workers union chief Manfred Müller. "Gysi's multicolored troop" includes German nationalist Count von Einsiedel (the grandson of the Kaiser's "Iron Chancellor" Bismarck) and writer Gerhard Zwerenz, who proclaimed himself "anti-communist" from the Bundestag podium.

J.H. Darchinger

PDS leader Gregor Gysi displays CDU anti-"red" propaganda during election campaign, later went on hunger strike to protest government attempt to bankrupt party.

Pressefoto Mrotzkowski

While Gysi talks of "socialist opposition," he offered unconditional support to make SPD candidate Rudolf Scharping chancellor. But the Social Democrats' leader was so afraid of receiving PDS votes that he wasn't even nominated when the new parliament opened. In fact, the Kohl gang is dependent on support from the SPD, both in the Bundestag and through the Social Democrat trade-union leadership. That's why major bourgeois spokesmen called for direct SPD participation in the government in a coalition of Christian, Free and Social Democrats. Yet such a "Grand Coalition" already exists de facto, as the SPD controls the upper house of parliament (the Bundesrat) and has gone along with Kohl on everything from his austerity budget to gutting the right to asylum. Next up: Bundeswehr troops to Bosnia and Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus.

But nowhere has the "holy alliance" of the "democratic" "people's parties" been so pronounced as in the witchhunting of the PDS. This is not just a knee-jerk continuation of the Cold War, but a deliberate attempt to root out pro-socialist consciousness and any lingering support for the DDR among the East German population. So now Gysi and Heym (both of them of Jewish origin) are being pilloried on bogus charges of having been agents of the DDR State Security, although both of them were targets of the bloated "Stasi" snooping apparatus. The government finally allowed Heym to give the opening address to the Bundestag as its oldest member, but refused to print it in the official register. And then it tried to bankrupt the PDS by demanding DM 67 million ($40 million) in taxes, supposedly owed for the first half of 1990—when the DDR was still an independent state!

"Grand Coalition" of Austerity, Witchhunting and Deportations

Two days after the voting, the bosses unveiled the program they want their government to carry out. The head of the employers' federation demanded a drastic slashing of unemployment insurance, health and pension benefits. As we have stressed, following the collapse of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, West European capitalists are busily demolishing the "social (welfare) state," with which they bought a certain amount of social peace following World War II. Now, following the devastation of the former DDR, the German bourgeoisie is determined to employ its D-mark dominance in the European Union (Common Market) to "integrate" the entire continent. And, as in the case of *Anschluss*, it is the workers in Germany and all Europe who are to foot the bill.

By closing down plants and drastically slashing industrial production in the East, the bourgeoisie has thrown between a third and a half of the DDR workforce out of their jobs, particularly women. Increasingly, the rulers are seeking to play off the workers in the East and West against one another. The capitalists' slash-and-burn policies are accompanied by poisonous nationalism

and racist terror aimed at splitting and intimidating the working class. The bureaucrats want to tie the workers to "their" bosses in the name of defending *Standort Deutschland* ("Production Site Germany"). Yet German companies, having failed to significantly boost profits by jacking up the rate of exploitation at home, are aggressively moving production to low-wage sites, such as VW's Skoda subsidiary in the Czech Republic and plants in Brazil and Mexico.

Meanwhile, the de facto racist Grand Coalition has given a green light to anti-immigrant terror by cops and fascists. The brutality of the racist cops has gotten so far "out of hand" that in the state of Hamburg the SPD interior minister was forced to resign. Because the Bonn parties implemented so much of the fascists' program, the latter didn't do so well in the elections. Of course, the main activity of the Nazis isn't in parliament but on the streets. Daily fascist Nazi/skinhead terror inflamed by capitalist reunification drastically increased in the period preceding the elections. For the first time since the Third Reich, a synagogue was firebombed in Lübeck; Nazis desecrated the memorial at the Buchenwald concentration camp, rampaged through the center of Magdeburg and have been spreading their terror in the Berlin S-Bahn elevated railway.

But the racists with shaved heads or suits and ties can be stopped. Immigrant workers are a strategic and militant component of the workers movement, and the power of labor can be mobilized against the fascists. The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) has uniquely fought for *worker/immigrant defense guards to stop Nazi terror*, and for *full citizenship rights for everyone in the country*. This is part of the fight to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party, combatting every kind of social oppression, counterposing sharp class struggle to class collaboration, in the struggle for proletarian power.

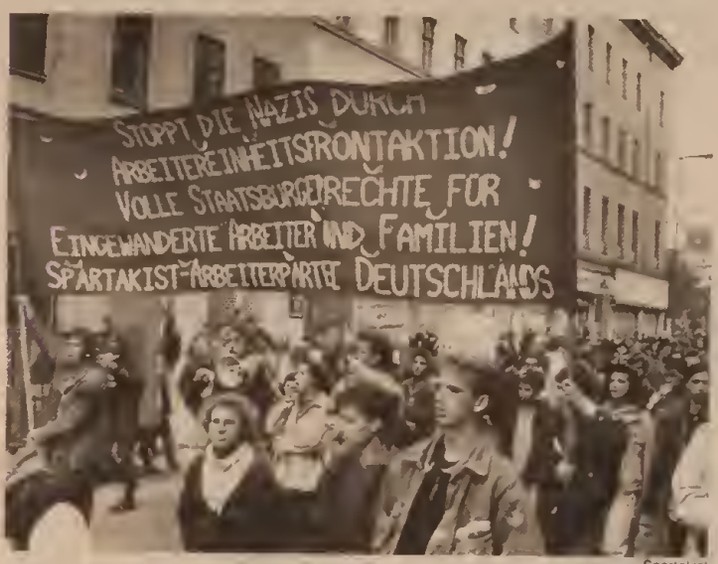
CDU/SPD Witchhunt Backfires...

The SPD is split between East and West over cooperation with the PDS. Earlier in the year, the PDS won a heavy protest vote in legislative elections in the Eastern state of Sachsen-Anhalt (major cities: Magdeburg and Halle), forcing the SPD and the Greens to govern with the "toleration" (in reality, unconditional support) of the PDS. While Kohl denounced the PDS as "*Rote Socken*" (red socks) and "red-painted fascists," SPD leader Scharping criticized his own comrades in Magdeburg for the unpardonable sin of cohabitation with the PDS. Then, after the October 16 vote, in the Baltic coast state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (major cities: Rostock and Schwerin), the SPD flirted with a "Magdeburg solution" despite Scharping's threat of a "huge blowup" over any cooperation with the PDS. This will come up again, for in every East German state but Saxony, an SPD-PDS coalition would have an automatic majority.

In Schwerin, the state SPD set as a precondition for "cooperation" with the PDS acceptance of a "Four-Point Catalogue" for "dealing with the past," including swearing a loyalty oath to the federal constitution and apologizing for the 1946 "forced unification" of the KPD (Communist Party) and SPD into the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in East Germany. Members of the PDS Bundestag group countered by presenting their own list of crimes for which the SPD should apologize, including the SPD's "vote for the war credits in August 1914," "assistance...in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg," as well as the *Berufsverbot* (ban on employment of leftists in West Germany) and the "de facto elimination of the basic right to asylum." Accurate enough, but it hasn't stopped the PDS from giving the SPD unconditional support in state assemblies.

The PDS' own proposal is regional parliamentary cretinism and the popular front. While calling for an "East chamber" of the Bundestag to represent "Eastern interests," at the state level they call for reinstituting round table forums, so as to allow the Christian Democrats to take part! It was through the medium of "round tables" that five years ago SED-PDS chief Gysi, DDR prime minister Hans Modrow and economics minister Luft—today all PDS members of the Bundestag—organized the sellout of the East German workers state to capitalist West Germany. They only haggled over the asking price: 1 D-mark for 1 DDR-mark. And now? Round tables for the demolition of the "social state"?

But the rulers in Bonn are not about to take up the PDS' offer: quite the contrary. Taken aback by the strong support for the PDS from the East in the election campaign, they have mounted a campaign of character assassination and financial extortion against the party and its leaders. Act I, only days after the voting, was a press conference at which five prominent former East German dissidents (including Barbel Bohley) were accusing Gysi, who had been their lawyer, of spying on them for the Stasi. Their charges amounted to a big zero, and in fact, the day before, the head of the agency which controls the Stasi files declared they had nothing on the PDS leader. But the smear charges were nonetheless trumpeted by the capitalist media, which "revealed" a supposed receipt for a "present" to Gysi by the Stasi team spying on him!



Spartakist

Spartakist contingent in October 1991 protest against Nazi anti-immigrant pogrom in Hoyerswerda, East Germany called for workers mobilization to stop fascists.

Act II was aimed at Stefan Heym. On the eve of his Bundestag speech, a supposed document was leaked by the sinisterly named ZERV (Central Clearing House for Government and Reunification Crimes) to the Bundestag president claiming that the DDR writer had arranged the 1961 Stasi kidnapping of Heinz Brandt, a former KPD and SED cadre who had gone to West Germany, where he became a metal workers union official. This was soon revealed as a hoax, but it set the stage for the opening scene at the parliament, where Kohl demonstratively held his head during Heym's remarks. The speech was little more than platitudes about human rights, but even Heym's call for a "grand coalition of reason" and denunciation of chauvinism, racism and anti-Semitism set off the ruling coalition, which banned its publication in the official record.

Act III came at the end of November, when the Berlin state tax office demanded immediate payment from the PDS of DM 67 million in supposed back corporate taxes. For starters, the period covered was January-June 1990, and the SED-PDS was a party in another state, the DDR! But that presents no problem for a government that tried former East German intelligence chief Markus Wolf for "high treason" to a state he was not a citizen of. The numbers were fantastical inventions. Furthermore, the companies covered have since been seized by the Treuhandanstalt, the "trusteeship agency" which took over the DDR's collectivized industry in order to shut it down. And as a "security deposit" to ensure payment, the tax collectors seized $2 million in federal funds due the PDS for the election campaign!

The whole episode was an exercise in Fourth Reich *chutzpah*. More specifically, it was an attempt to cripple the PDS by bankrupting it. In protest, PDS leaders, including Gysi and party chairman Lothar Bisky, went to the offices of the still-existing "independent party commission of the DDR," chained themselves to a radiator and began a hunger strike. After they were removed from there by the police, they proceeded to the PDS offices in the Berlin state assembly. After being removed from there, they went to the Volksbühne (People's Theater) at Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz in East Berlin. Meanwhile, 20,000 outraged PDS supporters and others staged a November 30 protest demanding, "Hands off the PDS!" Two days later, 30,000 converged on Berlin from around East Germany for another demonstration.

The SpAD, which has consistently defended the PDS against witchhunting attacks, issued a protest statement declaring: "The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany protests against the monstrous and dangerous campaign by the Berlin CDU/SPD government seeking to expropriate the PDS." After denouncing the arrogance of the ruling class, the statement noted:

> "When in July 1990 the 'independent' DDR commission first demanded of all parties that they lay bare their finances and hand over their property to the CDU/SPD witchhunters to 'administer,' the Spartakists answered with a clear 'No!'....
>
> "We fought uncompromisingly against capitalist reunification and warned of its consequences. The SED-PDS, on the other hand, turned over the DDR to the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz. But even that was not enough; like Hitler's Nazis, the bourgeoisie wants to sink its claws into the Karl Liebknecht Building [now PDS headquarters] and the *Neues Deutschland* [newspaper] building. With the Stasi witchhunts, it seeks, with the aid of its SPD minions, to take revenge for its defeat at the hands of the Red Army in 1945 and to destroy anything reminiscent of the DDR deformed workers state."

Eventually, a Berlin court ordered the Treuhand to reimburse the PDS for the $2 million seized by the tax officials, and the PDS leaders ended their hunger strike, proclaiming a temporary victory.

...But the PDS Joins In

"Despite everything," Gysi declares the issue to be "whether the PDS will become part of the governing system or not" (PDS *Pressedienst*, 28 October). Gysi and Bisky are intent on demonstrating their "capacity to govern" (read: loyalty to the bourgeois order) by *carrying out the witchhunt in their own ranks*. Grotesquely, the first action by Gysi's "multicolored" Bundestag fraction following the PDS electoral success was, at Heym's demand, to remove elected deputy Kerstin Kaiser-Nicht for having cooperated with the DDR Ministry of State Security. Kaiser-Nicht had made no secret of her loyalty to the DDR, and her ouster provoked an uproar in her electoral district in Brandenburg. Her supporters embarrassed PDS leaders by plastering the entry to the Liebknecht Building with signs denouncing the forced resignation, including "The Witchhunt Goes On And You're Aiding It" and "Grass-Roots Democracy?"

The PDS leadership's belly-crawling capitulation only spurs on the witchhunters, as shown by the subsequent smear campaigns against Gysi and Heym. A particular target is the Communist Platform (KPF), the loyal opposition in the PDS, which would like to lend the party credibility as a leftist force. Although the KPF calls itself communist, they are not referring to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky, or even the Communist League of Karl Marx. Rather, the central leadership identifies with the Right Opposition of Bukharin, while the more militant elements look back to Stalin and his man in the DDR, Walter Ulbricht. In practice, the KPF has fallen to its knees whenever Gysi and the bourgeoisie demanded this of them, even projecting a social "transformation" in the framework of the federal constitution. Yet Bisky/Gysi are preparing to chuck the KPF out of the leadership at the upcoming PDS party congress in January.

At the November 30 protest against the "tax attack" on the PDS, writer Jochen Petersdorf told the crowd to believe not in Santa Claus but in class struggle. Yet in its "Ten Theses" that it is presenting to the January party congress, the PDS leadership calls for "a new social contract," declaring: "Despite all contradictions between the classes, layers and groups in society...without a new understanding between them there can be no changed direction of development of production, consumption and living conditions."

Meanwhile, most German left groups are clinging to this would-be savior of capitalism. The DKP (the former West German Communist Party) and the VSP (United Socialist Party), the hideout for West German supporters of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), ran candidates on the PDS slate, while Voran/JRE (supporters of the British "Militant" group) and Avanti (East German USec supporters) declared the PDS a lesser evil. Longtime Mandelite Winfried Wolf was elected Bundestag deputy, although on the road to respectability he has quit the USec.

But Gysi insists that a line he drawn "also on the left side." Speaking in Bavaria, he declared himself "incredibly surprised" at the array of "dyed-in-the-wool Spartakists and Marxists" he ran into in the West as well as the East (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 October). And again on Hesse Radio (30 October) he moaned, "You've got to experience for yourselves how I'm attacked by sectarians at meetings...from the right by the Young Union [Christian Democrats], from the left by the Spartakists." But Gysi's not so surprised as all that. After the opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Spartakists were the only ones to intervene in the East and West flatly opposed to capitalist reunification and with the perspective of a red Germany of workers councils as part of a United Socialist States of Europe. At the time, Gysi & Co. were busily engaged in acting as the mediators for counterrevolution.

Lenin characterized Social Democracy as a physician at the sickbed of capitalism; today, the PDS is applying to become a paramedic. After four years of capitalist devastation of the former DDR, it can be seen all too clearly that the only way forward for humanity is proletarian revolution and construction of a socialist society resting on genuine equality and justice. ■

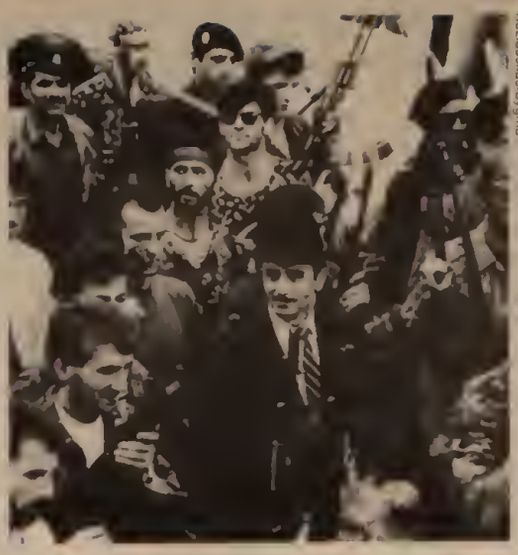
Caucasus...

(continued from page 1)

a part of Russia and the Dudayev regime has no legitimate basis."

This attitude reflects the widespread and vicious racism against Chechens and other Caucasians living in Moscow and elsewhere in central Russia. Many Russians sneeringly refer to Caucasians as "blacks" and brand them all as a gang of criminals. Following Yeltsin's bonapartist crackdown last October, thousands of Chechens and other Caucasians were beaten and brutally deported in the name of "fighting crime." There is certainly a Chechen mafia, but as British spy novelist John le Carré observed: "As to the criminality of the Chechens, who on earth are the Russians of Moscow and St. Petersburg to talk? They have criminalized themselves at every level of commerce and administration to an extent not seen since the days of Al Capone" (*New York Times*, 14 December).

Unlike the bourgeois opposition to Yeltsin, which is overwhelmingly Great Russian chauvinist and at best pacifist, we forthrightly stand with the Chechen people fighting against racist harassment and attempts to impose the Russian knout. We say: Defeat the invasion—Russian forces out of Chechnya!



Kozlauskas/Sygma

Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev (center), former Soviet general who now panders to Islamic reaction.

Chechnya and Yeltsin's Russia

It took half a century for the tsarist empire to conquer the North Caucasus, so fierce was the resistance of its indigenous peoples. In the course of this war the Russians massacred some 400,000 Chechens. But the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution destroyed what Lenin called the tsarist "prison house of peoples," and the Soviet Union established autonomous regions for formerly oppressed peoples such as the Chechens, Ossetians, Tatars and Bashkirs in the Urals. Even more honest bourgeois commentators, such as the Italian *La Repubblica* (12 December) note that the status of the Chechen people "was seemingly resolved by the October Revolution with the internationalist ideology of transcending the question of nationality." In fact, it was only on the basis of proletarian power and an internationalist program that an equal place could be found for the myriad nationalities and pre-national formations of tsarist Russia.

However, the Stalinist bureaucracy later trampled on the national rights of the non-Russian peoples, and nowhere more savagely than in the northern Caucasus. During World War II, Stalin dissolved the Chechen and neighboring Ingush autonomous regions, claiming they had supported the Nazi German invasion, and deported their entire populations to Central Asia. This was also done to the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans and several other small peoples. In the late 1950s, the liberal Stalinist regime of Nikita Khrushchev restored the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and large numbers of these Caucasian peoples returned to their homeland. Although Moscow exercised ultimate control, the autonomous areas within the Russian federation of the USSR did provide a substantial degree of national autonomy, preserving and developing the language and cultural identity of the Chechens, Tatars, Bashkirs and others.

When the Soviet Union came apart following Yeltsin's seizure of power in Moscow in August 1991, Chechnya, under the strongman leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, declared its independence. Dudayev brandishes Islamic symbols, and several hundred of his fighters were reportedly trained by the Afghan *mujahedin*. His move was bolstered economically by Chechnya's possession of substantial oil deposits and other natural resources. Additionally, a major oil pipeline between the Caspian and Black Seas runs through the region. Concern to keep the oil flowing no doubt influences the imperialists' support for Moscow's attempt to reimpose "order."

The Yeltsin regime has simultaneously acted as the agent of Wall Street and Frankfurt banks in immiserating the working people of Russia while moving to establish overlordship of the neighboring non-Russian peoples. Moscow responded to Chechnya's defiance by an economic blockade which succeeded in bringing the small Caucasian republic to ruin. But until recently Yeltsin stopped short of open military intervention, doubtless out of respect for the Chechens' well-deserved reputation for ferocity. A correspondent of the haughty London *Economist* (24 September) quipped, "you could be forgiven for thinking that Chechenya is not a country but a rather eccentric gun club."

Late last summer, the Yeltsin regime opted for military support to Chechen factions hostile to Dudayev, who had become a typically corrupt and brutal Third World despot. But Moscow's meddling—through the instrument of Ruslan Khasbulatov, the Chechen former head of the Moscow parliament dishanded by Yeltsin—actually strengthened Dudayev's hand. When Dudayev routed the Moscow-backed forces and paraded captured Russian soldiers through Grozny last month, Yeltsin decided to up the ante with a full-scale invasion. In response, Chechnya's foreign minister Shamsedin Yusef warned: "they cannot kill every Chechen; there are more than a million of us, and every one of us will fight."

Reports from the area indicate that even Russians in Chechnya are resisting the invasion, which has consolidated the Chechen population behind the drive for independence. To the west, the ethnically related Ingush, who had separated from Chechnya in favor of autonomy within Russia, have rallied against the invasion and attacked Russian troops, while Russian soldiers have been seized in Dagestan to the east. Throughout the Caucasus there is widespread hostility to Russia's great power ambitions.

Swersey/Gamma

Would-be Tsar Boris Yeltsin revives reactionary traditions to bolster nascent capitalist state.

Behind the Armenia-Azerbaijan War

The many peoples of the Caucasus are suffering greatly from the civil strife and mutual "ethnic cleansings" unleashed by the destruction of the USSR. While Chechnya and other areas of the northern slope of the Caucasus have relatively homogeneous populations (with significant numbers of Russians in the capital cities), the rest of the region, like the Balkans, is characterized by the widespread *geographical interpenetration* of its diverse peoples. It is a patchwork quilt of nationalities that developed over the centuries in conditions of geographical isolation in this mountainous region.

Until recently, there were large enclaves of Armenians within Azerbaijan and vice versa, while Abkhazians and Ossetians had autonomous regions in Georgia. Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, had a thoroughly multinational character going back to the last decades of the tsarist empire. Thus the drive of Armenian, Azeri and Georgian nationalists to create their own bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of the Soviet Union has necessarily led to massacres and mass expulsions of national minorities. And as it did during the days of tsarist rule, Russia is playing a major role in stoking ethnic and nationalist intrigues in the region it calls the "near abroad."

The Armenia-Azerbaijan bloodletting beginning in 1988 was both a harbinger and a spearhead of the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Soviet Union fueled by Gorbachev's free market "reforms." When the first outbursts of nationalist fervor in Soviet Armenia over the mountainous Nagorno-Karabakh enclave inside Azerbaijan were followed by anti-Armenian pogroms in Azerbaijan in early 1988, we wrote that "the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, permeated with nationalism, *cannot solve* the complex nationalities questions...economic decentralization under the rubric of *perestroika* (restructuring) will *intensify* national divisions and rivalries within the USSR" (*WV* No. 450, 8 April 1988).

We added: "Since a majority of inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh are Armenians who want to be part of the Armenian republic, that is their democratic right." Armenia has since incorporated this area through a brutal campaign of military conquest. Today, in the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution, the question of interpenetration in this area has been effectively resolved, through massive forced population transfers.

While Western (especially American) press reports often simply retail pro-Armenian propaganda about Azeri atrocities, both sides carry out "ethnic cleansings" in the areas they rule. In May 1992, 45,000 Azeris were expelled from the Nagorno-Karabakh mountains by Armenian forces. The following month, an Azeri offensive against Mardakert and Shaumian sent 40,000 Armenians fleeing from their homes. Every sixth Azeri is a refugee and a fifth of Azerbaijan's territory is now in the hands of Armenian forces. More than 20,000 Azeris and Armenians have been killed—out of a combined population of less than 11 million people.

The cosmopolitan character and multinational proletariat of Baku have been destroyed by communal slaughter, as 350,000 Armenians have fled the Azerbaijan capital. An Azeri population of nearly 200,000 was forced out of Armenia. The war has also brought terror and slaughter to the small Kurdish population of the region. In 1992, Armenian forces from Karabakh stormed the city of Lachin, a historic Kurdish center, looting and burning it to the ground. The entire population of 25,000 Kurds was forced to flee. Since then, Armenia has driven out virtually all of its Kurdish population and has also forced out tens of thousands of Kurds in occupied Azerbaijan.

Malanca/Sipa

Western imperialists and Russia maneuver in the Caucasus to gain control over rich Baku oil fields in Azerbaijan.

Adapted from Independent (London)

Caucasus is a patchwork of overlapping nationalities. September 1993 map shows Armenian expansion in war against Azerbaijan; since then, more Azerbaijani territory has been seized.

For both sides of this sordid war, the economic devastation has been horrific. The Armenian economy is being strangled by Azerbaijan's blockade of most transport routes into the country. Hot water is rare in Yerevan and electricity is only available a few hours a day. Armenia, once a research and technological center of the Soviet Union, has been turned into an agrarian society. Azerbaijan's economy is being drained by war expenditures, while the Baku government is prevented from cashing in on its vast oil reserves.

Despite its oil wealth and a population more than twice that of Armenia, Azerbaijan has lost on the battlefield—in no small part due to Russia's tilt toward the Armenians following Yeltsin's ascent to power. Moscow has aided the Yerevan regime with food and military matériel. An estimated 90 percent of Armenia's supplies come from Russia.

Unlike the Chechnya-Russia clash, however, the Armenia-Azerbaijan war is the one intra-Caucasus conflict that the West has not willingly ceded to Moscow's sphere of influence. U.S. and NATO plans for "peacekeeping troops" to settle the Armenia-Azerbaijan war and to draw new national boundaries are being rebuffed by Russia. The imperialists' prating about stopping "violence" is pure hypocrisy, aimed at covering their own designs. If Britain had created a United Nations to appeal to in the mid 19th century, you can be sure it would have called for blue helmets to intervene to stop the bloody Civil War in America, particularly when its allies in the Southern slavocracy were losing.

While the Yeltsin regime has now agreed to a Western plan to send a 3,000-man "peacekeeping" force into Nagorno-Karabakh, Moscow insisted on having the "leading role" in the multinational force. Besides its openly professed concerns to check regional rivals Turkey and Iran on its southern flank, Russia's interest in the Caucasus and around the Caspian Sea can be summed up by one word—OIL. As the *Moscow News* (21 October) bluntly asked, "Will Azerbaijan remain in the sphere of Russia's interests or will it withdraw to become Russia's rival on world oil markets?"

British and American oil companies' attempts to reach a deal with the Baku government for developing Azerbaijan's immense oil reserves has spurred the West's desire to see an end to the war. With more than four billion barrels of proven reserves, Azerbaijan could become the world's third-largest petroleum-producing region following the Persian Gulf and Siberia. But they need to build a pipeline to bring those billions of barrels out of the country. For that purpose they want stable relations in the region, while they sort out how to appease (or block) Russia's demands to control the pipeline route and get a larger share of anticipated huge profits. For its part, the Yeltsin government has used the Nagorno-Karabakh war to apply tremendous leverage against the Azeris.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the Caucasus

As in the Balkans, bloody nationalist strife in the Caucasus is becoming increasingly enmeshed with growing *interimperialist* rivalry and Russia's great power ambitions. Eighty years ago, such imperialist rivalries exploded into the First World War, which destroyed the tsarist empire and gave birth to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—the greatest victory in history for the world proletariat. It was proletarian state power embodied in the Soviet Union which brought national peace as well as economic and cultural development to the Caucasus.

Before 1917, the three major peoples of Transcaucasia—Armenians, Azeris and Georgians—developed unevenly as exploited subject peoples of the Russian tsar. With the discovery and development of oil fields in Baku and manganese mines in Georgia, a small multinational and militant working class began to cohere. By the turn of the century, the Russian revolutionary socialists were recruiting workers among this ethnically diverse proletariat. In Baku, a powerful labor movement challenged the hold of the oil industrialists over the population. "Led by Russians and working closely with Marxist intellectuals, the workers won significant concessions from the owners, including the first general labor contract in the Russian Empire" (Ronald Suny, "The Revenge of the Past: Socialism and Ethnic Conflict in Transcaucasia," *New Left Review*, November 1990).

Following the Bolshevik Revolution, the young workers state was invaded by 14 imperialist armies and plunged into a civil war which threatened its very existence. Amid the anarchic conditions of the Russian Civil War, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia had a short-lived independence. Armenia under the bourgeois-nationalist Dashnaks engaged in communalist fratricide with Azerbaijan, fought a border war with Menshevik Georgia and launched a suicidal drive against Turkey. When Atatürk's army began its march to Yerevan in late 1920, the Dashnaks negotiated an agreement to save their skins by incorporating Armenia into the Soviet state.

Georgia's Menshevik government allied itself with Germany and then Britain—and always against Bolshevism—while persecuting Armenians, Abkhazians, Ossetians and other national minorities. In February 1921, the local Bolsheviks rose up and with the assistance of the Red Army conquered Tbilisi in less than ten days. Trotsky answered the hue and cry for "democratic" Georgia in his pamphlet *Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention in Russia, 1918-1921*:

> "We do not only recognise, but we also give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states. But wherever the fiction of self-determination, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'principles' of democracy perverted by capitalism."

At the same time, Lenin and Trotsky were insistent on safeguarding the national rights of the peoples of the Caucasus within the framework of a federated Soviet state. Indeed, it was over the national question in the Caucasus that Lenin broke with Stalin in late 1922, over his arrogant and chauvinist attitude in the "Georgian affair." The Russified Georgian Stalin had tried to impose a Transcaucasian Republic against the will of the local Communists, whom he accused of nationalist deviations. Lenin responded:

> "The Georgian who...carelessly flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialism' (whereas he himself is a real and true 'nationalist-socialist,' and even a Great-Russian bully), violates, in substance, the interests of proletarian class solidarity."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" (December 1922)

Stalin's campaign for a single, Moscow-dominated apparatus foreshadowed the dogma of "socialism in one country" which Stalin proclaimed after Lenin's death in 1924.

Initially, the fight with Stalin over the national question was precipitated by the drafting of the constitution for a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At Lenin's insistence the constitution, which was adopted in 1924, granted the constituent republics equal standing in the higher bodies of the Soviet state and declared that "each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the union." But these constitutional guarantees did not stop Stalin from later trampling over the rights of all Soviet nationalities just as he bureaucratically suppressed the proletariat.

Nonetheless, the six and a half decades of Soviet centralized economic planning brought about industrialization and urbanization in the Caucasus resulting in near-universal literacy and a higher standard of living. In the post-Stalin era, the disappearance of mass terror and the restoration of a degree of national autonomy for the republics held down historic nationalist enmities. But there was no democratic means for resolving national disputes and claims.

For example, already in 1923 Stalin, as commissar of nationalities, arbitrarily separated Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia, attaching it to Azerbaijan. The Kremlin bureaucracy's repeated refusals to consider changing the region's status according to the democratic will of its inhabitants inflamed Armenian nationalism and bears no small responsibility for the present communalist slaughter. In 1929, Stalin abolished the Kurdish autonomous region in Azerbaijan, the only effective exercise of self-determination anywhere by this people oppressed by four capitalist regimes in the Near East.

The program and the cadres of the Bolshevik Party were internationalist to their core. Bolshevik leaders included the Russians Lenin and Bukharin, the Pole Dzerzhinsky, the Romanian Rakovsky, the Jews Sverdlov and Trotsky, and others. In the early days of the Russian workers state, it was the Baku Soviet of 1918—based on Azeri, Armenian, Georgian and Russian oil workers—which was the center of Bolshevik power in the Caucasus. The Baku Soviet was overthrown by British expeditionary forces in league with local Armenian and Georgian nationalists, while the Azeri nationalists were supporting a Turkish assault on the city.

Throughout the Caucasus there are towns named Shaumyan. Like the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, Stepanakert,

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International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England
Trotskyist League of Canada/ Ligue trotskyste du Canada	Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1X8, Canada
Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands	SpAD, Postfach 5 55 10127 Berlin, Germany
Ligue trotskyste de France	Le Bolchévik, BP 135-10 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France
Spartacist Group India/Lanka	write to Spartacist, New York
Dublin Spartacist Group	PO Box 2944, Dublin 1 Republic of Ireland
Lega trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fidacaro C P 1591, 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku Kita-ku, Tokyo 115, Japan
Grupo Espartaquista de México	P Linares, Apdo Postal 453 06002 México 1, D F, Mexico
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski	Platforma Spartakusowców Skrytka Pocztowa 148 02-588 Warszawa 48, Poland
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA
Spartacist/Moscow	121019 Moscow g-19 A/Ya 19, Russia

Fraternal

Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil)	Av Lucas Evangelista no 418 s/306 CEP 27295-320 Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil

Caucasus...

(continued from page 9)

these towns are named in honor of Stepan Shaumyan, an Armenian Bolshevik who led the 1918 Baku Soviet and was one of Lenin's close comrades-in-arms. Shaumyan and the other Bolshevik leaders of the Baku Soviet were captured and executed by White counterrevolutionaries acting in connivance with the British imperialists. The proletarian internationalist traditions represented by Lenin, Trotsky and Shaumyan must again take hold in the Caucasus to put an end to the fratricidal slaughter.

Western bourgeois commentators often try to blame the explosion of nationalist hatreds on the legacy of "Communism." While the Stalinists tried mainly to bureaucratically suppress non-Russian national aspirations, the internationalist foundations of the Soviet workers state and its collectivized economy laid the basis for the equitable resolution of national conflicts. This was reflected in the high levels of education and cultural development, the advancement of women and widespread ethnic intermarriage. All this social progress is now being destroyed, often deliberately, as a direct consequence of counterrevolution.

Novosti

Armenian Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan and 25 other leaders of the Baku Soviet were executed by White counterrevolutionaries in connivance with British imperialism.

Painting by I.I. Brodsky

And the tearing apart of the interdependent Soviet economy—which contrary to accusations of Soviet "colonialism" gave the non-Russian republics a *higher* standard of living—has produced mass impoverishment everywhere.

Today the peoples of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia again face a Russia pursuing imperialist aspirations to control the region's wealth and borders, while the local national bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces attempt to get rich through deals with competing imperialist backers. An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality among the peoples of the Caucasus could once again liberate the creative energies of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor. Russian troops out of Chechnya! For an authentically voluntary federation of socialist republics! ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

I was sent to a maximum security prison in Lewisburg, Penn.

At this prison there were many others sitting because of their activities against the United States government. There were black nationalists, Black Panthers, antiwar activists and even some Russian spies! Jimmy Hoffa, leader of the powerful Teamsters union, was there and not in the least Catholic priests like Phil Berrigan.

I sat in this prison 27 months. However my activities against the war in Vietnam did not stop there. One of the more spectacular actions was the time a Russian spy, who claimed that his parents had been killed in Dresden during the Second World War, and I proposed publically to be exchanged for two B-52 pilots, alive or dead, because we believed that the Vietnamese struggle for independence was correct.

The United States government had not sueeeeded in silencing the opposition to its criminal war policy and therefore found new ways to try and keep people in prison. Conspiracy trials—that is, you did not have to do anything against the government to be put on trial, merely talking about it was enough. One of the big conspiracy trials of the time was the case against Phil Berrigan and other Catholic priests and nuns who, according to the government, were planning to bomb the White House and attack the B-52 bomber planes stationed in Guam in the Pacific Ocean. The key person on this frame-up was an agent sent in by the government to the prison we were in to get the goods on people. I could have been a defense witness in this case.

However, at the same time as the above was going on, I was charged by a "secret grand jury" for conspiracy to bomb public buildings and electric power plants, among other crimes. The funny thing about this is that it never happened! Nothing was ever bombed. The White House, planes on Guam, electric power plants, public buildings, was a CONSPIRACY according to the government. In reality, we were people who had always taken public responsibility for our actions.

At the same time this was going on, Jimmy Hoffa, leader of the powerful transport union, received a pardon from Richard Nixon, the president. Was Nixon afraid that Hoffa would join an antiwar coalition and bring the working class out against the war? Serious discussions were going on and the possibility was a real threat. I watched Jimmy Hoffa walk out of prison and I believe that his deal with Nixon was a betrayal of poor and working class people. Soon after, Jimmy Hoffa disappeared. I wonder who killed him? The government? The Mafia? Hmmm!

After 27 months in prison, I was released on bail pending trial for the above, $25,000 dollars raised by the antiwar movement gave me the chance to go underground and come to Sweden. I applied for political asylum and received a humanitarian asylum mainly because the Social Democratic Party under the leadership of Olaf Palme had gone over to the Vietnamese side after Nixon's massive bombings of Vietnam.

When Bill Clinton became president, I wrote him a letter demanding amnesty. I thought that Clinton, who had gone to England and demonstrated against the war, would understand my situation. Well, I have waited nearly two years and not received an answer from Bill Clinton. Now I do not intend to wait any longer.

I will never say I am sorry for my actions against the war in Vietnam. Millions of people suffered and are still suffering because of the bombings. Tens of thousands have cancer and children are still being born deformed because of chemicals like Agent Orange! Besides that, it was not I who was the criminal, it was people like Richard Nixon who were responsible for the war.

I have children and grandchildren in the United States who I would like to visit. I want the right to return to the U.S., the country of my birth, walk the streets as a free man. I mean, people like Bill Calley, leader of the My Lai massacre, are walking free today in the U.S. at the same time people like me cannot return home.

I have always taken responsibility for my actions publically in newspapers, TV and radio. I do not intend to crawl back to the U.S. begging for forgiveness. However, I would accept an amnesty or pardon. The United States government can call it anything they want as long as all the charges against me between the years 1968 to 1973 are dropped.

In closing, I would like to say that I need your help just as I need the help of all organisations claiming to stand on the side of poor and working-class people. Unlike Bill Clinton, I could not run off to England during the war in Vietnam. But I still remember the faces of the Vietnamese children running down a highway in Vietnam while napalm was burning holes in their little bodies and I did fight the best way I knew how!

Please publish this letter. Send this letter to other people, other organisations, other countries. Send a letter to Bill Clinton. Send a letter to me. Use your imagination. But please help!

Demand that the U.S. government take up this matter.

Demand that all charges against me be dropped.

Demand the right for me to visit the U.S.

Ask Bill Clinton if he enjoyed Nixon's funeral?

I am feeling like the Japanese soldier who was found on a deserted island in the Pacific Ocean 25 years after the Second World War. His first question being, "Is the war over?"

Sincerely yours,
Robert Malecki

Scientology...

(continued from page 5)

the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) opposes the persecution of Scientology. For our class and ourselves and for all those to whom democratic rights matter, this is an elementary question of self-defense. But, as with many such questions today, we Marxists remain the sole defenders of the libertarian values associated with the great French Revolution.

Our attitude to Bonn's crusade against Scientology is analogous to our stand in regard to the sect of Sun Myung Moon and his "Unification Church." Moon is an ultraright reactionary who finances contra terror internationally. In the '80s we were confronted with physical provocations by the Moon sect in Germany, while our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. fought against a lethal libel campaign by the "Moonies."

In November 1982, the SL mounted an important mobilization that stopped a march by the fascist Ku Klux Klan. The Moonies slandered the SL and the demonstration participants as would-be cop-murderers and criminals who "provoke violence" against the police. In response, we sued the Moonies and forced them to retract their libels.

But, at the same time, the Spartacist League came out against the Reagan government's attempt to have the IRS gain access to Moon's membership lists and financial records by going after the Unification Church's tax-exempt status. This was a club to be used against any unpopular organization that the state wanted to suppress and smash. The SL, along with a number of democratic and religious organizations as well as several state governments, opposed this encroachment by the federal government.

Our denunciation of the German state's current attack on Scientology is an integral part of our all-sided defense of democratic rights. This is our duty as Marxists who fight for a communist society in which people will be liberated from all forms of social oppression. ■

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ISO...

(continued from page 4)

In the first place, the ISO's predecessor, the Shachtmanite International Socialists, had to go through considerable contortions to belatedly and minimally defend the Vietnamese against the U.S., using the "democratic" argument of "self-determination" in order to evade the fundamental issue of a Stalinist-led *social revolution*, however bureaucratically deformed. And what the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan "gave heart to" was the forces of bloody counterrevolution. From East Berlin to Moscow, the ISO *cheered* the restoration of capitalism, which meant mass unemployment, racist terror and rampant attacks on women's rights.

...to "Holy War" in Algeria

The question of Islamic fundamentalism is by no means limited to a historical examination of the lessons of Iran and Afghanistan. The issue is posed again sharply in Algeria, where the bloody military regime and reactionary Islamic fundamentalists are locked in a gruesome civil war. And it is centrally to Algeria that the Cliffites address themselves. Harman writes of the "contradictions" of the FIS, the Islamic Salvation Front, which he claims is "caught between respectability and insurrectionism." He does not even hint at the fact that the "insurrectionism" of the FIS aims to set up a reactionary theocratic dictatorship.

The SWP says: "We are on the side of the Islamists when they confront the state—but only then" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 August)! The Cliffites get a little queasy when the Algerian fundamentalists assassinate teachers, journalists, leftists. But what about when they "confront the state" by blowing up nationalized factories, derailing government-owned passenger trains and burning down public schools? Presumably Cliff et al. would be applauding. Yet the Cliffites' "Islamist" line is not going down very well with some of their own supporters, notably women.

When the sinister Islamic fundamentalists swept the first round of parliamentary elections in Algeria three years ago, the SWP gushed that "the breakthrough of the FIS reflects the rise of revolutionary feeling." They felt compelled to add a rider about FIS strikebreaking and how they "argue that women should remain at home", concluding:

> "All this offers opportunities for socialists, as long as they are clear about the FIS. They have to support them against attacks from the regime in so far as they represent, in however confused a way, an opposition in which large numbers of the dispossessed and sections of the working class put their trust. At the same time socialists have to be implacably hostile to their politics. They must defend women's rights and democratic rights."
>
> —*Socialist Review*, February 1992

This talk of defending democratic rights is so much eyewash, to hide the fact that a fundamentalist victory in Algeria—which the Cliffites *support*—would impose an Islamic dictatorship that would wipe out any semblance of democracy and spell death—literally—for unveiled women. And there is strong evidence that the Cliffites actually hammered their pro-FIS line down the throats of their comrades in Algeria, where such illusions are truly suicidal.

On the eve of the first electoral victory of the FIS in the June 1990 municipal elections, a spokesman of the Communist Movement of Algeria (MCA), interviewed in the journal of the French Cliffites, characterized the FIS as "ultra-reactionary" and even "a fascist current" with principles, ideology and political action "similar to the National Front in France." At the same time, the MCA representative limited his program to the "struggle for democracy" through elections and the formation of a "democratic and revolutionary opposition" (*Socialisme International*, May 1990). But when the FIS swept the parliamentary elections of December 1991, *Socialisme International* (February 1992) declared: "Revolutionaries in Algeria must fight side by side with these people, even in actions called by the FIS." They even presented the FIS as a force which could be pressured into opposing imperialism! As they explained it, "in order to come to power, the FIS needs the masses' support and such a regime would be opposed to the policy imposed on Algeria by the IMF." However, the precondition for breaking the stranglehold of the international bankers cartel of the IMF and the domination of the world market is a proletarian revolution overthrowing capitalism and extending to the imperialist centers.

The MCA, which a footnote in Harman's article coyly says "no longer exists," joined the Cliffites and entered the PST (Socialist Workers Party), the Algerian section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. There they formed an "opposition" which published a document, "Balance Sheet and Perspectives of the PST" (23 October 1992), which managed the singular feat of never once mentioning the FIS and the need to fight it. Nowhere in this document, or Harman's article, or any of the Cliffites' documents, is there the slightest understanding that the role of Marxists is to lead the *working class* in a fight for power against both the bloody military regime and the reactionary fundamentalists. In contrast, the Trotskyist Platform Tendency of the PST, which cohered on an internationalist program around the Russian question (including defense of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and opposition to Polish Solidarność) and the fight for workers revolution in Algeria, declared:

> "The FIS is the sworn enemy of the proletariat, minorities and women.... At present the regime imprisons FIS militants, tomorrow, like yesterday, the ruling class will promote the development of the FIS against the workers or against a popular uprising...
>
> "The real progress which the Bolsheviks made on the road to the emancipation of women contrasts strongly with the oppression which women still suffer today under the bonapartist 'socialist' regimes, like in Algeria, which haven't broken with capitalism. This is a striking confirmation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution according to which elementary bourgeois democratic rights cannot be won completely except through a socialist revolution led by the proletariat."

In Defense of Progress

Today, the Cliffites' fascination with the Islamic fundamentalists is hardly limited to Algeria. In France, the Mitterrand-Balladur government, as part of its campaign of whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria, has waged a racist campaign of expelling from high school girls who wear the Islamic headscarf. In opposing these attacks, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have also sharply warned against the fundamentalist danger. In contrast, the Cliffites politically tail after the fundamentalists. The French Cliffites write, in justification of the Islamic headscarf, that "exposing women's bodies in modern society is one of the forms expressing the oppression of women in presenting them as a sexual object" (*Socialisme International*, December 1994)! And SWP honcho Alex Callinicos went so far as to declare that "*the headscarf is not a sign of the imprisonment of women but of modesty*"!! In Algiers, women and even high school girls have been beaten and in several instances shot and killed by Islamic fundamentalists for failing to obey this reactionary code of "modesty."

For generations, Stalinists and social democrats rehashed the classic Menshevik schema of the "two-stage revolution," counseling the working class to support supposed bourgeois "progressives" as an illusory "first step" toward socialist revolution. This suicidal policy of class collaboration has inevitably led to bloody defeats, from China in 1927 to Allende's Chile in the early 1970s. But at least the so-called "progressive" nationalists like Chiang Kai-shek vaguely aspired to modernize their countries (such as opposing the binding of women's feet), even as they violently repressed the working class. The Islamic fundamentalists, whom the Cliffites see as allies in "anti-imperialist" struggle, dream of turning the clock back to the age of the prophet!

The Cliffites' grotesque genuflection before Islamic fundamentalism is not simply a bizarre aberration. In the Soviet Union, which they called "state capitalist," they sided with any and all "anti-Stalinist" forces, no matter how reactionary. In Algeria, which actually is a capitalist country with a heavily statified economy, they likewise bloc politically with the most retrograde opponents of the military regime. It is interesting that as the imperialists proclaim the "death of communism," both ex-Stalinists and social democrats have gravitated into unsavory alliances with far right-wing nationalist forces, from the "red-brown" coalition in Russia to the Cliffites' yearned-for "red-green" coalition in Algeria.

The only thing is, comrades, it takes two to tango, even in a *chador*. And to the Islamic fundamentalists, all socialists are infidels, to be punished accordingly. The Cliffites' policy is suicidal for themselves and any workers, youth or women unfortunate enough to be influenced by them. The proletariat must be galvanized politically around a program not to replace the uniformed dictators with robed theocrats but to achieve their own class rule, not to be thrown back into benighted medievalism but to take society forward to socialist emancipation and enlightenment. ■

DPA

Socialist Worker
Paper of the International Socialist Organization Inc
May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

ISO supported CIA-aided *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan, cheered Soviet withdrawal which meant death for women, leftists.

Afghanistan and Centrist Double-Talk

Some apologists for the tendency led by Jorge Altamira have contested our statement in the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) and the International Communist League" (*WV* No. 608, 14 October) that the Altamiraites "opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan." They point to a resolution from early 1980 ("The Trotskyists in the Face of the Invasion of Afghanistan"), published by the short-lived "Fourth Internationalist Tendency" of Altamira and Guillermo Lora. But this resolution is filled with centrist double-talk, saying, "we do not condemn the invasion, although it attacks the principle of self-determination." Bowing repeatedly to the right, the resolution for example screams that the USSR used "the most brutal military methods, which de facto lead to an occupation of the country by the Red Army."

Moreover, the "Leading Cell in Europe" of Lora's Bolivian POR went even further in echoing the Reaganite anti-Soviet hysteria and condemned "The Kremlin bureaucrats' policy of expansionism and domination," hailing the "resistance" of the CIA-backed "guerrillas" supposedly fighting for "national sovereignty" (*Boletín Informativo* No. 5, February 1982). At the time of Gorbachev's ignominious pullout, Altamira's own paper declared that "The international scope of the Soviet withdrawal is, therefore, just as counterrevolutionary as was, at the time, the occupation of Afghanistan" (*Prensa Obrera*, 23 February 1989).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1994 SUBJECT INDEX

7 January to 30 December 1994 (Issues Nos. 591-613)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1994, from issue No. 591 (7 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 613 (30 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  ANC's Deal with Apartheid Bosses, #598, 15 Apr. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 598, 15 April, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon. Thus:

  University of California at Berkeley—See **Campus Repression; Fascism: General**

  means that articles about the Berkeley campus can be found by going to the subject head **CAMPUS REPRESSION** and also by going to the subject head **FASCISM** and looking under the subcategory **General**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles on the various countries in the Confederation of Independent States (the former Soviet Union) are now listed under their individual names (e.g., **RUSSIA**), the Soviet Union category exists only as a cross reference to articles that relate to the country prior to the triumph of counterrevolution. Articles on the various countries that once comprised Yugoslavia are now listed under **BALKANS**.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

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Birmingham—See **Abortion; Civil Rights.**

BLACK QUESTION—And see **Abu-Jamal; Defense Campaign; Civil Liberties; Civil Rights; Fascism; Police; U.S.: General.** See also **New York City; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Quote of the Week.**

The 1908 Race Riot in Springfield, #591, 7 Jan. (10, 11)

Cathy Long, Victim of Racist Murder, #591, 7 Jan. (11)

Super Bowl Protest: Down with the Flag of Slavery!, #593, 4 Feb. (12, 11)

Port Chicago, 1944: U.S. Navy's Racist Frame-Up, #594, 18 Feb. (5, 9)

Black History Forum: The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom (YSp), #597, 1 Apr. (3, 4)

Interracial Boycott of Alabama School: A Tale of Two Proms (YSp), #599, 29 Apr. (6, 11)

Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People, #600, 13 May (8, 9, 10, 11, 12)

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Racism, Anti-Semitism and Free Speech: Malcolm X Mural Controversy at S.F. State (YSp), #602, 10 June (7, 11)

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The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A. (YSp), #611, 25 Nov. (16, 8, 9)

Frederick Douglass on "Scientific" Apologies for Slavery (YSp), #611, 25 Nov. (9)

Boston: Racist Mob Targets Housing Integration, #612, 9 Dec. (3)

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Origins and Honesty, #611, 25 Nov. (12)

Bosnia—See **Balkans.**

Boston—See **Black Question; Fascism: General; Police.**

BRAZIL—And see also **Left Organizations.**

Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) and the International Communist League, #608, 14 Oct. (6, 9)

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Afghanistan and Centrist Double-Talk, #613, 30 Dec. (11)

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